MAR 28 1963

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/journalofbiblica0045geor

JOURNAL
OF
BIBLICAL
LITERATURE

EDITED BY
GEORGE DAHL
ENJAMIN W. BACON LEWIS B. PATON

VOLUME XLV /XLVI
1926 /17

LIBRARY OF
UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
J862
B582 74,676

NEW HAVEN
BLISHED BY THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
AND EXEGESIS
1926

PRINTED BY W. DRUGULIN, LEIPZIG (GERMANY)
FOR THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

BACON, B. W., The Q Section on John the Baptist and the *Shemoneh Esreh* 23
BERRY, G. R., Messianic Predictions 232
BEWER, J. A., The Hellenistic Mystery Religion and the Old Testament 1
— On the Text of Ezekiel 7 5-14 223
BOEHMER, J., „Dieses Volk“ 134
— Die erste Seligpreisung 298
BUDDE, K., Zu Text und Auslegung des Buches Hosea. 1. 2. . . 280
BURKITT, F. C., Micah 6 and 7 a Northern Prophecy . . . 159
BURROWS, M., The Johannine Prologue as Aramaic Verse . . 57
BUTTENWIESER, M., בְּכָלִי עֹז לַיהוָה 2 Chronicles 30 21 156
CADBURY, H. J., Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts. II 190
— Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts. III 305
CASE, S. J., Jesus and Sepphoris 14
DRIVER, G. R., The Aramaic of the Book of Daniel 110
— The Aramaic Language 323
FEIGIN, S., The Babylonian Officials in Jeremiah 39 3, 13 . . . 149
GAMBLE, J., Symbol and Reality in the Epistle to the Hebrews . 162
HAUPT, P., Four Strutters 350
— Mistranslated Lines in Proverbs 354
— Deal gently with the young man 357
KAPLAN, M. M., Isaiah 6 1-11 251
KEVIN, R. O., The Lost Ending of the Gospel According to Mark 81
MARTIN, J., A Famine Element in the Flood Story 129
MCCREE, W. T., The Covenant Meal in the Old Testament . . 120
MONTGOMERY, J. A., The Education of the Seer of the Apocalypse 70
PERRY, A. M., On the Reporting of Miracles 104
PFEIFFER, R. H., Images of Yahweh 211
SCHMIDT, N., The Numen of Penuel 260
— Recent Study of the Term ‘Son of Man’ 326
SMITH, H. P., Moslem and Christian Polemic 238
STUMMER, F., Einige keilschriftliche Parallelen zu Jes. 40—66 . . 171
Books Received 210, 358

Proceedings, December 1925 i
List of Members xiii
Lists of Subscribing Libraries and Exchanges xxvi
Constitution and By-Laws xxx

United Theological Seminary Library
MAR 28 1969

THE HELLENISTIC MYSTERY RELIGION AND THE OLD TESTAMENT[1]

JULIUS A. BEWER
UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE study of the relation of the mystery religions to the New Testament and early Christianity has been carried on for a number of years with most valuable results. But hitherto nobody had brought the Old Testament into direct connection with them. This has now been done by Kittel in an extremely interesting and thought provoking little book on *Die hellenistische Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament* (1924) in which he attempts to show that Judaism influenced the hellenistic mystery religion decisively in Alexandria and contributed to its development.

He thinks that there were four sets of ideas which the Jews brought with them to Alexandria:

1) the idea of a divine child, born by a virgin, raised in the manner of a son of god, who was also to bring in the new age;

2) the idea that God is eternity, *aion,* and eternity is God;

3) the idea of union, identification of God and man, in the prophet, who is possessed by God and out of whom God speaks, and in the king, who by his anointment becomes a son of God, is filled with God's spirit and power, and is himself like a God or an angel of God;

4) the idea that every deeply religious worshipper may experience immediately the presence of God, enjoy union with

[1] Presidential Address given before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, December 28, 1925.

Him, and attain to the vision of God, — in the cult or even independently of the cult, — either by special rites or by profound meditation upon God and by immersion in God. With this belongs the firm confidence in immortality.

The Jews had therefore all that is essential in the mystery religion when they came to Alexandria. In their active missionary propaganda there could be nothing more effective than the injection of their ideas into the mystery cults.

The question is whether the Jews actually did have these ideas before they came in contact with hellenistic religion in Alexandria.

I. The idea of the virgin born divine child, the bringer of the new age, Kittel finds in the Immanuel prophecy in Isa. 7, which he connects with the prophecies of the ideal king in Isa. 9 and 11, so that Immanuel is the same person as the king, the bringer of the new age. He maintains that the idea was so familiar that there was even a well established style in which the expectation of the savior was expressed at, and even considerably before, the time of Isaiah. Since the child was to be fed with "milk and honey," the food of the gods, he must be a heavenly wonder child, a son of God, as becomes the bringer of the new era of the world. To this wonderful child the LXX by its translation of העלמה by ἡ παρθένος, "the virgin," adds the wonderful mother. This was not part of the original hope, but it was a firmly established idea at the time of the translator ca. 200 B. C. and may be carried back, in all probability, to the latter part of the Babylonian exile.

The myth of the birth of the divine child who was the bringer of the new age played an important part in the hellenistic mystery religion. Kittel uses here the results of the recent investigations of Karl Holl[2] and Ed. Norden[3]. After showing that the festival of the winter sun, on December 25,

[2] *Der Ursprung des Epiphanienfestes* in *Sitzungsbericht der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1917, pp. 402—438, and his edition of Epiphanius, 2nd volume, 1922, in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.*

[3] *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 1924.

was observed in Palestine in Maccabean times (*Ḥanukkah*), in Alexandria in the third century B. C. (*Kikellia*) and earlier as "the birthday of the sun," Kittel illustrates how it was celebrated by quoting, in the absence of early sources, from Macrobius (fifth century A. D. in Saturn. I 18), who says that "*the Egyptians at the time of the winter solstice* (Dec. 25) *brought the image of a little boy from the Holy of Holies" (ex adyto).* The little boy is here the new-born sun, Helios. A scholion (8th century) in Gregory Nazianzen says that the Greeks have celebrated the day from ancient times and concludes: "*When they come out they call*"—[evidently at the sight of the new daylight (Kittel)]—"*the virgin has born, the light increases.*"[4] The festival was also celebrated in Syria and Arabia. Parallel with Helios is the god Aion, of whose birth Hippolytus tells. When the officiating priest at Eleusis performs the inexpressible mysteries, he breaks forth into the cry,[5] "*a holy boy the mistress has born, Brimo Brimon, i. e. the strong one a strong one.*" Hippolytus proceeds, "*This is the virgin who is pregnant and has conceived and is bearing a son.*"[6] This refers to the birth of Aion.[7] Epiphanius describes the celebration of the birth of Aion in the Koreion at Alexandria in the night of Epiphany, Jan. 5—6, thus, "They spend the whole night with songs, which they sing to the image of the god, accompanied by flutes. After they have thus completed the nocturnal celebration, they proceed after the first crow of the cock with torches in their hands to a subterranean sacred chamber and carry about on a barrow a wooden naked idol which has on its forehead a seal of a golden cross, also on both of its hands two other such seals, also two others on both knees, altogether five seals made of gold. This wooden image they carry as they go about the innermost temple seven times with flutes and drums, then they bring it back to its place in a bacchantic procession. If one ask them. what does this mystery mean? they reply and say, *At this time to-day the*

4 Ἡ παρθένος τέτοκεν· αὔξει φῶς.

5 Ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον, Βριμὼ Βριμὸν, τουτέστιν ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν.

6 Τουτέστιν ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ συλλαμβάνουσα καὶ τίκτουσα υἱόν.

7 Αἰῶνα αἰώνων.

young woman, that is the virgin, has born Aion."[8] As the sun god is the son of the great mother of the gods who is also almost everywhere a virgin, for only a virgin was worthy to perform the wonder of all wonders, the birth of the divine child, so the mother of Aion must also be a divine virgin. The roots of the Aion idea are very old in Iran and India, and in the Egyptian mysteries of Osiris. But the blending of near-Asiatic, ultimately Iranian and Indian, and Egyptian with Greek elements does not explain entirely the hellenistic mystery religion, according to Kittel. A decisive Jewish influence must be taken into account.

He maintains that the myth of the birth of the divine savior-child was known in Israel in the eighth century and that Isaiah used quite unconsciously but also quite inevitably, the phraseology of the myth, for he could find no more appropriate form when he wanted to predict the coming of the savior, the miraculous birth and raising of the divine child by a divine mother. Later, probably as early as the latter part of the exile, the Jews regarded the divine mother as a virgin, like the Accadian Ishtar. And in this form, as the LXX suggests, they brought the idea with them to Alexandria.

The very first claim, that Immanuel of Isa. 7 is the same as the ideal king in Isa. 9 and 11, is untenable[9]. Since Kittel

[8] Ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ σήμερον ἡ κόρη (τουτέστιν ἡ παρθένος) ἐγέννησε τὸν Αἰῶνα.

[9] The child in chap. 7 "shall be called Immanuel", the child in chap. 9 "Wonderful counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace." Why is it called by a different name? Are these merely epithets in addition to his real name "Immanuel"? Why is this not indicated? From the Immanuel passage itself we certainly cannot conclude that Immanuel is a saving child, or one destined to be a savior. Isaiah does not say that *Immanuel* will make the land of the enemies desolate. Immanuel does nothing, either in this chapter or elsewhere to merit the title of savior. God himself is the savior. The idea of Immanuel's saviorhood is imported into this chapter by connecting it with chap. 9 and 11. Kittel adduces, of course, the usual argument that in Isaiah 8 Immanuel is addressed, in the prediction that the Assyrian shall pour like a mighty flood also into Judah, "and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel." But עמנו אל belongs to the following and is not a proper name, but a phrase, which must be translated here

relies on the LXX as his star witness for the prevalence of the myth among the Jews, it is important to note that the LXX, although it read **ארצך עמנו אל**, did not interpret it as "thy land, O Immanuel," but translated "and his camp shall be [so as to fill] the breadth of thy land. With us is God!" This shows that about 200 B. C. Isa. 8 8 was not understood as meaning that Immanuel was the destined ruler of the land. LXX did not connect 8 8 with 7 14. The messianic interpretation of Isa. 7 14 was thus not beyond question at this time.

The second argument is the use of a definite style in which the expectation of the coming savior had come to be expressed habitually. Now it is true, if the characteristic style of the myth can be seen in every story which tells of the birth of a savior under extraordinary circumstances, the presumption is that the myth was prevalent for quite a long time. Was this the case in Israel at and before the time of Isaiah? Because a son was promised to Hagar (Gen. 16 11); to Samson's mother (Judg. 13 3); and to the young woman in Isa. 7 14 in nearly the same words,[10]

Behold, thou hast conceived, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael;

Behold now, thou art barren and bearest not, but thou shalt conceive and bear a son;[11]

Behold, a young woman shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.

Kittel thinks we have here a definite style, and more particularly the style in which the expectation of the savior, who was to be born in an extraordinary manner, was expressed in Israel and elsewhere. Of Samson it was said "he shall begin to save Israel out of the hand of the Philistines" (Judg. 15 5b). For Immanuel Kittel gets the savior from the other passages with which he connects Isa. 7 14. For Ishmael he is compelled to import this element by suggesting that we have here an Ishmaelite tale and

just as at the conclusion of verse 10 by "God is with us." אַרְצָךְ was originally אַרְצָה or כִּי־הָאָרֶץ:

10 הִנֵּךְ הָרָה וְיֹלַדְתְּ בֵּן וְקָרָאת שְׁמוֹ יִשְׁמָעֵאל Gen. 16 11
הִנֵּה־נָא אַתְּ־עֲקָרָה וְלֹא יָלַדְתְּ וְהָרִית וְיָלַדְתְּ בֵּן Judg. 13 3
הִנֵּה הָעַלְמָה הָרָה וְיֹלֶדֶת בֵּן וְקָרְאת שְׁמוֹ עִמָּנוּ אֵל Isa. 7 14

11 Judg. 13 5 is a better parallel, הִנֵּךְ הָרָה וְיֹלַדְתְּ בֵּן, Behold, thou shalt conceive, and bear a son.

that to the Ishmaelites their ancestor was the ideal of a hero. The passage itself says nothing of Ishmael's saviorhood, nor of his miraculous birth. The angel simply states that Hagar is with child [present, not future] and will bear a son, and that she shall call his name Ishmael, because Jahweh had heard her affliction.[12] Samson's case is different, his mother had been barren and the angel told her that she would conceive [here it is the future, not the present] and bear a son. Here is indeed a miracle according to the narrator, but no miraculous conception is hinted at, as though she had been impregnated by the word of the angel.—If there really was a definite style for such stories, why was it not used in the more extraordinary case of Isaac, where Jahweh himself announced to the aged, barren Sarah the birth of a son who was not of less importance to the Israelites than Ishmael was to the Ishmaelites?[13] And why was Samuel's story not told in it? His mother also was barren, she also received the divine promise through the priest Eli, and Samuel certainly was more of a savior according to 1 Sam. 7 than Samson. But there is not a trace of the style.

The third argument for the prevalence of the myth of the divine savior child is his food of "milk and honey." Kittel, following Usener,[14] sees in them the food of the gods, with which the heavenly child is fed quite appropriately. Usener's demonstration is confined to the Greek world and even there for the early times it is not unchallenged.[15] But what was true of the Greek world was not necessarily true of the Semitic world. Neither in Babylonia nor in Israel were milk and honey regarded as the exclusive and characteristic food of the gods. Both are

[12] There is nothing in the Hebrew term בֵּן to forbid taking it in the sense of "a child," but since the angel speaks we may grant that he knew that it would be "a son."

[13] The analogy of Isaac is especially important because it is not impossible to argue from his name יִצְחָק "he laughs" that the original story told of the birth of a divine child, for only such a one would laugh at his birth (cf. Norden, *l. c.*, p. 59 ff.) and thereby prove his divinity. But why was the transformed myth not told in the well established style?

[14] *Das Weihnachtsfest*, 1913.

[15] Cf. Karl Wyss, *Die Milch im Kultus der Griechen und Römer*, 1914, pp. 39 ff.

used in Babylonian sacrifices but not in Jewish. The late references to them as the food of the righteous in the golden age in the Slavonic Enoch (8 5 ff.) and the Sibylline oracles (3 744 ff.) are not due to ancient *Jewish* tradition. And while it is true that the phrase which describes Canaan as a land "flowing with milk and honey" (Ex. 3 8. 17 etc.) expresses overflowing divine blessing, it is significant that in this chapter (Isa. 7) milk and honey are explicitly defined as the food of "everyone that is left in the midst of the land," for it will be so utterly devastated that there will be nothing else to eat but the food of nomads (Isa. 7 21 f.). Kittel knows this, but he thinks that in connection with Immanuel the eating of milk and honey expressed the idea that he was fed with the food of the gods as the heavenly wonder child.

There remains the fourth and most important point, the question of the virgin, the παρθένος of the LXX. Kittel concludes from this rendering that the idea that the mother of the savior was a virgin was prevalent at the time of the translator *ca.* 200 B. C. at Alexandria, for it was to him a matter of course to translate העלמה by ἡ παρθένος, and not by ἡ νεᾶνις. But the translator did not understand that the boy was to be born miraculously by a virgin or that he was the divine redeemer king. For though he translated παρθένος, the virgin is not according to his understanding pregnant at the time of the prediction, but she will conceive, in the future, λήμψεται B, ἕξει א A Q. Nothing is said to indicate that this will be done in a miraculous fashion. She will bear a son and Ahaz will give to him the name Immanuel (LXX pointed קראת καλέσεις). Since according to Hebrew usage the father names the child, Ahaz will be his father. This is also the interpretation which we know from Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho c. 67. 71 as the Jewish interpretation of his day, according to which the child was Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz. The LXX translator rendered παρθένος because he believed that the young woman was Ahaz's queen, and he understood הָרָה as future (λήμψεται); she was still a virgin at this time.[16]

16 This was quite as natural for him as it had been for the translator of Gen. 24 43 in Eliezer's prayer, "let it come to pass that ἡ παρθένος

Of course, this interpretation is wrong, but the important point here is that this is the LXX's interpretation. For it shows that the LXX of Isa. 7 14 cannot be used to prove that the idea of the virgin birth of the Messiah was a current Jewish conception at the time of the translator. He thought as little of "the wellknown divine virgin" as Isaiah himself had done. Indeed he did not interpret Immanuel as the Messiah either, for, as we saw, he did not regard עמנו אל in Isa. 8 8 as a proper name but translated it and did not connect Isa. 7 with Isa. 9 and 11. Moreover, he avoided in his translation of Isa. 9 even the suggestion of a mythical element, for he translates as follows, (i. e. the oldest translator whose work we have in cod. B): *μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος ἄξω γὰρ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας* = "Angel of great counsel, for I will bring peace to the princes." Then comes a variant translation of שָׁלוֹם followed by the succeeding לם = לָמוֹ *καὶ ὑγείαν αὐτῷ* = "and health to him." That this is manifestly an inferior text is not of so great moment here as that there is nothing in it that might be used for mythical speculations. The LXX avoided a direct translation of אל גבור, and read apparently a different Hebrew original for אבי עד. It gives as the boy's name "Angel of great counsel" and then says "I [Jahweh] will bring peace to the princes." The oldest translator (represented by cod. B) translated אבי עד שר or rather אֲבִיא עַל שר, as he read the Hebrew original. Did he do this, because he knew the myths of Osiris and of Aion, which he wished to avoid? If so, he did not seize the opportunity offered to him to bring out the mythical elements in his religious thinking which were akin to the mysteries so that he might thereby inject these Jewish ideas into the hellenistic mystery cults.

Kittel thinks that he did not dare to translate it, but why should he have balked at it? If he could paraphrase אל גבור, he could do the same with אבי עד if necessary, but he read אביא על instead (על = אל). Kittel adopts Wutz's suggestion

(העלמה) that comes forth to draw . . ., let the same be the woman whom Jahweh has appointed for my master's son." But that the young woman would still be a virgin when she became the mother of Immanuel, he nowhere indicates.

that ἄξω γὰρ εἰρήνην goes back to αβειε σαρ σαλωμ, a transcription of אביא שר שלום, but clearly the LXX text had על for עד, as ἐπί proves, and that is just the crucial point. But he was not the only Greek translator. Others corrected his rendering, and wrote θαυμαστὴς σύμβουλος θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐξουσιαστὴς ἄρχων εἰρήνης πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, which is now inserted in cod. א c. a A in the older rendering. Here אל גבור is translated literally by θεὸς ἰσχυρός, "a mighty God" and אבי עד by πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, "father of the age to come." This translator interpreted the text in accordance with the later messianic idea of the age to come. But do we have even here the same idea as that at the basis of the mystery religion?

II. This leads us over to the second set of ideas which the Jews brought to Alexandria, according to Kittel, and with which they influenced the hellenistic mystery religion. Isaiah predicted a new age with the coming of the ideal king, whose reign is to be מעתה ועד עולם. When he called him אבי עד he did not use the term, as the later Greek translator did, as meaning πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, "father of the age to come;" not even the earlier translator had done that. And yet Kittel believes that this idea is quite old in Palestine. He connects אֵל עוֹלָם Gen. 22 33 (J) "God of old" or better "God of eternity," θεὸς αἰώνιος, with the Aion idea, comparing also the Phenician deity Χρόνος ἀγήρατος = "Ageless time," and maintains that it implies that time itself or time and eternity are thought of as God (as *Aion* was in Alexandria), and thinks that the interpretation אהיה אשר אהיה (Ex. 3 13) of the name יהוה means the one who remains permanently the same, the Eternal,[17] as expressing Jahweh's essential being. Deity and eternity are the same: Jahweh is eternity, is the Aion. In the mystery religion Aion is a special God, in Israel Jahweh is Aion.

Of course, Jahweh appropriated the names of *El ʿolâm* and *El ʿelyôn* in the process of assimilation, but it is unlikely that

17 This is of course not the original meaning of יהוה but the one attached to him later.

the abstract reasoning, which Kittel assumes, was familiar to the Jews in early times. Jahweh is eternal, but not Jahweh is eternity nor eternity is Jahweh. The Messiah is even according to the later Greek translator the father of the age to come, i. e. the bringer or the ruler of the age to come but not Aion himself. Thus here, too, the characteristic Aion idea of the mystery cults is absent.

III. About the third or fourth sets of ideas not much need be said. As regards the third, the idea of union or identification with God in king and prophet, it is quite uncertain, however interesting and ingenious the theory as worked out by Volz and Mowinckel may be, that the psalms that celebrate Jahweh as having become King (e. g. Psalm 47, 93, 95—100) refer to the cultic festival of Jahweh's enthronement on New Year's day rather than to the time of the future when Jahweh shall actually reign as King over the whole world. In other words, the eschatological interpretation of these psalms has not yet been proved to be wrong. Moreover, we do not know that Israel's idea in celebrating New Year's day as the day of Jahweh's enthronement was that the human king also celebrated his own enthronement, and that Jahweh and the king were one in ascending the throne, so that in the mimic representation of Jahweh's enthronement the king experienced in reality a mystic union with God, whose experience is his own. If this was the case, it cannot be proved and it is unlikely. This in spite of the fact that there was an extremely close connection between the deity and the king, as is manifest from the phrase in Ps. 2, "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee;" from the address of the king as "Elohim" in Ps. 45; from the comparison of David with the angel of God in 2 Sam. 14 17; and from the sacred character of the Anointed of Jahweh, which made an offence against him as serious as one against God himself. There was such a strong, determined opposition to the deification of the king in Israel that we need much stronger proofs. What Kittel says of the union of God with the prophet (*nabi'*) is true, the prophet is possessed by God and the earlier *nebi'im* aimed at union with God in the ecstatic state. But the great prophets are never concious of mystical

identification with God; on the contrary they differentiate between Jahweh's and their own speech more and more.

IV. In the fourth set of ideas it should not be overlooked that while the intimate communion of some of the Psalmists (e. g. 16, 17, 27, 63, 36, 49, 73) with God has a certain mystical character, yet it is not of the kind that we have in the mysteries. Only one passage can be adduced in which the psalmist may be suspected of speaking of "the mysteries of God" 73 17 מְקְדְשֵׁי אֵל. But it seems quite clear that the use of special mystery rites for the attainment of the divine light and life is antecedently unlikely in this connection; if they should however be referred to, we should have to assume an influence on their part on the psalmist, not *vice versa*, as Kittel must agree. The firm confidence in immortality which Kittel, with others, finds in Ps. 73 and 17 is not so manifestly present that interpreters are agreed on it. It is true, whether it is directly expressed or not, the psalmists (73 and 16, 17) are quite close to it in their strong conviction that nothing can interrupt the communion with God which is to them the highest good in the world. And Kittel is right when he points out how different the active mysticism of the Jews with its ethical oneness with God, the union of the will with God's will, was from the passive mysticism of the mystery religions and that immortality by itself, apart from communion with God, is valueless.

The conclusion is that it does not seem likely that the Jews had the essential ideas of the mystery religion when they came to Alexandria. It is not that they had not assimilated ancient myths and transformed them — that is too firmly established to admit of any doubt. That the Jews knew the Tammuz and Adonis myths at least as early as Ezekiel (8 14), yea even as Isaiah (17 10), and practised their cults, is certain. But that they had the particular myth of the divine virgin born child, who should bring in the new age, together with the Aion myth, has not been demonstrated, at least not yet. There is no proof that this belief was entertained at the time of Isaiah, or in the Babylonian exile, or at the time of the LXX translator in Alexandria, by genuine Jews. Again, the mystic union in the sense of identification with the deity on the part of the king

in Israel and Judah, if it was entertained under the monarchy, had given way to a strong opposition to the deification of the kings. As to the union of the prophets with God, the great prophets especially had more and more distinguished between Jahweh's and their own words so that the prophets are never thought of as God himself, even when they speak in His name; they are only his messengers or servants. And the characteristic element of the mystery religions, that the worshipper must pass through the same experiences, especially of dying and rising, as the deity and gain in mystic union with God deification and immortality, is absent from the Old Testament. There is a difference between myths and mysteries. Even if Israel had those myths of the virgin born divine child and savior and of Aion, that would not necessarily imply that they also had mystery cults connected with them.

But assuming that the Jews had actually brought these ideas with them to Alexandria, what did they contribute to the hellenistic mystery religion and how did they influence it? Kittel does not tell us anything about this, although this should be an important part of his demonstration. Are there traces in the hellenistic mystery cults that we must explain as due to Jewish influence? Is it enough to show that the Jews had all the important elements of the mystery religion in higher forms when they came to Alexandria and to assert that in their propaganda among the Hellenists they must undoubtedly have used them and influenced the mystery cults with their own spirit, without stating just how their influence can be detected and just what particular new element they imparted? Take those myths of the virgin born divine savior child and of Aion. Just what did the Jewish belief add to the hellenistic cults? Can we point out a single idea or usage that is characteristically Jewish in them? If the Jewish festivals of the winter solstice (Ḥanukkah) or of the Spring equinox were celebrated with ancient mystery rites, which is very improbable, we know nothing of them and it would be vain to suggest that they were similar to the hellenistic mysteries. If the LXX in its translation of ἡ παρθένος actually did show the unconscious evidence of the mythical divine virgin, it would be easier to

believe that the mysteries influenced the LXX than vice versa, because the translator was opposed to the mythical and did not intend to influence the mystery religion by his translation. The distinctive contribution of the Jews in their missionary activity was their insistence on monotheism and morality, but it would be difficult to *prove* that they influenced thereby the hellenistic mystery cults.

And yet the Old Testament in Greek was destined to play an important part in the history of the mysteries, not however in the Jewish propaganda in Alexandria, but in the Christian church. The Christians connected with the Greek "Behold *the virgin* shall conceive and have a son" the Virgin Mary, the Mother of Jesus (Mat. 1 23). They made, later on, the connection between the birth of Jesus and the birth of Helios and Aion. It seemed to them that the heathen had instituted the festival of their birth as an involuntary tribute to the truth, in order that they might not lose all their adherents. The church adopted later in its cult of Christ all the important features of the cult of *Sol invictus*. And the Mother of Christ, the Virgin Mary, became the Mother of God and the Queen of heaven in cult and in theology. Here the Old Testament in the Greek rendering of *ἡ παρθένος* made indeed a contribution to the mystery cults in the Christian church. It facilitated the fusion of the Christian religion with the mysteries, its adaptation of them, and its victory over them. But that is entirely different from Kittel's theory.

JESUS AND SEPPHORIS

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

TODAY no one will question the propriety of interrogating the social environment of Jesus' youth for knowledge of the heritages and stimuli that shaped his later attitudes. But Nazareth has commonly been assigned the role of a secluded village, almost lost behind the surrounding hills. It is assumed to have been so cut off from the rest of the country that its inhabitants had no intimate contact with the varied interests of contemporary Galilean society in the larger centers of population. Sometimes Jesus is permitted a wider outlook as he makes imagined ascents to the top of the encircling hills where the panorama might refresh his memory of Old Testament history. Or his imagination might have been stirred by sight of the peoples and caravans moving along the busy highways of Galilee.[1] But in this portraiture he remains detached, an individual apart, contemplating the passing scene from a position of isolation. That he himself actively participated in the life of a going society which included in its maelstrom many diverse currents is rarely or never imagined. His recent Jewish biographer, Klausner, is quite in style when he says: "This Nazareth, tightly enclosed within its hills, hearing but a faint distant echo of wars and conflicts, a charming corner, hidden away and forgotten, could create only the dreamer, one who would reform the world not by revolt against the power of Rome, not by national insurrection,

[1] E. g., G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 4th edition (London, 1896), pp. 432—435.

but by the kingdom of heaven, by the inner reformation of the *individual*."[2]

That the village of Nazareth was a bare hour's walk from Galilee's largest city, Sepphoris, and but a half hour from its largest village, Japha, are facts whose import in this connection may be far greater than has ordinarily been supposed.[3] With the freedom of movement characteristic of Palestinian society in the time of Jesus, it is very doubtful whether the inhabitants of even a small village so near to two comparatively large centers of population, could have maintained anything like the seclusion that has been commonly assumed for Jesus prior to his public activity. The modern traveler, approaching Nazareth from the south by way of Japha cannot imagine that there ever was any serious barrier separating the two places. And if he approaches Nazareth from the north, by way of the modern village marking the site of the ancient Sepphoris, he will realize how easily accessible it was to the people of Nazareth when travel by foot was the ordinary means of locomotion. Certainly Nazareth was not so "tightly enclosed within its hills" that the villagers were not within easy reach of both Japha and Sepphoris. Even had they not been impelled by business or curiosity to visit these neighboring communities, it is still improbable that they could have remained completely immune from urban influences. Travel between these centers would have touched at least the outskirts of Nazareth. According to Josephus, Japha[4] lay on the shortest road from Galilee to Jerusalem, leading through

[2] J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth: His Times, His Life and His Teaching*. Translated from the original Hebrew by H. Danby (New York, 1925), pp. 236 f.

[3] The physical fact of Nazareth's proximity to important centers of population is recognized clearly by G. Dalman, *Orte und Wege Jesu*, 3. Aufl. (Gütersloh, 1924), pp. 68 f., but the question of its social significance for the experience of Jesus is not broached. In G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, the whole matter is ignored and in the Index neither Japha nor Sepphoris is listed, although the latter is mentioned at least once in a footnote (p. 414, note 4).

[4] Data about Japha are given by Josephus, *War* II, 289 ff., 573; *Life* 188, 230, 233, 269.

Samaria. Since this was only a three-days journey, undoubtedly much of the intercourse between Sepphoris and Jerusalem would follow this route. Not every Jew, it must be remembered, would carry religious scruples to the limit of avoiding the more convenient road through Samaria, and for non-Jews it would be a matter of indifference.

The proximity of Nazareth to these two centers of population, and particularly to Sepphoris, suggests the possibility of important social contacts for Jesus during his youth and early manhood. While explicit data are lacking, it would seem quite as legitimate to theorize about the type of social experience acquired by Jesus living in what was virtually a suburb of the largest city of Galilee, as to picture in the common fashion of many of his biographers the type of person he must have been, because he lived in the imagined seclusion of a village among the hills.

According to Josephus, from early in the first century B. C. Sepphoris figured conspicuously in Jewish history. In the time of Alexander Jannaeus it had been so strong a fortress that his enemy, Ptolemy, was unable to take it.[5] A generation later, when the Romans divided Palestine into five administrative regions, Sepphoris was chosen as the capital of Galilee.[6] When Herod the Great was struggling for possession of his kingdom, this city offered him no resistance, but he found here much-needed supplies for his army.[7] Evidently it remained under Herod an important military post where arms and provisions were stored, for after his death the revolutionary leader Judas equipped his followers with weapons from the royal palace in Sepphoris, and made this region the center of his operations.[8] Presently its citizens were to pay dearly for their seditious inclinations. When the Romans, assisted by Aretas of Arabia, fell upon the city they burned it and made slaves of its inhabitants.[9] But

[5] *Ant.* XIII, 338.
[6] *War* I, 170; *Ant.* XIV, 91.
[7] *War* I, 304; *Ant.* XIV, 414.
[8] *War* II, 56; *Ant.* XVII, 271.
[9] *War* II, 68; *Ant.* XVII, 289.

afterwards a new and more brilliant city arose from the ruins. It was so splendidly restored by Herod Antipas that it became the "ornament of all Galilee" and was called *αὐτοκρατορίς*,[10] whatever that may mean. Until the founding of Tiberias shortly before the year 30 A. D., Sepphoris was the royal residence, but not even the loss of this distinction seriously impaired its standing. Its prominence in the time of the revolution of 66 A. D.,[11] and in still later Jewish history,[12] is further testimony to its prestige.

It cannot have been without significance that Jesus grew to manhood in the neighborhood of Sepphoris. In Jesus' day its population included both Jews and foreigners, although it passed for a Jewish rather than a Greek city. It was not reckoned among the cities of the Decapolis. In its neighborhood there were, according to Josephus, also many villages.[13] Had he listed them by name likely enough Nazareth would have been included in the group. It would not be from lack of opportunity if the young men of these adjacent villages did not become familiar with the many-sided life in a commercial and political center ranking in importance second only to Jerusalem. All the varied interests characteristic of Galilean society in the early Imperial Age were present in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Sepphoris.

Jesus was a lad perhaps five years old when the Romans wreaked on Sepphoris their vengeance for its connection with the revolution of Judas. Apparently Antipas began the work of reconstruction about ten years later, but at what date it was completed is unknown. A heap of ruins could not be converted into the "ornament of all Galilee" in a single day.

[10] *Ant.* XVIII, 27.

[11] This is much stressed by Josephus. See *War* II, 511, 574, 629, 645 f.; III, 30 ff., 59, 61, 129; *Life* 30, 37 ff., 64, 82, 103, 123 f., 188, 203, 232 f., 346, 373 f., 379 f., 384, 394—396, 411.

[12] Talmudic references may be found in literature cited by E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 4. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1907), II, 209, note 489.

[13] *Life* 346. The *περὶ αὐτὴν κώμας ἔχουσα πολλάς* may mean no more than "its many neighboring villages," or it may signify villages lying within the city's jurisdiction, like the *κῶμαι Καισαρείας τῆς Φιλίππου* of Mark 8 27.

One may surmise that the task was not finished until about the year 25 A. D. and that its completion, and the accomplishment of a similar rebuilding program at Betharamatha,[14] released laborers who could now be employed upon the new foundation at Tiberias.[15]

That a vigorous building enterprise was in progress at Sepphoris while Jesus was still a youth, and at the same time the main support of a family of at least six younger children and a widowed mother, compels one to ask whether Jesus himself may not have sought an opportunity to ply his carpenter's trade in the city. It has been maintained with a high degree of probability that "carpenter" as applied to Jesus meant not simply a worker in wood but one who worked at the building trade in general,[16] and it requires no very daring flight of the imagination to picture the youthful Jesus seeking and finding employment in Sepphoris. But whether or not he actually labored there, his presence in the city on various occasions can scarcely be doubted, and the fact of such contacts during the formative years of his young manhood may account for attitudes and opinions that show themselves conspicuously during his public ministry. Had his earlier experience

[14] Josephus, *War* II, 59, 168; *Ant.* XVIII, 27; but written Ἀμμάθα in the usual text of *Ant.* XVII, 277. Elsewhere in Josephus it is called Julias (*War* IV, 438, 454). This Perean city had perished also in the seditions following the death of Herod the Great. Its reconstruction would seem to have gone on contemporaneously with that of Sepphoris (*Ant.* XVIII, 27). The parallel reference in *War* II, 168, which mentions Julias after Tiberias, probably is in the nature of an afterthought and should not be taken to imply chronological sequence. That the city had first been rechristened Livias—it is so called by Eusebius and Jerome—in honor of the empress shows that it was rebuilt before the death of Augustus (14 A. D.), after which his widow acquired the right to membership in the *gens Julia* (Ovid, *Fasti* I, 536; Tacitus, *Annals* I, 8; Cassius Dio LVI, 46). From the order of events listed in Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII, 26—28 it would appear that the work on Sepphoris and Betharamatha was not begun before the year 7 A. D.

[15] One infers from the context in Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII, 35 f. that this work was begun early in the procuratorship of Pilate (26—36 A. D.), and certainly not before Tiberius became emperor.

[16] See O. Holtzmann, *Das Leben Jesu* (Tübingen, 1901), p. 3.

been confined within the narrow limits of a secluded village, certain traits of his character are exceedingly difficult to explain. They become more readily understandable when we assume that in his youth and early manhood his outlook had been shaped by wider contacts with a more varied environment.

The unconventionality of Jesus in mingling freely with the common people, his generosity toward the stranger and the outcast, and his conviction of the equality of all classes before God, perhaps owe their origin in no slight degree to the proximity of Nazareth to Sepphoris. Had Jesus spent his youth in a remote village amid strictly Jewish surroundings, he would have been less likely to acquire these generous attitudes which later characterized his public career. But if in Sepphoris he had come in contact not only with Jewish fellow-laborers but also with artisans of other nationalities, or if only on brief but numerous visits to the city he frequently encountered a mixed population on the streets and in the shops, and thus grew accustomed to freedom of intercourse, one can a little better understand the genesis of that spirit of toleration which caused him to be called the friend of publicans and sinners.

Still another distinctive feature about the career of Jesus was his method of effecting reform. He quite reversed the program of the contemporary Jewish reformer, such as one meets in the Zadokite sectary, the Essene, a Bannus, or a John the Baptist. The representatives of these movements summoned people to separate themselves from their customary pursuits as a condition for realizing a better righteousness. In order to be especially pleasing to God one must withdraw from the ordinary contacts of daily life. Jesus, on the other hand, did not call upon his followers to sever relations with their fellows, nor did he perpetuate in his own practice even the distinguishing mark of the Johannine baptismal rite. In his view religion was something that could function to the full while people were engaged in their normal activities. His ideals of righteousness were realizable and to be realized in close contact with society in the actual process of everyday living. Had he arrived at his ideals in the seclusion of a small village, from which occasionally he withdrew to the quiet of the sur-

rounding hills to perfect his meditations, probably he would have demanded of his disciples a similar isolation as the condition necessary for attaining true righteousness. If, on the contrary, Jesus' own deepest religious experiences had been evolved amid the multifarious contacts of a complex society, such as residence in the neighborhood of Sepphoris provided, one can the more readily understand why he was no voice crying in the wilderness, but was the companionable teacher equally at home in the crowded streets of Capernaum, among the fishermen on the shore of the lake, among the laborers in the fields, or with the travelers on the highways. They had all been a part of his earlier experiences and nothing about these relations seemed strange or unnatural to him now, or inconsistent with genuine piety.

Perhaps the influence of Sepphoris is to be seen in an even more pronounced degree in shaping Jesus' attitude toward the Roman government. The people of Sepphoris and its vicinity were three-quarters of a century earlier than the people of Jerusalem in learning by sad experience the utter futility of a revolution against Rome. When at the time of his first insurrection Judas had taken possession of the royal treasures and arms at Sepphoris, evidently the citizens were not unsympathetic with his action, for when the Romans suppressed the revolution they burned the city and enslaved the inhabitants. But the residents of the new city were distinctly opposed to all revolutionary movements. Not even its Jewish population could be persuaded to take up arms against Rome. When at the time of the census Judas instigated a fresh revolt he had to find a new center for his operations.[17] Again, during the early stages of the uprising of 66 A. D., when

[17] That this Judas, "a Galilean from the city of Gamala" (Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII, 4), was the same Judas "son of Hezekiah" who had got Sepphoris into trouble a decade earlier is not to be doubted. The family had a very persistent revolution-complex, if Josephus is to be trusted. The father himself had been an "arch-robber," Judas' sons, James and Simon, were crucified for sedition during the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, their brother, Manahem, was a martyr-leader in the revolt of 66 A. D., and still another relative, Eleazar, was commander of the Sicarii (*Ant.* XVII, 27; XX, 102; *War* II, 56, 433 ff.; VII, 253).

Josephus was busy fortifying Galilee to resist the Roman armies, he found the citizens of Sepphoris entirely out of sympathy with his enterprise, although the city was recognized by all concerned as quite properly a part of the Jewish domains. Notwithstanding the fact that it was strategically situated and could have offered formidable resistance, when the Romans appeared upon the scene, Sepphoris, with its surrounding villages, immediately declared itself opposed to the policy of revolution.[18] The citizens pledged fidelity to the Romans and were given a Roman garrison for their protection.[19]

That shortly before the year 30 A. D. a carpenter from the neighboring village of Nazareth should have had his own attitude toward the Roman government influenced by this characteristic psychology of the people of Sepphoris is, of course, only a conjecture. But the attitude which this city and its outlying villages took in the year 66 A. D. had been in force for three quarters of a century. After the restoration by Antipas the inhabitants realized how futile had been the attempt of their predecessors to wrest independence from the Romans by force of arms. Those persons who participated in the work of restoration, whether laborers, merchants or residents in general, had no desire that history should repeat itself. It required no very extraordinary powers of foresight on their part to perceive that further revolution would issue only in a new disaster to life and property. But in holding to this attitude, they were entirely out of harmony with other sections of Galilee, where Judas and his kinsmen continued the agitation that issued in the uprising of 66 A. D.

On the other hand, Jesus, living in the environment of Sepphoris and facing life's problems in the light of its experiences, shared the conviction that the kingdom of God was not to be established by use of the sword. Deliverance for the chosen people was to come in some other way. Throughout his career Jesus maintained this attitude of non-resistance toward Rome. But this was not the characteristic psychology

[18] See significant remarks in Josephus, *War* II, 511; III, 30 ff.; *Life* 37 ff., 103 ff., 124, 232, 346.

[19] Josephus, *War* III, 31; *Life* 346.

of other parts of Galilee. When his enemies induced him to admit the propriety of paying tribute to Caesar they executed a skilful manoeuver for undermining the loyalty of his followers from Galilee.[20] His state of mind was hard even for his most devoted followers to comprehend. Up to the very end they were expecting him to restore the kingdom of David and give them positions of honor in his cabinet. The hope that Jesus would ultimately effect Israel's deliverance by assuming the role of a new and more successful revolutionist clung to his disciples until the crucifixion. When this took place they fled from Jerusalem with the conviction that God had forsaken him. But Peter, James and John were from that region of Galilee where the psychology of revolution still flourished. As yet they had not learned the lesson that had been taught Sepphoris and its neighborhood a generation earlier, and had not appreciated the full measure of Jesus' inherited conviction that God had no intention of asking his people to initiate their own desired redemption by a revolt against Rome.

[20] Mark 12 13 ff. and parallels.

THE Q SECTION ON JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE *SHEMONEH ESREH*[1]

BENJAMIN W. BACON
YALE UNIVERSITY

IF there be any problem of vital interest in the domain of New Testament research it is The Question of Q. The normal method of procedure for recovery of the pre-canonical source we have come to designate Q has been, inevitably, the juxtaposition, sometimes in Matthean, sometimes (with better reason) in Lukan order, of those sections of gospel material which coincide verbally in the two later Synoptic Gospels, but are not found in Mark. As a first step this procedure is correct. By general consent these sections must be derived from some pre-canonical source, because the verbal identity they exhibit between Matthew and Luke is closer than between Mark and either transcriber. If Mark was the 'First' source of Matthew and Luke this other was also a document, and their 'Second.' To escape the inference we should have to maintain the extreme improbability that one of the two has borrowed directly from the other.

The 'Second Source' exists. It was a real document. To avoid ambiguity let us speak of it as S, reserving the symbol Q to designate the Mattheo-Lukan blocks, or paragraphs, drawn from it, sometimes called 'double-tradition' material. Harnack counts fifty-nine indisputable fragments of this material, besides a few which might be questioned. Fifty-nine acknowledged fragments would seem to offer a fairly secure basis for the reconstruction of S. The *Didaché* was reconstructed by Kra-

[1] Read at the meeting of the SBLE in New York, Dec. 28, 1925.

wutsky out of parallel extracts in *The Apostolic Constitutions* and *The Apostolic Epitome*, in advance of its discovery by Bryennios. Zahn had a similarly gratifying experience after reconstructing *The Acts of John* from the *Vita* by Pionius. Both Zahn and Harnack have reconstructed Marcion's *Evangelion* from Tertullian's refutation, and Rendel Harris has found *The Apology of Aristides* underlying *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Why cannot we have similar successes in the most vital instance of all, the primitive record of the teaching of Jesus? But no; with vastly greater effort on the part of a host of scholars, results here have been disappointing in the extreme. Mere juxtaposition of the Q fragments does not produce S, nor anything like it. The fragments survive. Their sequence appears hopelessly lost. Primitive tradition, corroborated by the Preface of Luke, indicates that Mark's order was not highly esteemed. But Matthew and Luke have treated it as almost sacro-sanct as compared with their ruthless destruction of the order of their Q material. S they have torn limb from limb. Moffatt's *Introduction* tabulates no less than sixteen vain attempts to solve the riddle, and several more "reconstructions" have since appeared. The verdict pronounced on one applies fitly to all: "We are promised a writing: we are presented with a heap of ruins."

To none of these attempts at synthesis does the verdict more justly apply than to Harnack's in his well known *Beitrag* entitled *Sprüche und Reden Jesu, oder Die Zweite Synoptische Quelle*. (Engl. *Sayings and Discourses of Jesus*). This is the most systematic and elaborate of the reconstructions. It is also the most frankly pessimistic. Harnack is sure that S was "not a gospel." It began, he admits, with an introduction to the sacred drama, wherein the Baptist played the part of forerunner, and the principal figure was seen in the act of receiving and interpreting his vocation. There was a prologue, but no corresponding epilogue. The hero was brought on the stage, but no "exit" was provided. He was left there to disappear, perhaps by evaporation. The Q Temptation story foreshadows the sort of fate a Christ "according to the things of God" must expect to suffer. But Harnack holds that S had no account of the ministry,

above all "no passion story." In the business world such a confession of voluntary bankruptcy could hardly be made without exciting the suspicion of "concealed assets." Why is it that gospel critics are so singularly willing to acknowledge that they can analyze but cannot reconstruct? The truth is they have not found that which more or less consciously they had set their hearts on discovering.

Against the almost unanimous protest of Continental scholars, ranging in ecclesiastical standing from Loisy to Zahn, appeal is made by nearly all our searchers in defense of their verdict of *non liquet* to an alleged statement of Papias. Harnack no less than the rest informs us that Papias described this Source as a "Compend of the Oracles of the Lord" (*σύνταξις τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων*). Ergo we must think of it as a formless agglomeration of apothegms. This was Schleiermacher's application of the famous Papias fragment. Refuted by Hilgenfeld, Schleiermacher was nevertheless followed in the main by Lightfoot; then Sanday gave new impetus to the reaction, and has been followed by Moffatt, Streeter, and the rest. Oxford, they tell us, is the place where German theories go when they die. In this case the moribund theory took refuge first in Cambridge, then Oxford, then rejuvenated spread its wings for Scotland, America and the ends of the earth.

Who, then, was this Papias; and what was his testimony?—Papias was a corrector of Gnostic misinterpretations of "the commandments (*ἐντολαί*) delivered by the Lord to the Faith." The false interpreters may be exemplified by Basilides of Alexandria, who wrote about 130–135 twenty-four books of *Ἐξηγητικά* on the Gospel of Luke. Papias wrote in 140–150, relying for his more orthodox "exegesis" on the "living and abiding voice" of apostolic tradition, obtained from "elders" who in Papias' youth, when he probably had personal contact with them, and subsequently while two survivors of the group could still be consulted at second hand, could report actual "words of Apostles." In the preface to his *Interpretation(s) of the Lord's Oracles* (*Ἐξηγήσεις τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων*) Papias asserted that the 'Oracles' (*λόγια*) in question were to be found by Greek readers in authentic compilation in the Gospel of

Matthew. This 'compend of the oracles,' though no longer extant in the original language of Jesus and the Twelve, nor even in an 'authorized version' such as Mark had provided for the utterances of Peter, was really the work of Matthew himself. For while Peter in his preaching had had "no design of making a compend of the Lord's precepts" (*οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων*), Matthew had actually "compiled the precepts" (*συνέταξεν τὰ λόγια*) in the original language.

The compend here referred to by Papias was unquestionably our canonical Gospel of Matthew, nothing else. No other terms can more exactly describe what this Gospel was to his generation. To imagine an orthodox writer in this period aiming to correct what Irenaeus calls the "bad interpreters of things well said" (Irenaeus is referring to these very "oracles of the Lord" [*λόγια τοῦ κυρίου*]), and applying these terms: "Compend of the Oracles," "compiled the oracles," to any other work than our own canonical Matthew, is an absurdity; a double absurdity when we further observe that no single early writer ever dreamed of any other application for Papias' words, though many possessed his work entire, and most depended on it for all they knew regarding gospel origins. It was reserved for nineteenth century critics to discover, on the basis of the single phrase just quoted, that Papias was not speaking of the well known Gospel of Matthew, which in his time is the supreme reliance of all Church writers for the Lord's "commandments" (*ἐντολαί*) or "precepts" (*λόγια*), but of the Source which modern critics have unearthed as a substructure of the Gospels! Hilgenfeld promptly pointed out this absurdity, and Continental critics, including those as opposed otherwise to Hilgenfeld as the conservative Zahn, are keenly alive to it. But advocates of the 'two-document' theory of gospel origins have been loath to lose so splendid a witness for their discovery. They shifted their ground, maintaining that while Papias personally might perhaps have had only our Matthew in view, yet his informant "the Elder" must have been speaking of S.

As a 'blue-sky' foundation for the theory this might have served fairly well save for one unfortunate fact, viz, that Papias does *not* give the statement about Matthew as a tradition received

from "the Elder," or from any body else. He merely asserts it as a bit of current information which no-one would think of contradicting. *Mis*information it certainly is, embodied in the title which we can trace to Papias' time, but no earlier. *Why* this Gospel, composed in Greek, on Greek *un*apostolic foundations was ascribed to the Apostle Matthew, the difference of language being accounted for by a theory of translation, is not our present concern. We merely deny the alleged reference to S. Neither Papias nor his informant knows of its existence. There is no trace of any utterance of "the Elder" regarding any writing whatever save Mark (our own Greek Mark), also very correctly described by the Elder from the current point of view. Papias refers to our canonical Matthew. In all antiquity there is not the faintest trace of a suspicion of the existence of S. Conceptions of it, therefore, which rest, avowedly or otherwise, on ancient utterances *intended to apply to another writing* are simply a delusion and a snare. Take, for example, the three assertions which Papias is supposed to have made about it. We are told (1) that it was an Aramaic document; (2) that it was a collection of apothegms, or *logia*; (3) that it was the work of the Apostle Matthew. All we know about S is derived from the intrinsic evidence of the Q fragments. Our systematic study of these is still to come, but they already afford enough to contradict squarely every one of the above three assumptions. Here is what we can *know*.

1) When used by Matthew and Luke S was not an Aramaic but a *Greek* document. *Ultimately*, of course, all gospel material goes back to the language spoken by Jesus and his Galilean followers. It may therefore be expected to retain more or less recognizable traces of translation from Aramaic. Professor Torrey's services in the recovery of such evidences have been conspicuous. But the phenomenon we are dealing with at present is word for word coincidence in two mutually independent Greek writers for whole paragraphs of their material. For that there is no other possible explanation than dependence by each on the same *Greek* document.

2) S was *not* a compend of *logia*. Besides its *Vorgeschichte* relating the ministry of John as introductory to that of Jesus,

it contained stories of healings like that of the Centurion's Servant (Mt. 8 5–10 = Lk. 7 1–9), which are indistinguishable, as respects narrative character, from the *πραχθέντα* of Mark. The characteristic feature of S was not apothegms, but discourses on set subjects; not *λόγια*, but *διατριβαί*.

3) S was *not* the work of the Apostle Matthew, nor of any authoritative eye-witness. Had it been so, its relative neglect by Mark, and its subordination to Mark by the two later Synoptists, would be inexplicable.

Let us return, then, to the Q fragments, freed from the handicap of false assumptions.

I have said that the order of the Q fragments in Luke had been found on the whole preferable to that of Matthew. Harnack, under the spell of the Papias delusion, adopted as his working hypothesis that our Gospel of Matthew (so-called) would naturally reflect more nearly the character and order of S, because (on this false assumption) it inherited its name from it. Streeter and other critics, though still under the same delusion, have found this hypothesis to be negatived by the facts. The result should have been foreseen. Notoriously Matthew's order is artificial. For the sake of presenting the "commandments," which for Matthew constitute the essence of the message (19 17; 28 20), this evangelist assembles his material in the form of five agglutinations which we may call Sermons (cc. 5 –7; 10; 13; 18; 23—25), each of which has its appropriate narrative introduction. In the interest of this arrangement Matthew has reduced Mark's order for the Galilean ministry to chaos. The "mighty works" are all combined in a single group of ten (cc. 7—9), which introduce The Mission Charge to the Twelve (c. 10). Matthew's treatment of S has been equally arbitrary. His agglutinated Sermons destroy what little Luke retains of the historical settings of the discourses. These are reduced to fragments in order to be rebuilt into the five books of "commandments."

Luke, on the other hand, has been faithful to the engagement of his Preface to present an orderly narrative of the course of events. We may have occasion more than once to wish that he had not attempted corrections of the order of his sources; but on the whole we must admit that he has shown extraordinary

conservatism in correcting that of Mark, and that if he has changed that of S, it has been in the *bona fide* effort to tell things in chronological sequence. He gives the teaching of Jesus in the form of discourses (not "oracles," commandments, or precepts), uttered on various appropriate historical occasions. His knowledge of the actual course of events is obviously deficient, and he is timid about deserting Mark; but so far as he can Luke does tell his story "in order." As between the two it should have been our working hypothesis from the start, that Luke, who presents most of his Q material in two great blocks inserted at two separate points of the Markan narrative, has done less violence to the order of his sources than Matthew. Having tried the détour it may be hoped that critics will henceforth keep to the straight road.

But as yet our devotees in the Quest of Q have not worked themselves free from the Papias delusion, and the high example of Harnack has unfortunately served only to rivet their fetters. Nothing will suit unless it can be called in some sense "Matthean." Moffatt tells of "the Logia spoken of by Papias." W. C. Allen talks about "the Matthean Logia" meaning the Second Source. Streeter continues to affirm that this was "not a gospel," and contained no account of the final scenes in Jerusalem. All are bent on finding *logia*!

On the other hand B. Weiss advanced a theory of a pre-canonical source traceable in all three Synoptists, only more freely employed by Matthew and Luke. It met no favor. The same grounds were justly urged against it as against the old *Urevangelium* theory. How, it was asked, could a document of such standing, an apostolic record, have been later eclipsed by our canonical Gospels; and so completely as to vanish without a trace? The objection is fatal—to Weiss' theory. An *apostolic* proto-gospel could hardly have disappeared without trace. But what if S were *not* apostolic? We may suppose, if we like, that its author was that friend of Paul at Caesarea known to Luke as "Philip the evangelist" (Acts 21 8). A *non-apostolic* record of the teachings of Jesus in the form of *διατριβαί* connected by a very slender thread of story could easily be displaced by a Gospel emanating from Rome under the august name of Peter

(to Justin Martyr Mark is "the Memoirs of Peter"), understood to be an authoritative report of "both sayings and doings of the Lord" (ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα), by Mark, once a "minister of the word" (Lk. 1 2; Acts 13 5) under Peter, and afterwards under Paul (2 Tim. 4 11). The more vital elements of the *Urevangelium* would then survive only as later evangelists might rescue them from oblivion by combining them with Mark. Certain phenomena of Luke and Acts lead me to believe that Luke knew S not only in its original Caesarean form, but in a later, Jerusalem form, which had received expansions from Mark. Matthew, perhaps, knew only the Caesarean form. That, of course, is merely a working hypothesis. I am only concerned now to show that the eclipse undergone by S after utilization by our three Synoptic evangelists furnishes no argument against its being a true "gospel," so long as we do not assume it to have carried dominant authority.

And it is high time that we had both a working hypothesis and a method, if our efforts at reconstruction of S are not to issue in the old bankruptcy. What I desire to present is a sample of such a method, making application of it to a single typical case.

Criticism must begin with simple juxtaposition of the Q fragments, by preference in the Lukan order. Analysis must precede synthesis. But we have no need to stop there. The method of reconstruction does not displace analysis, but supplements it. The blocks of Q are its raw material. We may call it the Method of Implication.

It is not really new. Even Harnack gives it limited application. But it has habitually been held subordinate to ideas inherited from, if not avowedly imposed by, the delusion of "Matthean Logia." The newness has reference only to the critic's right to apply it without reference to these 'idols of the cave.'

Harnack, too, applies Implication when he admits that between the Q section on The Preaching of the Baptist and its sequel relating the Temptation there must have stood in S some account of the Baptism and Vocation of Jesus; because the temptations, which begin "If thou art the Son of God" imply such a vision and heavenly Voice as Mark actually relates. We cannot suppose, however, that Harnack would allow the application of

analogous reasoning to Q section 3 9, where Jesus promises to the Twelve "the thrones of the House of David" (Ps. 122 5), apparently as part of the story of The Institution of the Supper. That might easily lead on to the supposition that something of the final scenes in Jerusalem *was* related in S. One might begin to question whether the final tragedy was not related in S also, Matthew following what he regarded as the more authoritative record of Mark, while Luke preserves the ancient Source in that very large element of his passion narrative which has no parallel in Mark. All this is dubious. I am not attempting to demonstrate the fact, but only the possibility. Implication will be more or less cogent. Each case must stand or fall on its own merits. It is enough to show that there are *some* cases in which it must be admitted. All we now ask is complete freedom from the Papias delusion. S is there. It is proved by the Q fragments. What do these fragments imply, *on intrinsic evidence alone*, as to their original context?

I may turn to Streeter for two further examples to show why it is illogical to stop with the mere juxtaposition of Q fragments. Incidentally the examples will show how needful it is to distinguish between Q and S, as Streeter unfortunately fails to do.

In 1911 Streeter contributed to Sanday's volume of *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* two valuable articles entitled respectively "St. Mark's Knowledge and Use of Q," and "The Original Extent of Q." The term Q is here employed in the sense which I deprecate as ambiguous and misleading, and the author has since modified his views. Nevertheless the two essays give full examples of what I mean by the Method of Implication. "St. Mark's Use of Q" shows at the same time by its self-contradictory title the need for a better nomenclature, since by common definition Q means something "not found in Mark." However, Streeter justly treats it as reasoning in a circle to reconstruct S without regard to material which may have been removed from consideration by the mere accident that Mark had employed it already. The essay proves quite easily that some 'triple-tradition' material (M) also appeared in S. Whether actually derived by Mark from S, as Streeter formerly held, or as he has restated the case in *The Four*

Gospels (pp. 186ff.), by mere coincidence of Mark and S, does not affect reconstruction. In either case S included the material. The Baptism story is a case in point. The formula for S therefore requires to be extended. The equation must read: $S = Q + Mk^s$.

Streeter's second essay entitled "The Original Extent of Q" carries us further still toward an *Urevangelium* theory. It proves the necessity of including in our formula for S some elements peculiar to Matthew (Mt^p) and some peculiar to Luke (Lk^p), or 'single-tradition' material so-called. The formula must therefore again be extended to read: $S = Q + Mk^s + Mt^{ps} + Lk^{ps}$; and no means exists for the determination of the factor ^{s} save the implications of Q. Of course to avoid circuitous reasoning from S to s utmost caution will be required. Q alone must be the standard. Indeed implication need not always tend to addition. It may compel subtraction also if different elements of Q appear incompatible. Wernle, in his *Synoptisches Problem*, has actually applied such reasoning. Imbued with the idea that S must have consisted of a compend of *logia* (in spite of a vigorous repudiation of the Papias fallacy), he maintains the necessity of distinguishing an S^1 from an S^2 on the ground that the Q material describing the Preaching of John is adapted only to serve as the introduction to a *narrative*. True enough; but why assume that S was not a narrative?

'Triple-tradition' material as well as 'double-tradition,' as we have just seen, may require to be included in our formula for S. Let me return to Streeter's second essay for an example of 'single-tradition' material which we may also be driven to include. Matthew's first Sermon presents certain Antitheses of the Higher Righteousness (Mt. 5 21 ff.) which fail to appear in Luke's account of the same discourse. They form a series of five illustrations ("They of old time said . . . But I say") which lead up to the principle: The Righteousness of Sons should be an imitation of the unlimited goodness of the Father. The five illustrations are not invented by Matthew but transcribed from some source. Proof of this can be found in his editorial supplements, which always interrupt, and frequently distort the sense of the context. Much of this added material being found in

Luke in more appropriate setting it is clear that Matthew is intercalating it in a pre-existing framework. But whence has he the framework? Should we include the Antitheses in S?

We might, of course, postulate another Teaching Source unknown to Luke, and thus escape the necessity for explaining the omission on his part. If explanation of Luke's silence proved impossible we might be driven to such an unwelcome complication. But explanation, in this case at least, is not difficult. Luke habitually omits material which might suggest opposition between the teaching of Jesus and the religion of his fathers. For Luke it was vital to show the falsity of the charge which declared Christianity a *religio illicita*, a *nova superstitio* (Acts 18 12–17; 26 2–7, 22). For this among other reasons Mk. 7 1–23 is omitted in Luke and Mk. 10 1–12 is reduced to a single verse quite altered in application. Objections to the supposition of deliberate omission by Luke thus disappear. The Antitheses may be from S.

But Implication furnishes the positive and conclusive argument. Luke as well as Matthew states the positive principle as to the Righteousness of Sons. What the rabbis call the "ornaments of righteousness" (*gemiluth chesadim*), distinguishing between "the law of holiness" and "the law of goodness," are based on "imitation of the goodness of God." These alone, according to Jesus, are worthy of reward. Luke agrees with Matthew in stating this principle of "thankworthy goodness." But unlike Matthew he fails to describe that contrasted and inferior tit-for-tat morality that passes for righteousness among men, but has no right to be called the righteousness of "sons," nor to expect the rewards of the Kingdom. Luke's version is thus seen to lack the original basis of comparison. It is no adequate substitute for "They of old time said . . . But I say" of the Antitheses, for Luke to proceed after the Beatitudes and Woes: "But *unto you that hear* I say."

I have ventured to restate and reenforce Streeter's reasoning in including this 'single-tradition' material of Matthew in the formula for S. It appears to be valid, and is endorsed by many[2].

[2] In his *Gospels* (p. 185) Streeter expresses "less confidence than before" in some of his conclusions under this head.

Of course it applies equally to 'single-tradition' material in Luke. If cogent reason can be assigned for omission of the section by Matthew, and in addition it is presupposed or implied in one or more of the Q fragments, sound reasoning demands that it be assigned to S. The formula for S must therefore remain as stated, even if it involves an *Urevangelium* theory.

The foregoing examples will suffice to show that there is nothing new in principle in what I have called the Method of Implication. It has always been in use. It has played a great part in Pentateuchal criticism. Only in the Synoptic problem it has been held unduly subservient to the εἴδωλον of "Matthean logia." Under appropriate safeguards, sufficient to exclude unwarranted inference and subjective fancy, it is admissible. More than that. In the *impasse* where we are left after mere juxtaposition of the Q fragments, no other method is available. Let us see how it works in a specific case.

As a test instance I select the two Q fragments 14 and 15 in Harnack's list. Fragment 14 is the longest of the fifty-nine, and is continued by Fragment 15, nearly as long, after a break of four verses in Matthew, two in Luke. The two fragments describe respectively The Question of John's Disciples (Mt. 11 2–11 = Lk. 7 18–28), and Jesus' Complaint of the Rejection of John (Mt. 11 16–19 = Lk. 7 31–35). Taken together the two form a Q section which Matthew and Luke agree in placing toward the close of the Galilean ministry. W. C. Allen (*Intern. Crit. Comm. on Matthew*, p. lviii) assigns it *en bloc* to what he calls "The Matthean Logia," and accounts for the "close verbal agreement" between Matthew and Luke in all parts save the opening description, and the interjected verses not here under consideration, by the supposition that "Luke had seen Matthew" (p. 114). Streeter (*Gospels* p. 183) has finally disposed, we may hope, of the supposition that Luke uses Matthew. A different explanation of the variation in the opening description will be given presently.

In Matthew's Gospel the section we are discussing opens a group of narratives (cc. 11—12) which serves as introduction to his third Sermon, the Discourse in Parables (c. 13), a discourse constructed on the basis of Mark's, and viewed from the

same standpoint as intended to differentiate the teachable disciples from the "outsiders" who "having ears hear not."

In Luke the setting of the section is identical, so far as pragmatic values are concerned. The two fragments form part of a group (Lk. 7 1–8 3) attached after the closing parable of the Sermon on the Mount, and separating it from the Markan Parable chapter, from which Luke transcribes the Parable of the Sower and its interpretation. The closing parable of the Sermon (Lk. 6 47–49) contrasts the man "that heareth and doeth" with the man "that heareth and doeth not." The Parable of the Sower (Lk. 8 4 ff.) is taken (as in Mark) to apply to obdurate Israel, of whom Isaiah had predicted that "seeing they should not see, and hearing they should not understand" (Lk. 8 10). The Q section, pointing to the mighty works which the disciples of John could "see and hear" and recording Jesus' Complaint of the Rejection of God's Messengers, formed thus an appropriate nucleus for the group. Luke did not leave it to stand alone, but prefixes two examples of the "mighty works" which evoked the enquiry, The Healing of the Centurion's Servant (7 1–10), and The Raising of The Widow's Son at Nain (7 11–17). After the section Luke adds a touching example of Jesus' "friendship for sinners" in the story of The Penitent Harlot (7 36–50), and substitutes for Mark's introduction to the Parable chapter an account of Ministering Women (8 1–3). Mark had a version of the saying on Spiritual Kindred, which Luke has placed after the parable instead of before it.

Thus both Matthew and Luke use the Q section as the nucleus for a group introducing Mark's Parable of the Sower, which in all cases is taken as intended to justify the complaint of Isaiah against the people which "having ears heard not" and refused to understand. Fragment 14 (Message of the Baptist) is regarded as a *mise en scène* for the principal subject, the Denunciation of Fragment 15. This is directed against unrepentant Israel, which had turned a deaf ear to God's two messengers, the Baptist with his warning of impending wrath, and Jesus with his winning invitation, rejected by all save Wisdom's children. Each excerptor of S has supplied characteristic supplements, consideration of which we defer. Both

follow Mark in applying the extract to the great problem of early apologetic, the problem treated by Paul in Rom. 9—11 and by Mark in his Parable Discourse (Mk. 4 1–34). In Pauline phrase it is The Stumbling of Israel (Rom. 9 32 f.; 11 7–11), the people who "having eyes see not, and having ears hear not," but always reject the messengers of God.

Matthew and Luke, I repeat, both take the Q section as directed to this rejection of the Messiah by his own people, a serious obstacle to Christian propaganda. They prefix it to Mark's parable chapter which was similarly directed. And in the main the excerptors are right. The closing word of Jesus' message to the Baptist "Blessed is he that shall not be stumbled in me" is not a mere riddling cryptogram for the prisoner. In S it prepared the way for the Discourse. And the Discourse was an arraignment of Israel's blind leaders, who had shut eyes and ears to clear evidences that God's promise of mercy, forgiveness, deliverance, restoration from the grave, given of old to his suffering people, was being visibly fulfilled. Only the lowly and poor, the outcast publicans and sinners, had hearkened to the message. Scribes and Pharisees had taken exception to the person of the messenger. John, they maintained, was possessed, Jesus a loose-liver. Deliverance of Satan's captives, so that he that had had the dumb devil spake, they ascribed to collusion with Beelzebub. The healings and forgiveness, the repentance of publicans and harlots, meant nothing to these blind guides. To win credence from them the Coming One must bring "a sign from heaven." As Paul says, "They were stumbled in him."

The motive of the section, accordingly, as it stood in S, can only have been to show that these objections to the personality of God's agent were no more than the predicted blindness and deafness encountered by all Jehovah's messengers to his people. The divine Wisdom had been justified only in her "children," the penitent outcasts, who rightly perceived in Jesus' works of healing, accompanied by his proclamation of forgiveness and restoration to God's favor, fulfilment of the Isaian prophecies of "the consolation of Israel." John's messengers appear upon the scene in order that the proto-evangelist may have opportunity

to point the moral of his story. Jesus bids them take note for themselves how the Isaian promise is truly being fulfilled in works of healing, cleansing, and forgiveness, glad tidings of peace proclaimed to the nation in its humiliation, release from its captivity, restoration of its national life. Only let not the personality of God's agent prove a stumbling-block. Herewith the speaker turns to his application, or, as the New England divines would have termed it, his "improvement." Mark's parable-chapter is a substitute for this Q discourse.

Permit me to dwell for a moment on the seemingly unimportant matter of the relation of the two consecutive Q fragments to one another: for it has a distinct bearing on the nature and structure of the Source. I have called the brief description of the Coming of John's Disciples a *mise en scène* for the Discourse which follows. No disparagement is meant for its historical character or value. The phrase only aims to express the particular value found in the incident by the precanonical evangelist, whose aim is, not so much to give information to historical critics, as to convince contemporaries that Jesus was the true Christ of God. A few parallels will show that similar introductions were not the exception for the discourses of S but the rule. The parallels are taken mostly from Luke, for the simple reason that Matthew, in combining most of the separate discourses into his five Sermons, has inevitably cancelled their separate settings. But take the Lukan discourses on Prayer, on Wealth, on The Urgency of Repentance—all have settings of the same type, in many cases followed by a story parable, usually omitted by Matthew along with the setting. Let us take a few examples.

1. The Discourse on Prayer in Lk. 11 1ff. begins: "It came to pass as he was praying in a certain place that when he ceased his disciples said to him, Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples." Then follows The Lord's Prayer, transcribed by Matthew in 6 9–13, and the homely, humorous story of The Importunate Friend, omitted by Matthew along with the equally homely and humorous companion parable of The Importunate Widow, which Luke for easily traceable reasons has removed to 18 1–8. The brief narrative and story parable(s) form the setting for the sublime assurances of Answer to Prayer

which Matthew inserts further on in his first Sermon (Mt. 7 7–11 = Lk. 11 9–13).

2. The discourse on Abiding Wealth (Lk. 12 13–34) has the setting: "And one out of the multitude said unto him, Teacher, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me." Jesus answers with the story parable of the Rich Fool (omitted by Matthew) followed by the great discourse incorporated by Matthew into his first Sermon (Mt. 6 25–33 = Lk. 12 22–34).

3. The Eschatological Discourse of Lk. 13 begins: "Now there were some present at that very season which told him of the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." Jesus' answer embodies the story parable of The Barren Fig Tree, which Matthew transmits alone, and only in the form it has been given by Mark of an actual event (Lk. 13 6–9 = Mk. 11 12–14 = Mt. 21 18–22).

4. The discourse on the Urgency of Repentance (Lk. 13 23–30) incorporated piecemeal by Matthew, and rewritten in adaptation to certain characteristic interests of his own, begins in Lk. 13 23: "And one said unto him, Lord, are they few that be saved?" The stock question, a bone of contention to II Esdras also, becomes the text for Jesus' heartsearching warning against false confidence in racial immunity.

5. The Q parable of The Slighted Invitation (Mt. 22 1–10 = Lk. 14 16–24) which Harnack lists only with a (?) in Q because of wide divergence in language between Matthew and Luke, is introduced in Lk. 14 15 by the exclamation of a hearer[3]: "Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God."

6. The saying on Spiritual Kinship, used by Mark in combination with The Rebuke of Those who Blasphemed the Spirit (Mk. 3 20–35) to introduce the Preaching in Parables (4 1–34), appears in Lk. 11 27 f. as an introduction to the Denunciation of the Evil Generation who Reject the visible witness of the Divine Spirit, and Demand a Sign from Heaven. In Luke's order, as in Mark's, the saying follows instead of preceding The

[3] Luke describes him as a fellow-guest at a Pharisee's table: we may suspect, however, that the exclamation was originally evoked by the utterance of 13 30, and that the clause "sitting at meat with him" which groups it with the table discourses of 14 1-14 is editorial.

Blasphemy of the Scribes. It takes the form: "And it came to pass, as he said these things, a certain woman out of the multitude lifted up her voice and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the breasts which thou didst suck."

I know that our third evangelist is held personally responsible by a number of critics for all these little *mises en scène* whose mutual affinity is so apparent, though in some cases, such as the supper group (Lk. 14 1. 7. 12. 15), their present context is inappropriate. I confess myself too conservative for the theory of editorial fabrication. And if I had the audacity to regard the settings as due solely to literary invention, I should expect more cautious critics to demand that I point to anything similar in those portions of the Lukan writings where we have no reason to suspect the use of S. I might further be asked to explain how the Gentile Luke (he was a Gentile even if his name was not Luke) could be expected to know that a Rab, speaking in the synagogue, would naturally be called upon to decide a disputed application of the law of inheritance, or how he could originate a scene so true to Jewish environment as the pious exclamation (to avert the ill omen of the warning Lk. 13 28–30): "Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God," that is, take part in the messianic Feast. But perhaps the hardest question of all to answer would be, why, if these settings belong to our third evangelist, we should meet an instance so closely akin in the Q material. For Matthew, in spite of his rewriting the beginning of Fragment 14, reducing it to about half its length by omitting the needless repetition of the Baptist's question, just as he constantly reduces the redundancies of Mark, has the same setting as Luke for the great Discourse on the Stumbling of Israel. It was introduced by the brief mention of the delegation from John with their question, "Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?"

Matters of form, style, and mode of composition are far from negligible when we are studying a fragment with a view to the reconstruction of its original context. But I must not dwell on these. The analogies of the Platonic Dialogues, the Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions,* the Petrine discourses of Acts, and the discourses of the Fourth Gospel, all using a slender thread

of narrative to bring in set discourses on subjects of religious or philosophic interest, have probably already occurred to your minds. Let me pass to matters of substance. But here the prime requisite is correct exegesis. I must delay you with a few words on the key-phrase of the section, the term "the Coming one."

McNeile, in his recent admirable *Commentary on Matthew*, has done me the honor of referring to, and in part adopting, an article I published in *The Expositor* for July, 1904, entitled "The 'Coming One' of John the Baptist." I have nothing to retract of what I then wrote, but I could wish I had seen twenty years ago the implied Christology of S as clearly as I now see it. For to understand the Christology of a gospel writing is to hold the key to its real nature. The statement (endorsed by McNeile) that the term *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* is not a title traceable in current Jewish literature may stand, even if we concede to Eisler his contention (*ZNW.* XXIV, 3/4, 1925) that its correlate *'aphikomen* (a designation for a fragment of the loaf of Passover *mazzoth* called "Levi" hidden till its consumption after the banquet) probably meaning "He who has come," was already current. We cannot in any case imagine that the reader was meant to understand that the reports of Jesus' ministry of healing and glad tidings reaching the Baptist's ears had suggested to his mind that this might be that dread figure whose "coming" John had himself announced, the Executioner of Judgment, sent to gather in Jehovah's harvest and to burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire. As between the two alternatives McNeile concludes (p. 35): "It is only possible to say that John looked forward to an undefined, but divinely sent Personality."

Were it our problem to probe the mind of the Baptist for his real thought we should doubtless have to be satisfied with this vague answer, or perhaps better, renounce the attempt altogether. Fortunately our problem is less remote. The proto-evangelist was not concerned to throw the clearest possible light on the mind of John, but to persuade John's disciples and other contemporaries that Jesus was Israel's God-sent Redeemer. The question raised is the Baptist's only as the Christian writer has availed himself of it for his own purposes, and its phraseo-

logy is dictated by the answer he, the Christian apologist, has in view. The Baptist disappears, once he has served this purpose, just as the man who asks for a division of the inheritance disappears, or the man who asks "Are there few that be saved?". As the *evangelist's* question, or perhaps more exactly the question the evangelist would have liked the disciples of John to ask in order that he might supply the convincing answer, the problem of its meaning is not obscure. It can be solved from the answer itself.

It is impossible to mistake the Isaian type of phraseology in the description of Jesus' ministry placed in the mouth of the Savior himself. The reference to the Servant Songs, with their theme of "the consolation of Israel" is as obvious here as in the "programmatic discourse" prefixed by Luke to his account of the ministry. After his baptism with the Spirit, says Luke, Jesus proceeded to Nazareth where he had been brought up, declaring the fulfilment of the prophecy:

The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me
Because he hath anointed me to proclaim glad tidings to the poor:
He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted,
To preach deliverance to the captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty those that are oppressed,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

He met, however, the same rejection of which complaint is made in our Q fragment. Some would go so far as to accuse Luke of repeating in slightly altered form what he found in S. But in that case why include the original section only three chapters further on?

No commentator fails to perceive the Isaian background, either here or in the Message of Jesus to John. Unfortunately for our appreciation of the implied Christology none seem to notice the use of the same conceptions in the so-called Amida prayer, one of the best known examples of ancient Jewish liturgy.

It has long been held by scholars such as Schürer (*G.J.V.* § 27, Appendix) that at least the first two Blessings (*Berachoth*)

of the eighteen (in the present form nineteen) which give to the litany its title *Shemoneh Esreh* ("Eighteen"), must be older than our era. In point of fact these two seem to form the basis for Jesus' argument against Sadducean rejection of the doctrine of (national) resurrection. Only recently have actual proofs been found of the early use of the Amida prayer in all its essential features. In the Thanksgiving appended to Ecclesiasticus in the recently discovered Hebrew text Jehovah is called "The Shield of Abraham," "the Rock of Isaac," and "the Mighty one (*'Abir*) of Jacob." Thanksgivings 5—8 are offered "to the Redeemer (*Goel*) of Israel," "to Him that gathereth the outcasts of Israel," "to Him that buildeth His City and His Sanctuary," and "to Him that causeth a horn to sprout for the house of David." Abrahams brings these into comparison with the *Shemoneh Esreh* (Amidah) in the following terms (*Companion to the Authorized* (Jewish) *Prayer Book*, p. lvii):

> There can be no doubt that these six Benedictions (the first three and the last three of the *Amidah* or *Shemoneh Esreh*) are very old in their primitive content, perhaps they originated early in the history of the Second temple. The priests recited daily some at least of these six Benedictions with the Decalogue aud the Shema . . . It is the opinion of several competent scholars that the Amidah is rather older than that period (the Maccabean age), for the Psalm discovered in the Hebrew text of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus LI 12 ff.) was imitated from, and not the source of the Amidah.

Benedictions 1 and 2 are called in the Mishnah respectively *Fathers* (from the appeal to the "piety" of the patriarchs), and *Powers* (sc. of God). The scriptural passages on which the latter is based are given by Abrahams as Is. 63 3; Ps. 145 14; Ps. 146 7f.; Ps. 14 6f.; Dan. 12 2 and 1 Sam. 2 6.

We note first of all that the two Benedictions known as The Fathers, and The Powers of God, have as their principal theme the coming "Redeemer," and that their phraseology, like that of the Q fragment, reproduces the symbolism of Isaiah. In fact it is only with respect to the current use of this symbolism of Isaiah and Ezekiel concerning a dead *people* of Jehovah restored to national life by being again made the agent of Jehovah's purpose of blessing to the world, that we can make sure of the sense of the Q fragment. When, therefore, Jesus bids the

messengers of John report that "the dead are raised up," he means more than Luke seems to think; for Luke prefixes the story of the Raising of the Widow's Son (7 11–17). But Jesus' message to the Baptist does not refer primarily to miracles of individual resuscitation, but to the divine restoration of Israel's national life, of which he, the simple mechanic of Nazareth, has been made the agent. The *Shemoneh Esreh* will prove this.—But let me recall to you this most beautiful and most touching of all the surviving prayers of the Synagogue of Jesus' time. Readers familiar with such prayers as these cannot have been in doubt as to the meaning of "he that should come."

> 1. Blessed art thou, O Lord, our God, and our fathers' God, the God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, the great God, the mighty and dreadful, the Most High God, who bestowest gracious favors and createst all things, and *rememberest the piety of the patriarchs, and wilt bring a Redeemer to their posterity*, for the sake of thy name in love. O King, who bringest help and healing and art a shield.
>
> Response: Blessed art thou, O Lord, the shield of Abraham.
>
> 2. Thou art a mighty champion (*gibbor*) forever, O Lord. *Thou restorest life to the dead,* Thou art a mighty champion (*gibbor*) to save; who sustainest the living with beneficence, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supporting the fallen and healing the sick, and setting at liberty those that are bound, and *upholding thy faithfulness to those who sleep in the dust.* Who is like unto thee, Lord the Almighty; or who can he compared unto thee, O King, who killest and makest alive again, and causest salvation to spring forth? *And faithful art thou to quicken the dead.*
>
> Response: Blessed art thou, O Lord, who *restorest the dead.*

It can hardly be doubted that Jesus had these two *Berachoth* in mind when he rebuked the unbelief of the Sadducees by recalling the promise to "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," of a God who is not a God of the dead, but of the living. For the point of the argument is that God may be trusted to "uphold his faithfulness to those that sleep in the dust." Similarly in the Q saying Lk. 7 29f. = Mt. 21 32 he maintains that the Great

Repentance which the religious leaders of Israel were witnessing should have been to them a sign from heaven that the divine restoration of the national life had already begun. "The dead are raised up" means more than merely "I can resuscitate corpses by a touch."

I will not pause with *Berachoth* 3 and 4, which are prayers respectively for sanctification of the divine Name, and for the gracious gift of Wisdom, as in Jas. 1 5. I will also merely mention by subject the next two *Berachoth*, which are for "perfect repentance" unto (national) restoration, and for divine pardon. But for the sake of the Isaian imagery, and the certain reflection of the hope of those who in Jesus' time where "waiting for the consolation of Israel" as described in Luke's opening chapters, I must quote in full *Berachoth* 7, 8 and 10:

> 7. Look, we beseech thee, upon our affliction, and plead our cause, and redeem us speedily for the sake of thy name; for thou art a mighty Redeemer (*goel*).
>
> Response: Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer (*goel*) of Israel.
>
> 8. Heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed; save thou us and we shall be saved; for our praise art thou; and bring forth a perfect remedy for all our infirmities; for a God and King, a faithful healer, and most merciful art thou.
>
> Response: Blessed art thou, O Lord, who healest the diseases of thy people Israel.
>
> 10. Sound with the great trumpet to proclaim our freedom, and set up a standard to collect our captives, and gather us together from the four corners of the earth.
>
> Response: Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest the outcasts of thy people Israel.

If there were any question as to the currency in New Testament times of these Isaian figures of the sounding of the great trumpet (the *shophar* of Is. 27 13) and gathering of the scattered exiles to the standard of their Deliverer (Is. 49 22) it would be well to recall Paul's expectation of "the trump of God," and the gathering together of the elect, or (for verbal coincidence) to compare the eucharistic prayer of the *Didaché*:

> As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains

and being gathered together became one, so may thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom.

The figure of the scattering and gathering again of God's people is no less characteristically Isaian than those of healing, deliverance, and restoration to national life. Is. 4 4 and 27 12 are the basic passages reflected both in primitive Christian and contemporary Jewish religious teaching. As Eisler reminds us, this gathering of the scattered elements of Israel is still symbolized in Passover observance by the breaking and eating of the Passover loaf called "Israel." The *gibbus galioth* (*Pesach.* 88/9) is the great "gathering" which precedes the messianic age. One need hardly point to individual passages from the Gospels to prove how fully primitive Christian symbolism reflects the Jewish. The Day of Jehovah of which the Baptist gives warning will witness not only a winnowing which scatters the chaff, but a "gathering" of the wheat into the garner. Jesus summons his first followers to use their nets in a fishery of men, their new object will be to "gather the scattered sheep" of Jehovah's flock. After Calvary this "gathering" is extended world-wide. Above all is the theme made prominent, as we should expect, in the Christian Passover ritual. The "scattering" of the Twelve is to be followed by their reunion effected by Christ himself in Galilee according to Mk. 14 27 f. According to the Jerusalem form of the tradition, (Lk. 22 31 ff.) the "scattering" is a winnowing of the Twelve by Satan. *Peter* rallies them to the standard of the risen Christ. The preceding context, vv. 28–30, which embodies the Q fragment 59, speaks of reunion at the messianic feast in the glorified Jerusalem. There the Twelve are to occupy the "thrones of the house of David" of Ps. 122 5. In Jn. 16 32 the "scattering" of the Twelve reappears, but the reunion is spiritual.

It is a noteworthy fact that in the *Shemoneh Esreh,* as in the basic passages of Isaiah and in the Q fragments, the conceptions of the Coming one which have to do with "the Son of David" are disconnected from those which refer to the work of healing, deliverance, forgiveness, and restoration. In this work no attention is paid to the personality of the "Redeemer." He

is simply to be "brought." The primary work is not that of government, but of deliverance and restoration. The righteous rule of the Son of David does not here come into view. So far as the personality of the agent is concerned it is barely possible to see that there is any apart from the divine King, Jehovah himself, who is alone looked to as the Healer and Deliverer. Such is of course the case with the great prophecy of the Consolation, to which the figure of the Son of David, prominent in the pre-exilic Isaiah (Is. 11 1–12), is a stranger, save for the reference to the "sure mercies of David" in 55 3f. In the opening *Berachoth* of the *Shemoneh Esreh,* which deal with Jehovah's deliverance in the very language of the Consolation prophecy, there is in like manner no mention of the righteous Ruler. It is only in *Berachoth* 14f. that prayer is offered for the establishment of "the throne of David," after the conception of Ps. 72 and Pss. 17 and 18 of the *Psalms of Solomon.* These two *Berachoth* are as follows:

> 14. Return with compassion to thy city Jerusalem, and dwell therein as thou hast promised: and rebuild her speedily in our days, a structure everlasting: and establish speedily the throne of David therein.
>
> Response: Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Builder of Jerusalem.
>
> 15. Cause the offspring of David thy servant to flourish speedily, and let his horn be exalted in thy salvation; daily do we hope for thy salvation.
>
> Response: Blessed art thou, O Lord, who causest to flourish the hope of salvation.

Needless to point out the close affinity of these two *Berachoth* with Q fragment 59, and the two prefatory chapters of Luke. Once the Consolation prophecy had become united to the pre-exilic Isaiah we should not expect the two messianic figures of Redeemer and Ruler to remain disconnected. But we are concerned with the work of healing and restoration which Jesus, in harmony with the Amidah, ascribes to God himself.

If, then, we return to the opening Berachoth, comparing these with Fragment 14 of the Q material, we shall have no difficulty in identifying the Isaian Redeemer as the figure the

proto-evangelist has in mind in the phrase "he that should come" (ὁ ἐρχόμενος). This will place in our hands the pre-eminently important key to his Christology. At the same time it will be well to observe that in the Discourse of Fragment 15 and the connected dialogue Jesus lays stress upon the distinction between himself as the mere agent of the deliverance, and Jehovah who is the actual Deliverer. Just as in the basic passages of Deutero-Isaiah constant emphasis is laid on the fact that it is Jehovah's "own hand" that accomplishes the deliverance, and that he does not give this glory to another (Is. 41 10, 13 f., 17–20, 28; 42 8, 13 ff.; 43 11, 25; 44 6; 47 4; 48 11; 49 24–26), so Jesus calls blind and deaf Israel to witness what "the Spirit (Luke "finger") of God" is accomplishing in their midst, warning them that their evil imputations against the work are not uttered against any mere Son of man, but against "the Holy One of Israel."

It would be easy to trace back some of the poetic figures of the *Berachoth*, such as the divine champion (*gibbor*) sent to deliver the captives of death from their prison-house, far back of the times of Isaiah, connecting them with the Babylonian figure of Marduk, light-hero of the gods, delivering humanity from captivity under the dragon-power of darkness and death, or even further back to Iranian prototypes. I will leave all that to those better versed than myself in these remote fields of comparative religion. I am concerned now only to prove that in the time of Christ these Isaian figures, of Jehovah as Healer, Restorer, Gatherer and Deliverer of Israel, were in familiar use in the liturgy of the Synagogue in adaptation to the *national* hope of redemption, and that in this contemporary adaptation we may find the key to their meaning in the Q fragments. The proof is not difficult. The material lies ready to hand. All we require is a delicate discrimination of types of messianic expectation which shall not confuse, for example, the conception of the royal Son of David of Ps. 72 and Pss. 17 and 18 of *Psalms of Solomon*, with the "Redeemer" of Deutero-Isaiah and *Berachoth* 1 and 2 of the *Shemoneh Esreh*. For the function of this "Redeemer" differs widely from that of the Righteous Ruler, though it is scarcely distinguishable from that

of the Coming One of the Q fragments. Here, then, in the *Shemoneh Esreh*, lies the key to our exegetical problem. The "Coming One" our proto-evangelist aims to depict in his answer to the question of John's disciples is the vessel of Jehovah's Spirit in the poem of "the consolation of Israel." Whether he also conceived him as "the offspring of David, Jehovah's servant" must be decided from other material.

Historical exegesis has done us no small service in elucidating the key-term of the whole Q section, and incidentally suggesting that the story of the Raising of the Widow's Son, which fails to appear in Matthew, formed no essential part of the original context. But it has a further service to render before we shall be ready to take up the crucial question of what our bit of ancient gospel composition implies by way of presupposition or anticipation. Certainly Mark, whose use of this Q section can be proved for his prologue (Mk. 1 1–13), if not also in the section on the growth of opposition (1 40—3 6), would seem to have misunderstood the meaning of Jesus' reply.

To some extent this would seem to be true of Matthew and Luke also. All three evangelists bring into nearer or remoter connection with the Discourse on the Stumbling of Israel (fragment 15) the Rebuke of the Scribes who said "He hath Beelzebub." At least in the case of Mark the onus of the offence lies in the fact that the blasphemy is uttered against Jesus personally. It was "because they said, He hath an unclean spirit." At least Mark gives no adequate consideration to the distinction Jesus' answer makes between words spoken against himself, which would be pardonable, and words spoken against the Spirit of God, which are not. In the parable of The Strong Man, whose possessions are carried off by the Stronger than He, Jesus convicts the scribes of blasphemy (in which it was needful to show that the utterance involved the divine Name) on the ground that the deliverance of the victims of Satanic possession is not *his* work, but (like that claimed by the Pharisees for their own exorcisms) the work of "the Spirit (Luke "the finger") of God". In other words Jesus personally is only the agent. The beneficent deliverance is from God. In calling it the work of Beelzebub the scribes are speaking not against the Messenger, but

against God himself. Mark unfortunately leads the way to an obliteration of this distinction by omitting an essential link in the logic of S, which the Q material retains, viz, the verse: "And if I exorcize by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons exorcize? But if I exorcize *by the Spirit of God*, then the divine sovereignty has overtaken you unaware." When this is omitted it is pardonable to interpret the parable of the Strong Man Armed as if Jesus were referring to himself as the Mightier than He, who overcomes the Mighty one and spoils his house. So far as I know this is in fact the interpretation uniformly adopted by the commentators. But it is certainly wrong. The context itself should suffice to show the error, but it becomes unmistakable when we turn to the Isaian pattern in Is. 49 24–26, immediately following the paragraph on the gathering of Jehovah's scattered people to the standard he sets up for them. One cannot then fail to see whom Jesus meant by the Stronger than the strong man armed and keeping guard over his captives. This is the Isaian model for the parable:

Shall the prey be taken from the mighty one?
Or the lawful captive be delivered?
But thus saith Jehovah:
Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away,
And the prey of the terrible shall be delivered:
For *I myself* will contend with him that contendeth with thee,
And I will be the Savior of thy children.

. . . . . .

And all flesh shall know that *I, Jehovah, am thy Savior,*
And thy Redeemer the Mighty One of Jacob.

The charge "He casteth out by Beelzebub," answered by the Parable of the Mighty Deliverer, is not one of the two Q fragments we have taken for our specific example of the Method of Implication. It is only a paragraph which all three evangelists bring into close connection with the Q section. It belongs to the Source only by Implication, but may be adduced to show in what way the two fragments under consideration must be understood. Precisely the same distinction between God as the real source of the redemptive power, and Jesus as merely his agent,

underlies the whole, and determines the sense in which the proto-evangelist makes his appeal to the "mighty works." Jesus does not claim them as evidences of his own power or goodness, but of the goodness and power of *God*. This differs widely from the sense in which Mark adduces them; indeed I think we might add from Matthew's and Luke's as well. Only here and there does Luke tell us that the power of God was "with" Jesus to heal. It is only from an exceptional case (Mk. 6 5) that we see it to be the fact, even in Mark, that Jesus did not treat the gift of healing as his own power, and hence felt no embarrassment when its manifestation failed. Failure was simply a consequence of the petitioners' "unbelief." The "mighty works" are, then, indeed, as viewed in S, "signs from heaven." So is the repentance of the publicans and sinners at the warning of John. These are not wonders performed by Jesus, but manifestations of "the Spirit of God." The blindness of Israel's religious leaders to these great "signs of the times" is to Jesus the culminating proof of the disaster that awaits those who submit blindly to their guidance. Hence the Woes on Scribes and Pharisees, blind guides, blind followers, which in Luke's Gospel conclude the section. In our canonical Gospels this important distinction tends to disappear.

We are ready now to turn back to the two consecutive Q fragments chosen for the application of our constructive method. They are (1) the Question of John's Disciples and (2) its sequel, the Arraignment of the Evil Generation, a people which, like sulky children refusing to play either funeral or wedding, rejects both the awesome warning of John and the winning entreaties of that Wisdom of God whose message Jesus conveys. At this bit of ancient gospel composition, universally recognized as pre-canonical by all who admit the right of criticism to distinguish sources at all, we take our stand like excavators beside some block of ancient masonry laid bare beneath the foundations of later structures. For the time being we concentrate attention on this section alone. We note its composition and style, its orientation and apparent purpose with relation to the environment, and lastly its affinity and connection, if any, with blocks of similar structure and kind. There is nothing

half so mysterious about the process as the deciphering of a fragment of message in code. All we need guard against is the delusion of preconceived ideas. If we are guided solely by the implications of the fragments themselves we shall not fail to find among the fifty-nine enough lines of cohesion to guide us to some sure results.

Mere juxtaposition of Q material did not carry us far, even after we had dropped the fallacy of preferring Matthew's order to Luke's. Both these later Synoptists have transposed, supplemented, rearranged their Q material, each with his own conception of how best to combine it with Mark. Both have rewritten certain sections obliterating thus the original identity of language. The fact is disconcerting but not irremediable. Just as the sections of S can be studied for their orientation and structure, so the editorial work of Matthew and Luke can be studied for its characteristic notes. It is not impossible, having before us the actual changes each has made in transcribing Mark, to predict many of the changes each would be apt to make in a Second Source. Some changes betray themselves by their very language. Luke has a vocabulary of his own. Matthew has certain phrases, borrowed and stereotyped, which he uses over and over again in his editorial recastings. We may be compelled (I am disposed to think we are compelled in the case of Luke) to assume, if not a third source, at least an expanded form of S besides the form known from the Q material. Something analogous seems likely to have occurred in the case of Matthew's transcript of Mark. Matthew has certain supplements which are related to Mark, but (as Streeter well says) can never have stood alone. Their relation to Mark is that of the mistletoe to the oak, not a separate tree. Yet he postulates for Matthew another complete source to be designated M. Streeter inclines us also to think of what Feine long ago called the "precanonical Luke" (*Der vorkanonische Lukas*) as a form of S which had already undergone expansion under influence from Mark, a document L. But to leap from a two-document to a "four-document" theory is a desperate expedient, from which we shall find ourselves preserved, let us hope, by a little better understanding of the known quantities before us. Certainly a better

appreciation of Matthew's methods of editorial composition would eliminate many of the supposed grounds for a document M, leaving the question of L for future determination. New unknown quantities will only complicate our equation. The solution will be reached only as we advance step by step from the known toward the relatively unknown.

In the case of the Q section on the Question of John's Disciples and Jesus' Arraignment of the Generation Blind to the Work of God and Deaf to His Messengers we are dealing with a relatively known quantity. In the introductory fragment, which we have characterised as a *mise en scène*, a considerable narrative is already presupposed. Jesus has already performed many mighty works, the rumor of which has come to the ears of John, evoking his enquiry. The Galilean ministry is not at its beginning, but at, or near, its close. The second fragment proves this; for how could Jesus justly arraign his generation for rejection of Jehovah's messengers, if the rejection has not yet taken place; and how can he have incurred rejection for the reasons stated, if he has not yet shown the genial manner of life which his opponents contrast with the Baptist's asceticism? Possibly the Q fragment on Denunciation of the Cities of Galilee which Believed Not did not form part of this context of S. Matthew attaches it to Fragment 15, but Luke places it elsewhere. In that paragraph we have specific reference to mighty works done "in Bethsaida" as well as Capernaum, and "in Chorazin," which is not even mentioned elsewhere. Are we to suppose that our proto-evangelist was so inept as to leave his readers totally in the dark as to these significant occurrences? Are we to imagine him leaving his readers by tacit reference to pick up what they could from outside report? What we have of Q elsewhere does not indicate such lack of literary skill. Neither does it indicate silence or indifference as to the witness of the "mighty works." The Source once contained them if the proto-evangelist wrote as normal authors write, including doubtless those mighty works, now forever lost from all our narratives, whose scene was Chorazin.

But other Q narratives of healing are not wholly lost. Some of the implications of our fragment are specific. The healings

referred to in Jesus' answer to John are intentionally conformed to the language of Isaiah. The phrases "the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the deaf hear, the poor have glad tidings proclaimed to them" reproduce freely Is. 35 5f.; 61 1. The raising of the dead is also, as we have seen from comparison of the *Shemoneh Esreh*, a current adaptation of the prophetic figure for the restoration of the national life. But where shall we find a parallel to the clause "the lepers are cleansed?" Isaiah has no such prediction. The *Shemoneh Esreh* has nothing of the kind. We might conjecture that the speaker uses the expression to typify the restoration of the outcast element, the publicans and sinners, pariahs of the Jewish social order. But surely Jesus is talking of actual miracles of healing when he says "the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, and the deaf hear." The cases are not less real because treated as *also* symbolic. Nor can we interject between these the statement "the lepers are cleansed" without assuming that some actual case of restoration of a leper outcast had been in fact related.

Turn now to the series of anecdotes briefly summarized in Mk. 1 40—2 20 to illustrate how opposition was kindled against Jesus till "the Pharisees went out and conspired with the Herodians to destroy him" (3 6). The series begins with the Healing (more exactly the "cleansing") of a leper. Next we learn how at the word of Jesus the lame man was made to "walk." With this story Mark interweaves (2 5–10) a parallel to Luke's account of the "sinner" to whom Jesus declared the forgiveness of her sins, scandalizing the Pharisees. Next Mark relates how Jesus "ate and drank with publicans and sinners" (2 13–17). Finally he tells of the protest of "John's disciples and the Pharisees," and of Jesus' reply which compared his disciples to the "sons of the bridechamber" (2 18–20). Is it possible to maintain that the same Mark who can be proved by the language of his citation from Malachi 3 1 (misquoted as "Isaiah,") to have used S in his Prologue, has made no use of it in drawing up this series of instances of the Growth of Opposition? If such use there be, then the cases of The Leper Cleansed and The Lame Man Made to Walk must be regarded as the same healings presupposed in our Q fragment 14. The probability is increased

by a close study of the language. For Mark's more detailed description of the healing of the leper seems less original than the simpler form exhibited in the two later Synoptists. Indeed Matthew and Luke here coincide *against* Mark both in *plus* and *minus* clauses as well as order. For no less than 18 consecutive words the parallels to Mk. 1 40 f. are identical, Mark showing characteristic departures from their simpler form. Similar minor coincidences of Mt—Lk against Mark appear in the story of The Lame Made to Walk, showing that the later Synoptists in their divergences from Mark were not guided merely by their own individual sense of expediency. They had also the Second Source before them in at least these two stories of healing, though they naturally followed in the main their First Source, which they took to reflect more nearly the account of the eye-witness Peter.

Let the above suffice as an example of the application of the Method of Implication to Q-fragment 14. Naturally, since the fragment deals with the past of Jesus' ministry, its outlook is in retrospect. We learn from it that S was not a mere collection of *logia*, but gave an account of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, including both preaching and healing. In several cases the anecdotes were the same as related (in greater detail) by Mark. It also gave account of the way in which this ministry was received by the "people of the land," but rejected by the Synagogue authorities. Moreover John the Baptist played a conspicuous part in the drama, and the writer was concerned to show, perhaps for the benefit of John's disciples, what the true place of John was with reference to "the counsel of God." It is hardly needful to anticipate the results likely to follow the application of the Method of Implication to other Q fragments relating to the Galilean period.

We must turn to Fragment 15, which gives through the mouth of Jesus the proto-evangelist's interpretation of the significance of the ministry of John, and (by virtue of the implied comparison) of that of the still greater messenger of the divine Wisdom who had followed John and met a similar reception. Naturally, since Fragment 15 deals with the rejected "counsel of God," it looks forward as well as backward. It

presents the Christology of S. Our interpretation has already shown its general nature. Jesus was the agent of that Wisdom of God whom the prophets and sages had depicted as vainly pleading with a wayward people, withdrawing at last from her "house" until they should learn to receive her messengers not with stoning and persecution, but with the cry, "Hosanna, blessed is he that cometh in Jehovah's name." Until that day she is justified, not indeed by those who claim to be wise and prudent, but by "her children," the lowly but penitent. What is implied in the Arraignment of Fragment 15 as to the nature and purpose of S?

Certainly the composition was not a mere record of the teaching ministry. If by a "gospel" we mean an attempt to show by the story of Jesus' life and ministry that he was the agent of God for accomplishing the redemption foretold by the prophets, then certainly S was a "gospel" in the fullest sense. Great as John was through the place given him in "the counsel of God," that like Elijah he should come to effect the Great Repentance, preparing Jehovah's way by making ready a people prepared for His coming, he was less (says our proto-evangelist) than the least in the kingdom to which he pointed. For over against him is set "the Son of Man." The Source's use of the title is a strange one. Almost it would seem a substitute for the Isaian title of the rejected Servant. What the fragment does mean by it I shall not now attempt to determine. The problem is even greater than that of the term "the Coming One" of the preceding fragment. But are we to suppose it had no explanation in this primitive gospel?[4] Was the proto-evangelist so incredibly inept as to leave his readers without an explanation of the sense in which he applied this term to Jesus? Can we imagine that he told of the rejection of the supreme agent of the divine Wisdom, and said nothing of his Coming again? No; if this was a normal Christian writer he went on to tell how the Servant, rejected of men, had after his cruel death been "highly exalted."

[4] It appears suddenly in Mk. 2 10 without an explanation. Significantly this is the paragraph which we have just seen reason to think is based on S (above, p. 53).

It is true that the story of the great tragedy is related by Matthew in almost exclusive dependence on Mark. Matthew has no sympathy with what we may call the Servant Christology. That is the special province of Luke. But some Q fragments appear as late as the Institution of the Supper. And in Luke the Markan story of the tragedy at Jerusalem is almost eclipsed by another of unknown derivation. Luke introduces us also to an account of the resurrection appearances so completely contradictory of Mark that the Markan had already disappeared before it when Matthew wrote. Matthew is obliged to piece out an ending for his story of the same type as the so-called Shorter Ending, a mere bit of editorial patching. Why was the original ending of Mark allowed to disappear, if not because of this conflict? And whence came the conflict, if not from the Second Source? These are questions much too large for a single article already transgressing the limits of permissible space, but pregnant of significance. What I hope to do by raising them here is only to show that the true means of solution lies in the application of the Method of Implication unhampered by the delusion of Schleiermacher. We know of the existence of a pre-canonical source. We know some sixty fragments, longer and shorter, which by common consent are admitted to have been drawn from it. Two of these I have attempted to deal with here. Not as expecting to exhaust the implications of even these at one sitting, but by way of example. When application of the method has been made to each and every one of the Q fragments, and each inference weighed and tested, I venture to predict that we shall have begun to see daylight ahead in the much-contested Synoptic problem.[5]

[5] The current *Hibbert Journal* issued as this article goes to press (Jan. 1926) promises a new reconstruction of the Second Source in the April number from Rev. J. M. C. Crum.

THE JOHANNINE PROLOGUE AS ARAMAIC VERSE

MILLAR BURROWS
BROWN UNIVERSITY

In his *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (pp. 40f.) Burney gives us an Aramaic translation of John 1 1–18 in the form of "a hymn, written in eleven parallel couplets, with comments introduced here and there by the writer." The couplets, he adds (p. 43), "besides being parallel, appear also to be rhythmical, each line containing three stresses." Prof. Torrey[1] has pronounced this unconvincing. The question of the original literary form of the Prologue is therefore open for further investigation. (a) The chapter may, of course, have heen originally composed in the form in which we now have it. The Greek text represents a type of composition—prose verging upon poetry, rhythmical but not metrical—which is sufficiently familiar to the student of Biblical literature. (b) If, on the other hand, our present text is a translation, the Aramaic original may have had the same literary form which we find in the Greek—poetry, in a sense, but not verse. (c) That the original composition was, as Burney maintains, written in regular metre with a given number of stresses in each line, as in Hebrew poetry, is nevertheless entirely possible. (d) There is even a fourth possibility: the Aramaic poem may have been composed in syllabic metre of the type familiar in Syriac poetry, the lines being measured by syllables rather than stresses. Any one of these four possibilities may be taken as a working hypothesis and scientifically

[1] The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John; *Harvard Theol. Review*, vol. XVI, No. 4, pp. 305–344; see especially p. 326.

tested. Either the first or the second is certainly true if neither the third nor the fourth proves tenable. The last will seem to most students the least probable; therefore in the order of testing the last shall be first.

At the outset we encounter an *a priori* objection to this hypothesis. It is commonly supposed that syllabic verse was developed in later times than those with which we are here concerned. A perfect example of it, however, has been found by Prof. Torrey in an Aramaic inscription of the 5th century B. C. When this discovery is published it will be seen that the syllabic metre of the Syriac poets was not a late development, but rather the continuance of an ancient Aramaic usage. To suppose that the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel may have been written in syllabic metre is not, therefore, mere idle fancy. As a matter of fact many of Burney's lines make perfect syllabic verse, although he seems to have had no such result in mind; it was this fact, indeed, that suggested the hypothesis.

If our passage, literally translated, falls naturally into syllabic metre, we can hardly doubt that this was its original form. Such a conclusive demonstration, however, is hardly to be expected. We cannot hope to recover the exact words of the original writer throughout. We do not even know with certainty and in detail what dialect was spoken by the early Palestinian Christians. Burney, following Dalman, uses the later Judaean dialect "as far as possible;"[2] there are good reasons, however, for believing that the Aramaic spoken in Judea in the first century of our era was more like that which appears in the Aramaic portions of the OT. As Prof. Torrey argues, the Aramaic of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions of this period is more like that of Daniel and Ezra than that of the Targums; and changes in the language of the Jews, as in all their life and thought, would naturally be more rapid after the fall of Jerusalem than before it.[3] In view of these considerations, any translation we may make can only approximately represent

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

[3] I have simply summarized Prof. Torrey's arguments as I understand them. He has not fully expressed his views on this subject in print.

the original composition, and if our retranslation of a translation is not metrically perfect, this will not prove that the original composition was not metrical.

As a basis for testing our hypothesis Burney's translation is not entirely satisfactory. Aside from the question of dialect, many of the words and expressions which Burney has used are not, it seems to me, those which would most probably have produced our Greek text. Unfortunately we cannot always accept any one rendering as being clearly the most literal and natural version of Greek; it is often possible to translate with equal plausibility in two or more ways. For these reasons I shall consider each verse separately instead of offering another translation of the whole passage.

V. 1 a makes a line of seven syllables: בקדמין איתי הוה מאמרא. This differs from Burney's rendering mainly in the insertion of איתי. Prof. Montgomery[4] calls attention to the repetition of the verb "to be" in these opening verses as indicating the use of איתי. For the most part it seems more probable that the Greek verb represents the Aramaic pronoun, idiomatically used instead of the copula,[5] or has been supplied where the copula was not expressed in the Aramaic. Here, however, ἦν is not a mere copula but affirms the *existence* of the Word.

V. 1 b is a perfectly regular line of seven syllables in Burney's version: ומימרא הוא לות אלהא. Except in orthography this is good Biblical as well as Judaean Aramaic.

V. 1 c as rendered by Burney has only six syllables: ואלהא הוא מימרא. It may be rendered idiomatically in seven syllables: ומאמרא הוא אלהא הוה.

V. 2 has seven syllables: הוא הוה בקדמין לות אלהא.

V. 3 a also makes seven syllables: כל מנדעם בידה הוה. Here and in 7 b and 10 b Burney renders δι' αὐτοῦ by בה. In the verse now before us this is not impossible,[6] and in 10 b it is rather attractive; but in 7 b, where Burney thinks there is a mistranslation, בה seems to me quite out of the question (*v. i.*

[4] *The Origin of the Gospel According to St. John*, p. 19.

[5] Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 f., on εγω ειμι etc.; also Burney, p. 33, on v. 9.

[6] Cf. the Curetonian Syriac; the Peschitta uses בכֵּן.

on 7 b and 10 b; also on *ἐν αὐτῷ* in 4 a). ביד in this sense does not occur in Biblical Aramaic but is common in both Hebrew and Syriac and appears at least twice in the Targums (Num. 33 1; 2 Ch. 33 10). Instead of הוה Burney uses איתעביד for *ἐγένετο*, not only here but in 3 b, 10 b, and 14 a also. This is used in Biblical Aramaic several times,[7] but the Greek versions do not render it *ἐγένετο*, which means "came into being" rather than "was made." Both Syriac versions[8] here read ܗܘܐ. In 6 a, where איתעביד would be manifestly inappropriate, Burney uses הוא; he also uses הוא for *γέγονεν* in 4 a.

V. 3 b has eight syllables in Burney's version: ובר מניה לא אתעביד כלום. Reading הוה in the place of אתעביד reduces the syllables to seven. One thing is clear: we cannot include ὃ *γέγονεν* in this line and keep within metrical limits.

V. 4 a as translated by Burney has only five syllables: דַּהֲוָא ביה חיין. This rendering is based upon the theory that ὃ *γέγονεν* is a mistranslation, the real meaning of the Aramaic being, "Because in him was light."[9] In that case the verb was supplied by the Greek translator; otherwise there must have been another הוא at the end of the line (probably the pronoun rather than the verb—cp. the Curetonian Syriac).[10] But if Burney is right, the sentence means, "Because in him *there was* light;" hence (if our version of 1 a is acceptable) we may read: די איתי הוה בה חיין. Or, interpreting the verse as it was often interpreted in the early church, we may read: די הוה בה איתי חיין, "that which came into existence in him was light." In this line בה represents *ἐν αὐτῷ*. But if the Greek rendered בה by *δι' αὐτοῦ* in v. 3, why do we have *ἐν αὐτῷ* here? Only a desire to bring out two different meanings could explain the change, but why should the translator think that the meaning was different? That the original of *δι' αὐτοῦ* was בה in any of the verses where the phrase occurs seems less likely the more we consider it (*v. i.* on v. 7 c).

[7] In the expression, "your houses shall be made a dunghill," Dn. 2 5; 3 29; Ezr. 6 11.

[8] I. e. the Peschitta and the Curetonian. This passage is missing in the Sinaitic Syriac, and I have not had access to other Syriac versions.

[9] Burney, p. 29.

[10] Burney adds הוא as a parenthesis on p. 20 but omits it on p. 40.

V. 4 b in Burney's version, like 3 b, begins with an unaccented syllable and contains eight syllables: וחיין נהורא דבני אנשא. Using the older form of the relative pronoun does not affect the metre here. Burney evidently assumes that the verb was supplied by the Greek translator, which is not at all unlikely (*v. s.* on 4 a). We may retain the verb, however, and translate in seven syllables: וחיין הוו נהור בני אנשא.

V. 5 a falls naturally into seven syllables: ונהורא בקבלא מנהר. The word used for "darkness" does not occur in Biblical Aramaic, but חשוכא (which would make the line too long) appears only once, and while Prof. Torrey[11] is surely right in rejecting Burney's theory of mistranslation in 5 b (*v. i.*), the word-play in קַבְלָא and קַבֵּל in attractive.

V. 5 b has only six syllables in Burney's translation, but by keeping more closely to the word-order of the Greek we get a perfect seven-syllable line: וקבלא יתה לא מקבל. Burney has been led astray by Ball's theory[12] that *κατέλαβεν* is a mistranslation. R. Harris[13] thinks *κατέλαβεν* corresponds to the *ἀντισχύει* of Wis. Sol. 7 30 ("Night indeed follows on created Light, But no evil overpowers Wisdom"). Both of these views destroy the parallel between this line and 10 a, 11 b, and 12 a. As I see it, v. 5 is, so to speak, the topic-sentence of a paragraph, and the three verbs, *κατέλαβεν*, *παρέλαβον* and *ἔλαβον*, all represent the Aramaic קַבֵּל (*v. i.* on 11 b and 12 a).[14] Whether the Greek would have used the aorist to translate the participle may be questioned, but if the participle was used in the preceding line (*φαίνει*) it would most naturally be followed by a participle here. It may be also that the translator was thinking of a definite event, the Incarnation, while the original poem referred to the continual or repeated coming of the Logos into the world and his repeated rejection by men (cp. vv. 10 f.).[15]

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

[12] Burney, pp. 29 f.

[13] *The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel*, p. 31.

[14] In 5 b both Syriac versions read ܢܨܒܘܗ, which is not used in this sense in Western Aramaic. In 16 b both use ܢܣܒ for *ἐλάβομεν*.

[15] Also cp. especially Wis. Sol. 7 27 f.; Sir. 24 7; Enoch 42 1 f.; and cf. R. Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 39; Rudolf Bultmann: Der Religionsgeschicht-

Vv. 6–8 have been regarded by many commentators as interpolated. Certainly v. 9 follows v. 6 very naturally, though it also follows v. 8 naturally. Burney renders 6–10 a as prose; his translation of 6 a, however, contains eight syllables, which become seven when we replace the determined form of the noun (impossible here) by the absolute: הוה גְּבַר משדר מן אלהא.

If ever a prosaic gloss was imposed upon a bit of poetry, the next words look like one: "His name was John." Taken with 7 a, however, they make a line of eight syllables: שמה יוחנן הוא אתא לסהדו. This differs from Burney's prose only in the use of הוא instead of הדין (Burney uses הוא for *οὗτος* in v. 2). The line can hardly be reduced to seven syllables.

Burney's version of 7 b has only five syllables: דיסהד על נהורא. By using the proleptic suffix with the preposition (as sometimes in Biblical Aramaic) we get seven syllables: די יסהד עלוהי נהורה.

In 7 c Burney has six syllables: דיהמנון ביה כלי. This, however, involves the use of בה for *δι' αὐτοῦ* (*v. s.* on 3 a and 4 a). Burney (p. 32) maintains that the original meant, "That all might believe in it" (the light). He refers "for the sense postulated" to 12 36, but the Greek there reads *εἰς αὐτόν*. Cp. also *τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* in v. 12, in connection with which Burney (p. 34) cites the 37 passages in John and the 9 other passages in the NT where *πιστεύειν εἰς* appears. A year ago in my paper on the "Origin of the Term 'Gospel'"[16] I pointed out that the unique *πιστεύειν ἐν* of Mk. 1 15 reflects the same Semitic use of the preposition ב with the verb הימין (Heb. האמין). I cannot believe that a translator who wrote *πιστεύειν εἰς* 37 times would here write *πιστεύσωσιν δι' αὐτοῦ* if he had the same Aramaic expression before him. If further proof be required that *πιστεύειν εἰς* does not stand for the same

liche Hintergrund des Prologs zum Johannes-Evangelium (ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, *Festschrift für Hermann Gunkel*, 2. Teil), pp. 4 ff. Whether we hold that the evangelist has used a pre-Christian source or not, it seems clear that vv. 1-13 refer to the pre-existent Logos, the Incarnation of Christ being first introduced by v. 14, though the present Greek text seems to have it in mind from v. 11 on.

[16] JBL, vol. XLV, pp. 21 ff.; *v.* p. 26 for the point under discussion.

Aramaic as *πιστεύειν διά*, we may point to 17 20, *τῶν πιστευόντων διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμέ*. Surely the supposed mistranslation in this instance is imaginary. Burney's בְּלֵי also is impossible. We may read די כל אנש יהימן ביה (seven syllables) or די יהימן בלא ביה, which would naturally be rendered by the Greek of the text.

Thus the metre in vv. 6 f., if not entirely satisfactory, does not differ sufficiently from what has gone before to warrant us in regarding these verses as interpolated. If they were a part of the poem from the first, we may remark in passing, it was neither pre-Christian nor the work of a non-Christian follower of John the Baptist,[17] but distinctly a Christian composition. If vv. 6 f. are secondary, the interpolator has cleverly fitted his contribution into the metrical mould of the original poem.

Of v. 8 this cannot be said. As Burney renders 8 a it has only five syllables: לא הוא הוא נהורא. In 8 b Burney has eight syllables: אילהן דיסהיד על נהורא. Using the Biblical conjunction להן reduces the syllables to seven; די for ד makes eight again. In no way can the line be combined with 8 a so as to make a satisfactory syllabic couplet. Burney (p. 32) explains the apparent lack of a verb upon which the *ἵνα*-clause may depend by postulating that ד means here "one who" instead of "in order that," the meaning of the whole verse being, "That one was not the light, but one who was to bear witness of the light." This would be entirely plausible had not the same words been used in the preceding verse, where ד clearly introduces a purpose-clause. In view of this fact the customary interpretation of the verse as involving an ellipse seems more probable.[18]

V. 9 a, as rendered by Burney, has only five syllables הוא נהורא דקושטא דמנהר לכל אנש אתא בעלמא. V. 9 b has eight syllables: (for the participle as the original of the Greek present tense cp. v. 5 a and cf. Burney *in loc.*). Using די instead of ד makes a total of fifteen syllables with alternating accents, but I see no way to make a satisfactory couplet of the verse.

Burney regards not only 6–9 but also 10 a as prose. Combining 10 a and 10 b, however, we have a line of eight syllables:

[17] Cf. Bultmann, *op. cit.*

[18] Cf. the parallels cited by Burney, p. 32 n.

בעלמא הוה ועלמא בידה הוה. Reading בה instead of בידה, with Burney, we should have a seven-syllable line with a rather attractive paradox: בעלמא הוה ועלמא בה הוה. We should then have to suppose that the Greek translator, unable to reproduce the double meaning of בה, chose the rendering *δι' αὐτοῦ* as giving the meaning intended by the poet. But this verse clearly echoes v. 3; therefore, if *δι' αὐτοῦ* does not represent בה in 3 a and 7 c (cp. 17 b), it probably does not here.

V. 10 c has only five syllables in Burney's version but by following the Greek word-order we obtain a line of seven syllables: ועלמא יתה לא יָדַע. This corresponds exactly to 5 b in form as in meaning. In both cases I have used a participle for the Greek aorist. The perfect, which would not affect the metre in 5 a, would make this line too short. A translator using an unpointed text, however, and unmindful of the metre, might take ידע for the perfect.

V. 11 a also, while rendered in four syllables by Burney, makes seven syllables without undue stretching: לות אלין דילה אָתֵא. Again I use a participle for the aorist, but again the unpointed text might be read either as participle or perfect. As in 5 b, the original poet probably referred to the work of the Logos under the Old Dispensation, while the Greek translator, having in mind the coming of Jesus, would naturally read ידע and אתא as perfects.

V. 11 b, like 10 c, can be rendered as a seven-syllable line corresponding exactly to 5 b: ודילה יתה לא מקבלין. Here the perfect is metrically impossible and there is no possibility of mistaking the participle for the perfect. If the participle is to be read, the aorist of the Greek can be explained only (as above) by the supposition that the Aramaic and Greek writers had different meanings in mind: in this instance the Greek text apparently refers to the rejection of Jesus by the Jews; the Aramaic constitutes in effect a denial of Sirach's claim that Wisdom of old found a dwelling in Israel. Incidentally, there seems to be no way to reproduce in Aramaic the difference between the neuter and the masculine of "his own," of which commentators on the Greek text have made so much.

V. 12, with variations from Burney's Aramaic like those found

necessary in the preceding verses, makes two regular couplets of seven-syllable lines:

כלהון די מקבלין יתה יְהֵב הוה להון שולטנא
למהוא בנוהי די אלהא לאלין די מהימנין בשמה

The use of the relative particle after the proleptic suffix, however, is Syriac rather than Western Aramaic. Its omission leaves only six syllables in the third line.

Bultmann[19] deletes 12 d as an addition by which the evangelist Christianized his source, the meaning of the original verse having been more like Wis. Sol. 7 27 f.; Sir. 1 6, 10, 15. But if our translation even approximately represents the original text, 12 d is needed to complete the second couplet.

V. 13, as literally translated by Burney, does not fit into the metrical scheme at all. The second and third lines will have seven syllables each if instead of the construct relationship we use the longer idiom so characteristic of Aramaic: ולא מן צבותא די בסרא ולא מן צבותא די גברא. The fourth line also will have seven syllables if we use an older form of the conjunction: להן מן אלהא אתיליד. Of course אתיליד is singular,[20] while ἐγεννήθησαν is plural. Burney (pp. 34 f.) explains the plural verb of the Greek text as due to the conjunction with which the following verse begins, the ו having been attached to the verb as a plural ending by dittography. He also contends that here (as in 4 a) the Greek translator has mistaken the meaning of ד. The verse thus becomes, not a description of believers, but an explanation of Christ's power to give those who receive him power to become sons of God, "Because he was born, not of blood, . . . but of God." In spite of the weighty authority of Prof. Torrey, who regards this interpretation as "quite certain,"[21] I must confess that it does not appeal to me. The sequence of thought in the Greek does not necessarily imply, as Burney holds, that the spiritual birth of believers is an antecedent con-

19 *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

20 The ܐܬܝܠܕ of the Curetonian Syriac may be either singular or plural, since the plural ending is silent in Syriac and consequently dropped in writing not infrequently. Is the "natus est" of the Latin Ms. "c" due to the influence of a Syriac text in which this has happened?

21 *Op. cit.*, p. 328.

dition of the grace given them. The perfect plural of the verb is metrically impossible, but the Pe'il participle ילידין would be quite in place. As for the first member of the verse, even if we follow the Greek to the extent of using the plural of the word "blood,"[22] we have only five syllables: די לא מן דמיא; but the use of ילידין both here and at the and of the verse would fill out the line, and since such a repetition would be better in Aramaic than in Greek from the stylistic standpoint, the translator might use the verb only once.

V. 14 a b in Burney's version is a couplet with seven syllables in each line: ומימרא בסרא איתעביד ואשרי שכנתיה ביננא. Unfortunately neither of these lines is free from objection. Instead of בסרא we should read the absolute בְּסַר. Even more than in vv. 3 f. אתעביד is unsuitable as a rendering of *ἐγένετο* (the Word was not *made* flesh but *became* flesh). In the second line, whether or not we see here a reference to the Shekinah,[23] it is unlikely that the Greek would have used the simple verb *ἐσκήνωσεν* for the verb and noun of Burney's Aramaic. A straightforward, literal translation of the line would have only four syllables: ושכו בנא. Combining the two clauses we have nine syllables: ומאמרא בסר הוה ושכן בנא. The omission of the conjunction at the beginning (common in the Jewish Aramaic of the period) would leave eight syllables.

V. 14 c, with but a slight change in Burney's version, yields seven syllables: וחזינא יקרא דילה.

V. 14 d as given by Burney has eight syllables: יקרא כיחידא מן אבא. We may render it, however, in seven: יקרא כמה ליחיד מן אָב.

V. 14 e has only five syllables and has no second line to make a couplet with it: מלי חנא וקושטא.

V. 15 is omitted altogether by Burney, though on pp. 103 f. he gives part of it (in unmetrical form) as an example of mistranslation. Following Dr. Ball, he regards *γέγονεν* as represent-

[22] In Hebrew דם is often used in the plural, but I can find no instance in Aramaic. On the other hand the plural is not at all common in Greek, though it appears occasionally.

[23] Prof. Torrey (*op. cit.*, p. 337) doubts the influence of the Targums in this verse and in the writer's Logos doctrine.

ing הַוֵי (a by-form of הוה), which should have been read as the participle הָוֵי, meaning "is becoming" or "is about to become" (this is even more plausible if we write הוא, which might be either perfect or participle). Πρῶτός μου is supposed to be קָדְמַי, a misreading of קֳדָמַי, "first." This makes the verse read, "He who is coming after me, before me will become; Because He was first (of all)." As against this Prof. Torrey[24] "decidedly" favors the present reading. I have found it so difficult to make a satisfactory Aramaic translation of this verse (metre or no metre) that I find myself wondering whether it was not added *in Greek* after the translation of the poem. Has the change from ἔμπροσθέν μου to πρῶτός μου any significance except the desire for stylistic variety? If not, would a translator make such a change? It would be quite natural for a writer composing freely in Greek. The result of the Syriac translator's effort to reproduce πρῶτός μου is not idiomatic Aramaic.

V. 16, following Burney except in the form of the relative pronoun, makes two seven-syllable lines, though the division does not come just where we might expect it: די מן מליה כולנא נסבנא וחנא חלף חנא. The verb נסב does not occur in Biblical Aramaic. קבל suits the meaning equally well if not better; its use makes the second line contain eight syllables, but perhaps ἀντὶ represents ב instead of חלף (which hardly suits the meaning), in which case we have two seven-syllable lines: די מן מליה קבלנא כלנא וחסדא בחסדא.

V. 17, as Burney gives it, has one line of eight syllables and one of seven: דאוריתא מן משה אתיהיב חנא וקושטא מן משיחא. As in one or two other places Burney assumes that the verb, unexpressed in the Aramaic, was supplied by the translator. He also assumes, *metri gratia*, that the name Jesus is a gloss. In the first line he apparently regards אוריתא as masculine; it may be given a feminine verb without changing the metre by using the Pe'il form יהיבת. If we use the older form of the relative at the beginning, include the name in the second line, and retain the verb at the end, we have nine syllables in the first line and ten in the second:

[24] *Op. cit.*, pp. 328 f.

די אוריתא מן משה יהיבת
חנא וקושטא מן ישוע משיחא הוה

Probably ביד would be better than מן for *διὰ* here as in 3, 7, and 10, but this does not alter the number of syllables.

V. 18 falls naturally into two lines of nine syllables each: לאלהא לא חזא אנש מן עלמא יחיד אלהא די בְּעֵב אבא הוא גְּלָא. While departing in several particulars from Burney's version of this verse, I have retained his rendering of the much-debated expression *μονογενὴς θεός*, which he regards as a mistranslation (due to dittography of the initial א of אלהא?). If we accept the reading *μονογενὴς υἱός* (which is surely preferable from every point of view except that of conscientious preference for the harsher reading as such), we have יחידא ברא, which does not change the number of syllables.

It appears, then, that the hypothesis of syllabic metre with seven syllables to the line works reasonably well in vv. 1–5, 6 a, 7 b c, 10 c, 11, 12 (except 12 c), 13, and 16. The remaining lines, however, do not lend themselves to a theory of interpolation, and the form of syllabic metre is too artificial and rigid to allow the supposition that the writer has unconsciously slipped from verse into prose and from prose into verse. Consequently we cannot say that the theory of syllabic metre has been demonstrated for the composition as a whole. To say that it has proved untenable would be, to be sure, unwarranted by the facts. The failure of the demonstration may be due to the elusiveness of the subject and the incompetence of the investigator. When I discussed the question before the *Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* last December, I felt that the hypothesis, though not clearly verified, was not at all improbable. I now feel that it is distinctly improbable, though still possible. I realize now, as I did not then, that in accentual metre, with three stresses to the line, most of the lines will have from six to eight syllables, so that seven-syllable lines may be expected to occur with more or less frequency. This fact was brought home to me by a letter from Prof. Torrey, whose kindness in reading my paper and making many valuable suggestions and corrections I hereby gratefully acknowledge.

The bearing of the evidence upon the hypothesis of accentual

metre may be briefly noted. Up to v. 13 there is no difficulty whatever; in vv. 13–15 the difficulties are not insurmountable; v. 16 falls into line readily enough; and while the lines are longer in vv. 17 and 18 they are not necessarily too long to be included in the scheme. Thus the whole passage is metrical; there is not a single clause which must be regarded as an interpolation or a lapse into prose. In short this hypothesis works much better than the other and now seems to me more probable. At the same time one must remember that accentual metre is not so difficult as syllabic metre; the fact that it is more easily produced in such a translation as this, therefore, is not of itself conclusive. That the passage was composed in Aramaic metre of one kind or the other seems to me indubitable.

THE EDUCATION OF THE SEER OF THE APOCALYPSE

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE education of a man is conditioned by what he is, for if he have no wits the story of his education is not worth telling except in strictly paedagogical circles. Now there is one aspect of the Seer of the Apocalypse which appears to have been generally overlooked by the commentators, and which only one gifted person, and she a woman, herself a gifted poet, has duly appreciated. I refer to Christina Rossetti and her brilliant exposition of the Apocalypse; part in prose, and when the spirit moved her, part in exquisite poetry—'The Face of the Deep.' She knew nothing of *Literarkritik*, whose function is that of dissection and detection of sources, and so she is not given a place in the honorable band of commentators. But she made an original discovery which is worth more finally than all *Literarkritik*, but which is genuine literary criticism, namely that the Seer is a poet. To this judgment the present writer adheres with conviction, and he would insist that only this primary interpretation opens the door for any understanding of the Apocalypse as sheer literature. And also only through that medium can its spirit and religion be caught. Perhaps the compilers of the Canon possessed more literary apperception than many modern students, whose only interest in that book is antiquarian.

This thesis will provoke the cross-question: What is a poet? But I forego a definition, for the appreciation of poetry is always subjective, while the critics of literature have never agreed

on a definition. In the present case we may point to the imagery and fantasy of the book, to the snatches of undoubted music scattered through it, and to the portions in poetic form, as recognized in Moffatt's translation and more exactly diagnosed by Charles. But it may be argued that form and fantasy do not alone denote great poetry, that those phases may be imitative or insincere, and that we must pursue our criticism further before we allow these visions to be great poetry. There is, however, one measure of intellectual order for both prose and poetry which may always be applied. This lies in the writer's use and control of his language. The great poet is like the wizard of science. The latter can go no farther than the forces of Nature allow, but he uncovers them, revealing ever new things, so that in the midst of immutable law he stands forth as a creator. And so it is with the true poet. He cannot rise beyond the datum of the possibilities of his tongue, but he explores and exploits those possibilities. He speaks as man never spake before, and yet he carries on his hearers in the reaches of his language, which becomes glorified and the dearer to them. Now this is true of the Poet of the Apocalypse, as I shall endeavor to show, and herein lies its charm as literature. And this despite the fact that the Poet is using a language of which he is not full master.

Assuming then this original genius, we may inquire into the Poet's education. Now it has always been remarked that the Apocalypse scintillates with Old Testament citations and allusions, and this to a far heavier proportion than any other New Testament book. But this use of the elder Bible is not the theologian's or the lawyer's, a drafting of proof texts and precedents; there is never appeal to the Law or the Prophets as such. Nor is it the commonplace citation by a pious soul, whose resort to Scripture may be charged to the paucity of his culture. And it is further obvious that these citations are hardly ever full texts of Scripture; they are brief snatches, often not more than a word or two, and then there is a leap to some other passage, so that there are few cases of exact equation with any single Old Testament locus. The result is a mosaic, but it is the work of a masterful artistry, it is not a jumble but

a curiously woven pattern. The Poet is so suffused with his Bible, the Classics of his race and religion, that he is intimate with its whole contents, and from here and there he selects his colors and precious stones to illuminate his composition. Again, it is not the scholar's use of proof-texts, as for example in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but the classicist's absolutely free handling of the Book as literature. There is no similar use of the Old Testament in the New; we should have to go for a parallel to a Bunyan's handling of the Bible or a Swinburne's mastery of the Greek Classics.

There is yet another feature of this use of the Biblical Classics. He knows them as a man of philological culture. First, he is fully acquainted with the original languages of the Bible. In the case of St. Paul we infer that he knew his Hebrew Bible, but this can hardly be proved from his citations, for almost without exception he depends upon the Septuagint. Swete (p. cli) speaks hesitatingly upon the Seer's use of the original, although he holds that 'this inference' from certain phenomena can be 'supported.' But what Swete so cautiously allows is absolutely demonstrated by some phenomena to be immediately presented.[1]

May I present one case where the Seer appears to prove himself an original and masterful exegete of his Bible? The passage is 3 14: 'Thus says the Amen, the Faithful and True Witness', i. e., Jesus Christ, as 1 5 proves. Now exegetes universally turn to Is. 65 16, where we find the cryptic phrase *bêlôhê 'amen*, translated in the Septuagint by *τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν*, and similarly in all the English versions, 'by the God of truth.' But neither translation satisfies the grammarian; *'amen* cannot be adjectival to *'elôhê* as 𝔊 would indicate, nor does it mean 'truth' as the EVV suppose. In the first place our Seer, if he cited this passage, evidently knew the Hebrew, because he abandons the Greek translation; and in this respect he resembles his second-century successor, the translator Symmachus, who renders by *ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ἀμήν* (i. e., all the Grr. agree with 𝔐's pointing). And similarly S. Paul is supposed to have used the

[1] Cf. Charles' emphatic position on this point, p. lxviii seq.

Hebrew original in 2 Cor 1 17 in his treatment of the 'Yea' and 'Nay', Jesus Christ having become 'yea (*ναί*) in Him.' But an objection to finding here in the Apocalypse an allusion to Isaiah consists in the generally fine distinction drawn in all Christology between the epithets for God and Jesus Christ. Our writer would not have applied *'elôhê 'amen* to the latter. Accordingly we might think that the writer was poetically playing upon the mystical 'Amen' of the liturgy, as does Paul at 2 Cor 1 20. But let us read on in his verse, 3 14: 'Thus says the Amen, the Faithful and True Witness (the 'Faithful Witness,' from Ps. 89 (88) 38, agreeing with 𝔊's entirely plausible translation of the Hebrew), the Beginning of the creation of God', *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ*. Now this latter attribution is drawn from Prov. 8 22, and freely follows 𝔊, *κύριος ἔκτισέν με* (קנני) *ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ*. Observe now the end of this Praise of Wisdom, v. 30, where we read, ואהיה אצלו אמון, 'and I became beside him *'âmôn*'. The Greek translators varied much on this obscure word, and commentators still dispute its meaning. Now I am strongly inclined to think that our writer found his 'Amen' in that word. Following the notorious principle of later Rabbinic exegesis he masterfully changed the vocalization, i. e., he 'read not so but so'; he pronounced it not *'amon* but *'amen* (and originally the word may have appeared *defective*, אמן). Wisdom then is the Amen, and this epithet was at once applied to Christ. If this interpretation is allowable, not only did the writer know his Hebrew but he was acquainted with approved methods of exegesis; he was a man of education, although we may be loth to call such a poet a scholar.

The Seer then knew the Hebrew original, and how could we question this in a man whose syntax is Hebraic? And he knew it by heart, with no painful *Nachschlagen* after proof-texts. But in addition to this he knew the classical Greek translations of the Bible. For this point reference may be made to Swete's list of the citations with their parallels in the Greek versions, pp. cxxxv-cxlviii, and to Charles' more analytical lists, Int. § vii. There can be no question that the writer knew the Septuagint,[2]

[2] See my note on 1 14 in *Expositor*, Sept. 1921, pp. 214—217.

although scholars hesitate as to the proportions of this usage; Swete holds (p. cl) that "an inspection of the table further shows that the Apoc. generally availed himself of the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament," while Bludau in his valuable survey, 'Die Apokalypse und Theodotions Danielübersetzung,' in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1897, 1—26, depreciates the extent of Septuagintal allusion. But there is another category of translation which the Seer uses or at least agrees with; it is that of 'Theodotion,' particularly in the allusions to Daniel, where our possession of Theodotion's full text enables us to control those citations; nevertheless the range of those citations is not confined to Daniel, for 1 7 agrees with Theodotion, Aquila and Symmachus, as also with John 19 37 in translating דקרו Zech. 12 10 by ἐξεκέντησαν vs. 𝔊 κατωρχήσαντο. No solution of this problem of a Theodotion before Theodotion, or *Ur*-Theodotion has yet been agreed upon. My own opinion is that there existed in scholarly circles at least an oral Greek targum, which step by step corrected the gross errors of the Septuagint, a sort of Marginal Readings Tradition. However that may be, the Seer was thoroughly acquainted with two sets of translation, the Septuagint and what for want of a better name we may call Theodotion, and he took his choice freely between them, evidently using the one or the other according to his exegetical or literary taste; or, as we have seen, abandoning them for his own renderings of the original.

Again we find a clue to a third category of translation. In 4 3 we read of 'a rainbow (ἶρις) round about the Throne.' Bousset has about a half-page of discussion on this rainbow or 'nimbus,' for which he cites numerous mythological parallels, and he is followed in this by Charles. But the *religionsgeschichtliche Methode* sometimes takes us far afield and ignores the primary 'philological method.' Now if our New Testament commentators thumbed over the Old Testament apparatus a little more than they do, they would find that ἶρις figures in a certain Greek translation. The Seer is drawing here upon Ezekiel's vision of the Throne in c. 1, one of the brilliant elements in which is חשמל, generally translated 'electrum.' But reference to Field's apparatus at Ezek. 1 4 affords us here one of those

few citations from ὁ Ἑβραῖος, i. e., the Hebrew Interpreter, traces of whom have been preserved in odd glosses and Patristic citations. And this 'Hebrew' translates חשמל here by ἴρις. That is, the Seer deliberately chooses a rendering which is otherwise known only in that obscure version of 'the Hebrew.'

Let us sum up so far. We discover in this writer one who knows the Hebrew Scriptures, who is facile in two, perhaps three translations in a language which is not his mother-tongue; he is not the *dilettante* using only the commonplace vernacular of the Bible (like our English poets, whose Bible is the King James Version alone), nor is he the mere scholar, offering literalistic transcripts of the book he knows so well. But he has that Bible literature all by heart, the original and its versions, he selects his material now from here and now from there, but always according to his sovereign taste. I may compare this process only to some hypothetical cultured Biblical student of our day who might know his Sacred Languages well enough to cite them fluently, who is equally acquainted with the English classic version, and also has kept up his studies so as to know the renderings of the various subsequent Revisions, and possessing this literary store so accessible and so fluid that he can draw upon it spontaneously as he will. I do not know if any such man exists to-day. But such a man was the Seer of the Apocalypse. A man of education and culture he must have been, and yet not a rabbi or professor, because he is a poet.

This literary marvel raises the inquiry: In what schooling did this Poet acquire his literary culture? For we may not think of him as standing all alone, any more than did Chaucer, Shakespeare or Goethe. He was not just one of the Pious in Israel, a Ḥasîd, such a man as was the James of the Epistle; nor was he a rabbi like St. Paul. He is not at all interested in the Law; the cult fascinates him for its mystical meaning. The piety of the Psalter is not his, nor the ethics of the Wisdom books. He knows the latter indeed, but only to select their poetical passages. One case is his citation of Prov. 8 noticed above; the other his masterly adaptation of the epical παντοδύναμος λόγος πολεμιστής of Wisdom 18 15 to the Warrior on the White Horse, whose name is 'The Word of God,' 19 11 ff. And note that he draws

that term *logos* not from theology but from poetry.[3] The seer appears to use the Old Testament primarily as a classical literature, much as the cultured man of letters reveals his saturation with the letters of Greece and Rome. In fact, his appeal to that volume is literary, not theological. Scholars deny indeed that we can speak of a theology of the Apocalypse, but at all events it is the most amazingly independent literary production in the whole of the Bible. And this is due to the fact that its author is a poet.

And even as the Seer uses the Bible as literature, so we may come to appreciate partly his assimilation of elements which appear so alien to the Bible. Our *Literarkritiker* have done us invaluable service in following each several clue into every domain of antiquity, Babylonia, Persia, Egypt, Hellenism. But one looks in vain through the commentators for an explanation of the process whereby the writer assimilated those various alien materials. How could a Jew or a Jewish Christian have adopted and adapted such foreign elements? From the point of view of theology or piety, we cannot understand the mystery. But if our Poet were a man of letters in the large sense of the word, we can. In this respect he is not unlike his successors in Christian literature, like Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria, real literateurs, who did not hesitate to introduce Classical lore into their theology. And so the Apocalyptist made bold to draw upon the imagery and myths of his Pagan environment, again binding them to his purpose, so that we lose the clues in the alembic of his composition. He deals so as a poet, while the Christian Fathers handled their Classics with theological motive. And after all why are we obliged to hold that a Bible book must be only Biblical? Certainly not, unless we agree

[3] It is unfortunate that the marginal references of editions of the Greek Testament, e. g. Westcott-Hort and Nestle, and of the English Bibles, in consequence of Protestant narrow-mindedness, do not include the whole Greek Old Testament, so that such striking references are currently ignored. Strangely enough Charles in his lists fails to notice both these Wisdom citations. For the possibly Classical origin of Wisdom's 'all-powerful Word' see J. Rendel Harris, 'Athena, Sophia and the Logos,' in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1922.

with certain narrow schools in Judaism and the Church that we must eschew all letters but the Bible.

Here opens up a literary vista that deserves exploration. Pious readers of the Bible and scholars alike in treating the question of its inspiration have always approached it from one and the same theory of inspiration, the theological. The one party, and we may add many notable scholars, like Swete and Charles, find approved inspiration in the Apocalypse; the other, the more radical school of *Religionsgeschichtler*, discovers so much that is bizarre, alien, un-Biblical, especially in comparison with the Prophets, that their resultant is almost the denial of inspiration to the book. Its very character as a work of art, its intentioned weaving of brilliant and disparate materials into one great pattern, appears to them to contradict the genius of inspiration, even as the claim of art for the work might be offensive to many simpler readers. But I inquire if such a condemnation is ever made of any great work of literature, outside of the Bible. Leaving aside the question of divine inspiration, may we not discover that kind of inspiration which we call literary, leaving it to theologians to determine whether that is incompatible with the Divine. It is doubtless true that the elaborate and far-flung art of the Apocalypse lies far outside of the sphere of the great Prophets. But must we compare it only inner-Biblically?

There are two great poets who sum up in grand epics the acmes of the religious development of European Christendom; one is Dante, the rhapsodist of Catholic Mediaevalism, the other Milton, the more rational but equally inspired poet of Protestantism. Each of these with consummate art drew on the rich materials of human history and experience, the Puritan Milton himself as a poet inheriting from the Italian Renaissance, even as he drew his theology from Calvin. It seems to me that if the primary interpretation of a book is through the doorway of literature, we must compare John of the Apocalypse with such poets as these. Dante is no less a Christian when he takes Vergil as a guide or puts into the lowest hell along with Judas who betrayed the Lord of the Christian Faith the traitor Brutus and some Italian rascal of his own day, whose name were lost

but for Dante's record of his infamy. And when Milton invokes to his stage the myths of the ancients, painting their characters as if they actually lived, he remains no less the Puritan. May I cite a stanza from his Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity, one of the loveliest poems in the Christian anthology:

> And sullen Moloch fled,
> Hath left in shadows dread
> His burning idol all of blackest hue;
> In vain with cymbals' ring
> They call the grisly king,
> In dismal dance about the furnace blue;
> The brutish gods of Nile as fast,
> Isis and Orus, and the dog Anubis haste.

I can imagine some *Religionsgeschichtler* of a thousand years hence studying over fragments of the almost forgotten Dante and Milton, and blandly informing their age that these poets were syncretists, half-Christian and half-Pagan. But to my mind we should essay to think of the Apocalyptist as a poet with a literary, classical background, who drew upon his rich stores as does every poet. Nor do I think that such literary art and such humanistic material diminishes the spiritual and religious value of a composition. The poet indeed thinks otherwise than 'the man in the street,' or for that matter the professor. But do we prefer the meeting-house to the Gothic cathedral?[4]

Thus, summing up, we have learned that the Seer was not a product of the Rabbinic schools, indeed he could never have brooked their discipline, except so far as they offered him varieties of exegesis. Nor does he represent that mythical element of the pious but boorish "Galilean peasants," itself a pious notion which has been driven rather hard both by the *plebs* of the Church and also by modern professors. Either there was some kind of 'School' (*Richtung*) of Biblical letters

[4] This element of literary, historical and even scientific culture is found in most of the Apocalyptists, as also in the Wisdom literature, although in the latter it is dominated by the ethical interest.

of which we have lost all trace, or our Poet was a most remarkable genius.[5]

But there remains a subject on which any interested reader might ply me with the question: But how do you explain the Poet's barbarous Greek? How is that compatible with culture in letters, with a poet who should primarily be master of his language. The age-old impeachment must be allowed. It can only be explained, as Charles insists, on the ground that the writer thought in Hebrew, while writing in Greek. And Charles has painstakingly demonstrated that in interpreting the Greek we have to understand it just as the writer and his immediate circle of readers naturally understood it, automatically reverting it into the Semitic idiom.

But a distinction must be made that is obvious, although apparently not observed: that namely between the vocabulary and the syntax. It is an interesting and perhaps remarkable vocabulary the author uses, exceptional in the New Testament and containing some words hardly found elsewhere (s. Swete, p. cxv seq.). It would deserve examination on the part of a Graecist to estimate the choice of words, which appear to be nicely selected. I might notice one case. In 17 8 in his citation of Dan. 7 3 for יָם 'sea' where the Greek versions have correctly *θάλασσα*, the Poet deliberately substitutes *ἄβυσσος* the word which 𝔊 uses to translate תְּהוֹם and similar rare and classical words. The sea had become in his exegesis the Abyss. Now this fine discrimination is a phenomenon we often mark in educated men who through some native disability never come to handle successfully the syntax of a foreign tongue. Many of us who may not be able to write correctly a period in

[5] Josephus was far from being a poet, but his education as a gentleman student of the age is interesting. He tells us in the opening of his 'Life' how he tried all the schools (*αἱρέσεις*) of Judaism, the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, even attempted the ascetic life under a certain professed hermit. Our Apocalyptist, himself also a gentleman of culture, gained educational advantages of a very different kind in his *Wanderjahre*. But the same college can turn out very different kinds of students. It is noteworthy that this book betrays no traces of Aramaic, a point to be borne in mind in speculation upon the vitality of Hebrew in the first century.

French or German or Latin actually think words and phrases in those tongues, and are relieved when we can use them appropriately and not be taken for intellectual snobs.

Syntax is a very difficult matter. And I think that our author's lapses are not to be charged so much to carelessness as to his rhapsodic flow of thought, which was impatient of the minutiae of an alien syntax. At the same time I doubt the correctness of Charles' judgment (p. xxi): "That he set at defiance the grammarians and the usual rules of syntax is unquestionable, but he did not do so deliberately." I agree rather with Swete (p. cxxiv), who speaks of his 'audacities;' now audacity is always purposeful. There are two cases of this deliberate defiance of grammar, which are among the most noteworthy in the book. The one is *ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, 1 4. Now here the Poet simply throws out into bold relief his unique interpretation of the Divine Name, and as it were lifts the Absolute One above grammatical government; and he doubtless delighted in the feat. A bold writer among us might for some emphatic purpose do the same thing, helping himself out with our servile punctuation system, thus: 'from the-Is-and-the-Was-and-the-to-Come.'

The other case is *ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου* 1 13, 4 14, which Bousset characterizes (p. 160) as 'eine einfache grobe Nachlässigkeit.' But in all the other passages where *ὅμοιος* occurs, 18 in number, it is properly construed with the dative; and so Charles' suggestion that the writer was thinking of *ὡς* fails to explain the two exceptions. The Poet has again deliberately overridden the known grammar to express his idea: the mystical כבר אנש does not mean for him the commonplace 'like of a son of man;' it has become a title in and for itself, and he dares to express himself so: 'Like-Son-of-Man.' And again he may have delighted in playing with the language he could not master, yet bending it to his genius. What Greek that man might have written!

The opinion has grown upon me that this Poet is the most cultured of the New Testament writers. The comparison may not amount to much for some. Rather he is a genius who has produced one of the most remarkable compositions in all literature.

THE LOST ENDING OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARK

A CRITICISM AND A RECONSTRUCTION

ROBERT OLIVER KEVIN
THE PHILADELPHIA DIVINITY SCHOOL

ONE of the most fascinating studies in the entire New Testament field is the problem presented by the ending of Mark's Gospel. That Mark has a double ending is apparent to readers of modern translations such as those of Moffatt and Goodspeed. One may take his choice between the Longer Ending, Mark 16 9–20, of the King James' Version or the Shorter Appendix. And there are other endings, four in all, with major differences.

The testimony of the manuscripts has an all-important bearing upon the question of the ending of Mark's Gospel but it can be briefly summarized.

The familiar Longer Ending of 16 9–20 is attached to nearly all of the manuscripts that have come down to us, but for many reasons it can hardly be genuine. As the text stands, any thoughtful reader must feel the difference in manner and atmosphere as he passes from 16 8 to the verses following.

Another ending in its stead is attached to a few manuscripts after the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ* in Mk. 16 8. It reads:

"But they reported briefly to Peter and his companions all they had been told. And afterward, Jesus himself sent out by them, from the east to the west, the sacred and incorruptible message of eternal salvation."

This ending, I believe, is an important witness for a reconstruction of the original ending, which I will suggest further on.

But in the two great codices of the Fourth Century, B and Aleph, neither the one ending or the other is attached, but the Gospel concludes with the words "for they were afraid — —" in Mk. 16 8.

A fourth ending is given in W, the Freer manuscript. The ending is interesting as an alternative ending, but few New Testament scholars regard it as of importance. It is generally thought to be a late apocryphal insertion in the Longer Ending. It reads:

"And they defended themselves saying: This world of lawlessness and of unbelief is under Satan, which does not suffer those unclean things that are under the dominion of the spirits to comprehend the true powers of God. On this account reveal thy righteousness now. They said these things to Christ.

"And Christ replied to them: There has been fulfilled the term of years of the authority of Satan, but other dreadful things are drawing nigh even to those for the sake of whom as sinners I was delivered up to death in order that they might inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven."

Great scholars have championed the genuineness of the traditional last twelve verses of the sixteenth chapter. Among these have been Bengel, Eichhorn, Scholz, De Wette, Olshausen, Bleek, Lange, Ebrard, Scrivener, Canon Cook, Salmon, E. Miller, Belser, and Dean Burgon.

But Hort in his *Introduction and Appendix to the New Testament in the Original Greek* summed up the evidence for and against them and concluded that they were a very early addition. Gregory likewise asserted that they had "no right to a place in the text of the New Testament."

A review of the evidence will bring any but the biased reader to the same conclusion. This is splendidly summed up in the introduction to *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, by H. B. Swete, 1898.

The fact that there were several endings after the words ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ in Mk. 16 8, is evidence of a problem. Moreover, the two great codices which come down to us from the Fourth Century, and which Tischendorff and Westcott and Hort regarded

as the closest to the original autographs, are followed after Mk. 16 8 by the subscription *κατὰ μάρκον*. In B, the scribe has left the column blank after the subscription, which has been taken to mean by Swete, that he was acquainted with a text of St. Mark which did not end at verse 8, although his own copy failed him at that point.

The fact that the verses were ignored in the Eusebian Canons after verse 8 is evidenced in Codex 1, 1582, and others.

Eusebius declared that the oldest and best Mss. known to him ended the Gospel of St. Mark with the words, "for they were afraid." The Gospel ends at the same point in Syr. Sin. and in three old Mss. of the Armenian. A fourth Armenian Ms. contains the traditional 12 verses but they are separated from the rest of the Gospel with a note "of the Presbyter Ariston."

But since the time of Swete and Conybeare, who championed the validity of the note "of the elder Ariston" as of the first century, scholars have discounted the value of the testimony, since the manuscript on which the note is made is a tenth century document.

In still another manuscript of the Georgian version, dated 897 A. D., the Gospel ends at 16 8.

The Shorter Ending is found in L, ψ, 597, and two uncial fragments, in the Sahidic and Ethiopic versions, in the African Latin k, in the margin of one Greek cursive, in the Harclean Syriac, and in the oldest manuscripts of the Bohairic.

Since the Shorter Ending is obviously an attempt to heal a wound to the original by some early editing, the Mss. having it as a whole afford evidence that their original ended with *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ*.

The uncials which have the short appendix, in each case, after the words "for they were afraid," break off the line, interpose a series of arrow-heads, and then proceed with the Shorter Ending.

Speaking of that summary, Swete says: "It has been written by someone whose copy of the Gospel ended at *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ* and who desired to soften the harshness of so abrupt a conclusion, and at the same time to remove the impression which

it leaves of a failure on the part of Mary of Magdala and her friends to deliver the message with which they had been charged." "Terrified as they were," he adds, "they recovered themselves sufficiently to report to Peter the substance of the angel's words. After this the Lord himself appeared to the Apostles and gave them their orders to carry the Gospel from the East to the West; and these orders with his assistance, were loyally fulfilled."[1]

Swete calls attention to the fact that the style of this ending is similar to that of Luke's prologue, but that it is out of harmony with the rest of Mark's gospel. He first suggested that it was an addition made at Rome. One or two verbal similarities suggest Pseudo-Clement. The place the ending has in k and in other versions points to an early date according to Swete, but it must have had a very limited acceptance, having been overshadowed almost at the first by the merits of the Longer Ending.

Since attention was first called to the differences in the Resurrection account of Mark and the variety of manuscript endings, hypotheses have been advanced to account for the phenomena.

The simplest explanation is that Mark ended his gospel with the words ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ. This explanation has had its defenders. Professor A. T. Robertson says he is not sure that the gospel did not end at that point, and that while it may not be literary and is free Greek, "it is certainly Christian, for it establishes the fact of Christ's resurrection with the restoration of Peter to favor. The fear of the women does make a rather depressing close but we do not know what Mark's motives were, if he closed there. It is possible that he meant to write more and never did, being interrupted by a journey or possibly death."[2]

Against the theory that Mark ended his gospel with the words "for they were afraid," Professor McLean argues that it was impossible that the two words could be the end of a gospel. J. Rendel Harris is sure that two more words anyhow were written by the Evangelist. He reconstructs it, "For they were afraid of the Jews." Canon Streeter in his most recent work, *The Four Gospels*, published 1925, says: "Indeed the words

[1] Swete: pp. CI ff.

[2] A. T. Robertson, *Studies in Mark's Gospel*, p. 137.

ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ in Greek may not be even at the end of a sentence; they lead us to expect a clause beginning with μὴ, 'They were afraid lest they be thought mad,' or something to that effect."[3]

Most students of Greek however, are aware that γὰρ as a post-positive conjunction, can only come second in a clause or sentence and that to end anything with it would have the same "breaking off" effect that an English sentence of this sort would have: "They were afraid, for — —."

It has been plausibly conjectured that the autograph was accidentally mutilated at that point. It is possible that the last leaf of the papyrus roll of the autograph was torn off soon after its composition and before many, if any, copies could have been made from it. It is common enough with us to have the last leaf of a copy book worn or torn off. It may have been that Mark was interrupted in his work by arrest or martyrdom. Critics generally have inclined to the view that the autograph was mutilated in some accident, and Streeter has imagined a situation at Rome where, after a police raid or riot, the end of the Church Gospel of Mark was found to have been torn off.

But there have been other theories to account for the disappearance of the original.

Professor B. W. Bacon in a commentary on Mark published in 1909, *The Beginnings of the Gospel Story*, argued that the original ending of the Gospel was suppressed in the interests of harmony because of the rivaling Jerusalem and Galilean resurrection appearance traditions, which found their place in the Lukan and Matthean accounts respectively and jointly in chapters 20 and 21 of the Fourth Gospel, where the Galilean tradition is added as an appendix in the final chapter to reconcile both theories.[4]

[3] p. 337. To declare that a sentence cannot end with γαρ is contrary to the facts. Dr. James A. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania, has called my attention to the use of gêr in the Syriac of the Peshitto in Jn. 13 13 and Acts 16 37, at the end of a sentence. The Syriac gêr is simply the Greek γαρ and is used in the same way. Dr. Morton S. Enslin, of the Crozer Theological Seminary, has observed many sentences ending in γαρ in the writings of Justin Martyr.

[4] p. XVIII.

In answer to this theory Streeter asks, 1. Why did not the revisors or suppressors while they were about it, suppress the end of Matthew as well, since it conflicted with the Jerusalem tradition; and if they were "cutting," why did they not cut earlier before the phrase "they told no man," and thus be rid of the discrepancy immediately indicated in Mt. and Lk. where they went and told the disciples? 2. How did it happen that the harmonizers got the churches of Alexandria, Africa and Syria, to accept the excision without accepting the alternative ending proposed to harmonize the conflict? 3. The use of Mk. by the other synoptists proves that Mk. was widely read during the first century and in widely differing localities. The suppression of an ending then at such a point would have been possible only by means of a highly organized central ecclesiastical system, able to enforce such uniformity; and we are well aware that no such organization existed.[5]

In his more recent volume, *The Gospel of Mark*, published 1925, Professor Bacon modifies the "suppression theory" to one in which he declares that the conflict of traditions resulted in "the original ending of Mark" being "really 'improved' out of existence."[6]

But his more recent theory does not explain the abrupt ungrammatical ending of verse 8; nor why the original was "improved" out of existence at that exact point. Bacon's later theory is open to nearly all that has been said in answer to his first one.

Although Professor Bacon figuratively "pooh-poohs" the "accident theory," as he calls it, still it is my candid opinion that it more acceptably accounts for the facts than his own, and it has the greater support of scholars. That there was an original ending to the Gospel seems evident from the manuscript evidence; that some accident occurred, either the death or arrest of the author of the Gospel, a raid or riot during the early unsettled Christian times in Rome, or the last page of a papyrus roll being torn off, seems more plausible than that the ending

[5] Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 341 ff.
[6] p. 190.

was "suppressed," "harmonized," "improved out of existence," or intentionally never written.

Before entering upon a discussion of the theories that have been advanced for the reconstruction of the ending, it would be well to call attention to the fact that if here was a loss of an ending it was a primitive loss.

We must ask ourselves the question whether the original ending of Mark was known to the authors of Matthew and Luke when they were writing their gospels.

So far as Luke was concerned, it may have been known to him and he purposely disregarded it. We know he used Mark consistently as a secondary source and preferred his own passion narrative to Mark's account. At the same time Luke omitted nothing in Mark that was interesting and inserted it in the context of his own story.

Now it is interesting to note that in regard to Luke's story, although he nowhere expressly mentions an appearance of the risen Lord to Peter alone, he anticipates in Lk. 21 32 that such an appearance will be made and later on in 24 34 refers to it as though it had been made, when the disciples say: "The Lord is risen indeed and hath appeared to Simon."

Luke's allusion seems to indicate that he accepted the tradition that Jesus first appeared to Peter (1 Cor. 15 4–8) but that he knew no more about it than that and in the text of the Gospel of Mark where an appearance to Peter is twice anticipated in the body of the Gospel but not mentioned in the resurrection story. (Mk. 1 8 "I have baptised you with water, but he will baptise you with the Holy Ghost." And Mk. 14 28, "But after I am raised to life again I will go back to Galilee before you.")

Now if it is true that Luke inserted all that Mark included, that was important, into the body of his own narrative in the passion story, and he possessed Mark's resurrection narrative, we might look for some details that would correspond to what we find in Matthew's resurrection story, for up to Mk. 16 8 *the three synoptists tell essentially the same story.*

A brief examination of Matthew's passion narrative shows that he followed Mark closely up to 16 8 and then he departed from the Lukan account as Luke departed from his.

The message of the angel in Mk. 16 7, "Go tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him as he said unto you," clearly refers back to Jesus' prophecy in 14 28. And we are bound to infer that whatever the lost ending contained, it did have an account of an appearance in Galilee and particularly to Peter.

Now Matthew tells the story of a Galilean appearance of Jesus, and at the first glance one might be led to infer that in the ending of Matthew's Gospel we might find the original Mark. Such was the inference of Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed in the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. 9, pp. 484—490.

Professor Goodspeed argues that in dealing with the passion week and the resurrection appearances, "Matthew shows an evident disposition to take over all that Mark affords, and this tendency having controlled him so long, can hardly have forsaken him seven or eight verses from the end. Since Mt. 28 1–8 parallels Mk. 16 1–8, whatever stood in the original conclusion of Mark may thus fairly be expected to appear in that part of Mt. subsequent to 28 1–8. When thus regarded, Matthew's conclusion yields two elements which so perfectly accord with the context in Mark, so naturally relieve its abruptness, and so briefly round out its narrative, as to seem even more fitting and original when appended to Mark."

The two elements Goodspeed speak of are the first reassuring words of Jesus to the women, "Be not afraid," since verse 8 of Mk. 16 ends, "for they were afraid," and the fact that the appearance finally was made in Galilee, as the angel in Mark foretold.

Although the first eight verses of the chapter in Matthew in a general sense parallel those of the chapter in Mark, they do not do so in particular. Matthew speaks of but two women, Mark of three. In Matthew an angel descends from heaven and is seated outside on the stone which he has rolled away. In Mark "a young man" is seated within the tomb. And there is nothing like the verbal agreement in the passages that one finds between Matthew and Mark in other sections of the synoptic gospels.

Canon Streeter, instead of being won to Professor Good-

speed's theory, finds that Matthew becomes meagre of detail at the same spot where the authentic text of Mark now ends. (i. e. 16 8).[7]

Moreover, if Matthew possessed such a conclusion to his copy of Mark, he would hardly have recorded an appearance to the eleven in Galilee without some special mention of Peter in it, for in Matthew's gospel, Peter is clearly the prince of the Apostles.

Because of Matthew's failure to particularize Peter and his meagreness of detail through the resurrection narrative, Streeter believes that the copy of Mark possessed by that evangelist ended at 16 8. And he is convinced that Luke fared no better.

We must keep in mind that St. Paul expressly declares Peter to have first seen the risen Lord, and that that statement in Corinthians is the earliest tradition in the New Testament. That is, that the Galilean appearances are primary and that the Jerusalem appearances of Mt. and Jn. as first to the Magdalene are secondary.

Bacon presents an interesting if somewhat difficult theory to account for the variant Markan resurrection stories. He has called attention in *The Gospel of Mark* to some significant cross references in the other gospels which he thinks may have resulted in the original Markan ending being "improved out of existence." His facts are stimulating to thought, if his conclusions remain slightly unconvincing.

Because of the Lukan reference to Peter's rallying the disciples in Galilee in Lk. 21 32, "And thou, when thou art restored, establish thy brethren," Bacon feels that this tradition conflicted with a tradition originally contained in Mark's resurrection story, which consisted of Jesus himself rallying his disciples in Galilee. (Mk. 14 28).

"From the testimony of Paul and a subsequent allusion to Lk. 24 34 we know," says Bacon, "that Peter did become the living stone on which the Church was built. But Mark substitutes another version of the origin of the faith whereby the leading part is no longer taken by Peter but by Jesus in Person." (p. 183.)

7 Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 343—344.

Dr. Bacon continues:

"It is true that the actual carrying out of this predicted rally of the flock by Jesus in Galilee fails to be related in Mark, on account of the mutilated condition in which this gospel has come down to us. But enough remains in Mk. 15 40—16 8 to show what the Roman evangelist substituted for the Manifestation to Peter mentioned by Paul in First Corinthians and in Galatians 2 7."

"The substitution," he says again, "is the most probable cause of the mutilation; for had it been due to mere accident it is incredible that the gap should not have been filled out in better agreement with the primitive tradition."

For the moment, let us turn to page xviii in the introduction to Bacon's work, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*. There naturally, because it is an earlier theory, he has nothing to say about the conflict of the Petrine tradition and the "Jesus Tradition" for the rallying of the disciples. On the contrary, he expressly says, "The author of Mk. 1 8 and 14 28 must have at least intended to describe both Jesus' resurrection appearance to Peter with the reassembling of the scattered flock, and also the Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit . . . Why indeed should the evangelist write his gospel at all if not vindicate the apostolic witness of which the Church claimed to be the bearer?"

Although in the "Beginnings" Bacon holds that the original ending was suppressed because it failed to harmonize the conflicting traditions, in his later work, where the original ending was "improved out of existence," it was for another reason entirely, namely because it failed to vindicate the apostolic witness! One can not be blamed for suspecting a theory when two such different stones kill the same bird.

Nevertheless, Bacon feels in his more recent work that the presence of the foreign element of the Galilean resurrection appearances in Mark's original ending, which from Mk. 15 42 and following was a Jerusalem source, presented the irreconcilable conflict. Bacon thinks that from 15 42 ff., Mark used the same special source used by Luke in his passion narrative, although he did it less skillfully, and that Luke preferred his own source to Mark's account of it.

Canon Streeter in his volume *The Four Gospels*, published in 1925, presents another theory and a reconstruction of the lost ending of Mark that is more natural and simpler than Bacon's, if it does draw a little too heavily on surrounding imaginative history.

In justice to Dr. Streeter, however, it must be said, that he presents his suggestion purely as a "conjecture" and not as a scientific hypothesis. He adopts the "accident theory" that Bacon ridicules. And in spite of all Bacon has had to say regarding Mark's method, his sources, and his failure, the conclusion that the end of the gospel was improved or suppressed from existence is not convincing. And if his conclusion to account for the disappearance of the ending is unconvincing, the evidence he adduces to prove it may be equally unwarranted.

Streeter finds no difficulty in supposing that the original copy of Mark, especially if the gospel were written for the Church at Rome, almost immediately lost its conclusion. Since he argues for the late dating of the gospel he places that loss at about 65 A. D.

His conclusions, however, would not go as well with an earlier dating if we feel that the writing of the gospel was nearer 50 or 55 A. D. than 65. I cannot feel the force of his argument that Luke's version of the Little Apocalypse in Mark's Gospel, with the changes that Luke makes concerning Jerusalem being encompassed with armies, necessarily requires the supposition that the siege of Jerusalem by Titus had begun or was about to begin. (c. 70 A. D.)

But to revert to the lost ending of Mark.

"The two ends of a roll would always be the most exposed," says Streeter. "The beginning ran the greater risk but in a book rolled from both ends the conclusion was not safe. The author of Hebrews writing to the Roman Church alludes to the patient endurance of 'spoiling their goods.' Curiously enough there is evidence that copies of Romans were in circulation which lacked the last two chapters, which looks as if one of the earliest copies of that epistle, the one other document of which we can be quite sure that the Roman Church had a copy at this time, was similarly mutilated."

Streeter's reconstruction of the lost end of Mark, he makes from the twenty-first chapter of the Fourth Gospel. He supposes that in the lost ending there were stories of appearances to the Magdalene, followed by one to Peter and to the others while fishing on the Lake of Galilee.

Before discussing his hypothesis, I must call attention to the fact that Streeter meets two *a priori* objections. They are (1) that it may seem unlikely that a copy of Mark would be preserved as a whole at Ephesus and be lost at Rome. To this he answers that during Paul's imprisonment at Rome, Mark contemplated a visit to Asia (Col. 4 10), and a little later Paul summoned him to Rome (2 Tim. 4 11) "for he is useful to me for ministering."

If so, Mark had been working near Ephesus, and when he arrived at Rome and wrote his gospel nothing would have been more natural than that the first copy of it that was made, should be sent by messenger to Ephesus. In that case the copy for Ephesus would have been made before the original was mutilated. The acceptance of this theory, Streeter definitely makes to depend upon the supposition that Mark was written about 65 A. D.

(2) The other *a priori* objection that might be raised is that if the original ending survived at Ephesus, how did it happen that the variant endings we have took its place? Streeter replies that the Longer Ending was composed c. 100—110 A. D. and added soon thereafter. It then would have become part of the fixed tradition of the Roman Church before Ephesus and Rome exchanged notes on the canon; and Mark as a Roman gospel would have had its ending accepted as authentic rather than any Ephesian variation.

Streeter urges five reasons for believing that the 21st chapter of the Fourth Gospel contains the original of Mark. (1) The lost ending must have contained an appearance to the apostles in Galilee in which Peter may have figured in some way. (2) If John 21 had stood alone as a separate document we would suppose that the appearance at the Sea of Galilee was the first to the apostles without the note in verse 14 expressly stating that it was the third of the appearances.

(3) The addition of the miraculous draught of fishes in the story of the call of Peter in Luke 5 4–7, and the addition in Mt. 14 29–31 of the story of the walking on the water and of the incident of Peter leaving the boat to meet the Lord, are best explained as fragments of a story like that in John 21 which was current in oral tradition.

(4) The ending of John 21 is the kind of an ending that one would be led to expect to the Gospel of Mark where Peter's denial earlier would have been cancelled in the resurrection appearance. (5) A critical analysis of John shows that the author used Mark or Luke or Proto-Luke as his sources among others. If John 20 follows the Lukan Jerusalem tradition, John 21 might follow the Markan account as it was had in Ephesus about 90 A. D.

A PROPOSAL TO ACCOUNT FOR THE ORIGINAL ENDING OF THE GOSPEL

From what has been said, it is my belief that the average reader will be more readily won to what Streeter supposes than to Bacon's theory of either "suppression" or "improvement."

In reviewing the discussion so far, may I call attention to three general conclusions we may use as a basis for further work?

(1) Streeter and other scholars who have adopted the "accident theory" to account for the disappearance of the ending are more nearly right than theorists who have believed that Mark ended his gospel there intentionally or that the ending was suppressed or "improved out of existence."

(2) Streeter is right in his conviction that the loss of the ending was an exceedingly primitive one and took place shortly after the writing of the gospel, which he places at 65 A. D.

(3) Although Streeter's theory is an attractive one, it depends entirely upon a late dating for the writing of the Gospel (at least as late as Paul's imprisonment at Rome). Now if the supposition of the late dating for the Gospel is not satisfactorily demonstrated, the theory in some of its particulars must be unacceptable.

Now Streeter nowhere takes into consideration the challenge of Harnack for the early dating of the Synoptic gospels, as afforded by the unexplained ending to the Book of Acts, and developed in *Luke the Physician, The Acts of the Apostles* and *The Date of Acts and the Gospels*. Despite that fact a small but increasing number of New Testament scholars are being won to the challenge of the early date.

Briefly, it is Harnack's conviction that the Book of Acts ends as it does because there was no more to say at the time when it was written (i. e., before 64 A. D.). It is Harnack's further conviction, and surely he, Ramsay, and Hawkins have been piling up sufficient evidence to prove it, that the author of the Book of Acts and of the Gospel of Luke is one and the same. Since Luke used Mark as a source, the writing of the latter must clearly have antedated the writing of Luke. It is possible that Luke wrote his narrative in 58 A. D. while Paul was at Caesarea Philippi and that Mark was one of the documents that lay before him at that time.

Now what is the evidence against this view?

It has been claimed that the passage on the "abomination of desolation" in Mark 13 14 and the changes that Luke makes in the passage are a reference to the siege of Jerusalem in the year 70, and in so being are an argument for the late dating of both gospels and thereby render Harnack's challenge worthless.

Mark says: "When ye see the abomination of desolation standing where *he* ought not (let him that readeth understand);" and Luke changes it to "But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that her desolation has come near" (Luke 21 20–24).

But do they refer to the siege of Jerusalem in 70? And why did Luke change Mark's story? To enter into this discussion is to go far afield. But I think it is sufficient to call attention to the work of Canon Charles who has demonstrated the insertion in Mark 13 and Luke 21 of a Little Apocalypse. When that insertion took place, it would be impossible to say, for it might have been incorporated into the first writing of either gospel. But granting that it was, what then?

It would be interesting to know why Luke changed the Markan story to include the encompassing of Jerusalem by armies, but that inquiry is beyond our point. But I will call attention to the fact that even Streeter admits that the "abomination of desolation" in Mark does not refer to the siege in 70 A. D.[8]

Streeter admits that the idea of the "abomination of desolation" being the siege of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. has been exploded by the researches of Bousset and others into the origin and prevalence of the "Anti-Christ legend." The use of the masculine participle of "standing" with the neuter noun "abomination" is an interpretation of the prophecy of Daniel for the title of the Anti-Christ. The apocalyptist who wrote Mark 13 thought he had found the true interpretation of Daniel. "But if when Mark wrote," continues Streeter, "the Anti-Christ was expected to appear in the Temple at Jerusalem, the presumption is that the Temple was still standing."

That is an interesting admission on the part of a great New Testament scholar who believes in the later dating for the Gospel of Mark. If the Temple was still standing when that was written and "the Anti-Christ was expected to appear in the Temple," what is to prevent the interpretation of this passage as the threat on the part of Caligula to set up his own statue in the Temple at Jerusalem for divine honor, an act he was prevented from doing by his assassination in 41 A. D.

Luke's change of the picture to include "encircling armies" does not necessarily refer to the siege of 70, in the opinion of many scholars. Lonsdale Ragg, in his commentary on Luke, says: "Encircling armies and trenches . . . would be the natural forecast for an intelligent man who could gauge the possibilities of Jewish insurgence some years earlier. There is nothing distinctive in the reference to encircling armies." Shailer Matthews in the *Messianic Hope in the New Testament* (p. 230) remarks that "Jesus expected the fall of Jerusalem. This passage may have been sharpened up by Luke but such a hypothesis is really gratuitous. Any picture of the doom of

[8] p. 492.

a city might easily run into the conventional picture of a siege."

The only other argument of any weight requiring a late dating for the Synoptics is the alleged dependence of Luke upon Josephus in the writing of the Book of Acts. That argument has been amply answered by Torrey in *The Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916. On page 71 Professor Torrey discusses at length the implications of the Judas-Theudas passage.

It was the practice of Josephus to follow written sources, Torrey declares, and there is no reason to suppose he was not doing that in *Ant.* XX: 5:1 ff. on which Acts 5 36 is supposed by Streeter to depend. In the *Antiquities* Theudas and his band are described in the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus. Then follows the chapter on his successor, Tiberius Alexander, XX: 5:2. This also contains an account of the execution of James and Simon, two sons of Judas of Galilee. To speak of it, the writer says he had to tell of the revolt of Judas which he had already described in XVII: 10:5. The revolt was a little thing, but the execution aroused general horror. Thus a history would have contained mention of Theudas and Judas, though the uprising of Judas was earlier. Torrey supposes that the author of the Aramaic source of the first part of Acts obtained a wrong impression from another history where the events, described later by Josephus in 93 A. D., were confused.

Acts says 400 were involved, *Antiquities* mentions "a great crowd." *Antiquities* is correct in the statement of the order, Acts is not. The supposition, therefore, is that Acts did not derive its account from Josephus but from an older source.

Instances of other alleged dependencies of Luke upon Josephus are so well answered by Professor Torrey, who is himself convinced of the early dating of Mark, as not to need repeating here. But it is easy to be seen that it is by no means necessary to connect the events of 70 A. D. with Mark 13 and Luke 21. Harnack's challenge, then, still stands, and Streeter's hypothesis for the lost ending of Mark is untenable.

It is my belief that the Gospel was written by St. Mark in

the decade 40—50 A. D. Whether it was first written in an Aramaic original we have not yet sufficient evidence to decide, although Professor Torrey feels that it was.

Practically all scholars are agreed that the most primitive resurrection appearance tradition is recorded in Paul's letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 15 3–8). That passage reads as follows:

"For I passed on to you as of first importance, *the account I had received,* that Christ died for our sins, as the Scriptures foretold, that he was buried, that on the third day he was raised from the dead, and that he was seen by Cephas, and then by the twelve; after that he was seen by more than 500 brothers at one time, most of whom are still alive, although some of them are fallen asleep. Then he was seen by James, then by all the apostles, and finally he was seen by me also, as though I were born at the wrong time."

It is this tradition that St. Paul repeats as having been received by him that I believe was the original Petrine tradition and was in substance, if not in form, related in the original ending of the Gospel of Mark.

My reasons are as follows:

(1) There is hardly the necessity to review the evidence for the Petrine and Pauline influences in the Gospel of Mark. They have been commented upon many times. The ecclesiastical tradition that Mark set down the memorabilia of Peter is sufficiently well known and there has never been any real reason to dispute its essential authenticity. Papias and Justin are early witnesses to that tradition. Moreover, the prominence of Peter in Mark's Gospel, the scenes about Peter's home in Capernaum, the denial, etc., have often been remarked upon by scholars.

At the same time Professor Bacon has called attention to a noticeable Paulinism about Mark. "The manner in which the evangelist conceives his task," he feels to be the most compelling point of similarity. "Mark's effort is simply to produce belief in Jesus as the Son of God." From Mark 8 27 to 10 52, known in Bacon's analysis as the Doctrine of the Cross, "is simply the Pauline principle of 'the mind that was in Christ Jesus.'"

In this discussion of the ending of Mark's gospel I want to reason somewhat inductively, since I do not feel that a recovery of the exact form of the Markan ending to the gospel is possible (from our present available evidence). But its substance may be found. At all events, we can recognize in the Gospel of Mark both a Pauline and a Petrine influence.

(2) Paul in Galatians gives us the source of his resurrection tradition. In 1 18 ff., he says: "Three years later I went up to Jerusalem to become acquainted with Cephas, and I spent two weeks with him, but I did not see any other apostle, except James the Lord's brother."

The specific mention of Peter and James as having been witnesses to separate resurrection appearances and their separate mention here as having given Paul the things wherein he had been instructed concerning the Christian tradition, and which he himself admits was the account he had received, point to only one thing and that is that Paul gained his resurrection appearance tradition at that time in the converse with Peter and James.

(3) That Mark accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their missionary journey is evident in Acts 12 25. Since Mark was not an apostle he must have been dependent upon the story of the gospel as he received it secondarily; and both the internal evidence and external evidence from the nature of his gospel, and the circumstances of his association with Peter and Paul, indicate his sources. Now, the Pauline-Petrine resurrection tradition was the same and Mark would more likely have drawn upon it than upon any other.

Even Luke, although in writing his gospel he preferred another tradition, recognized the force of the Petrine tradition as he, too, no doubt had received it from Paul, and permitted it to enter his gospel account (Lk. 24 34).

(4) Although Paul never speaks of the resurrection tradition as in Galilee, nevertheless, from what we know of the Galilean tradition and the Jerusalem tradition, in Matthew, Luke and John, the picture that Paul gives is essentially that of Galilee, for it corresponds to nothing we know of in the Jerusalem tradition, except in the later appearances he enumerates.

The Jerusalem tradition has for its chief witnesses Luke, John 20, and the Longer Ending to Mark. The Galilean tradition given in Matthew 28 16–20 and in John 21 is also reflected in the Shorter Appendix to the Gospel of Mark given in a few of the manuscripts as a variant ending.

Now concerning this Galilean tradition there are two versions. The one is that Jesus appeared *first* to Peter and then to the eleven; and the second is that Jesus appeared to Peter *in company* with the rest. Paul clearly distinguishes an appearance first to Peter and then to the "Twelve." Just as clearly Jn. 21, the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter, and Matthew distinguish an appearance to Peter *and* the other disciples. Luke admits that Jesus had been seen first by Peter.

In attempting to discover how far we can fit the essential features of Paul's belief concerning the order of the resurrection appearances into what we may suppose was Mark's account, we must examine the Gospel of Mark as it stands. In Mark 16 7, the message of the angel to Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, is, "Go, tell his disciples and Peter, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, as he said unto you." Clearly this is a hearkening back to Mark 14 28.

It is interesting to observe that although in Matthew the message is essentially the same, nevertheless Peter is not mentioned. In neither Luke or John, which are primarily concerned with the Jerusalem tradition, does the angel tell them to go to Galilee, much less imply that the Lord would appear there to Peter.

In this connection may I raise the question whether the distinction in the appearances to Peter alone first or to Peter as one of the twelve is not more apparent than real? On this point scholars who have worked over the problem have often commented, particularly Professor Bacon, who professes to see in the two statements a conflict. But that Paul was not entirely careful in his statement is evidenced in his remark immediately afterwards, that Jesus was then seen of the "Twelve!" Should not the careful historian have said the "Eleven?" Matthias can hardly have been included so soon!

But if there was a distinction in the appearances, does not

the Gospel of Mark bring that out by mentioning Peter particularly, whereas the particularization is omitted in the other accounts?

I think we are on solid ground in believing that the conclusion of the Gospel of Mark contained an account of an appearance first to Peter in Galilee and then to the other disciples probably as described in Jn. 21, where Peter too is singled out for converse with the Master.

(5) But may not the ending of the Gospel have contained more than that? Professor Burkitt, in *The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus,* professes a conviction that "it is not unlikely that the Gospel originally extended over much of the period covered by the first twelve chapters of the Acts of the Apostles" (p. 94). Now St. Paul mentions other appearances besides the one to Cephas and the "Twelve." He continues to say, "And after that he was seen by more than 500 brothers at one time, most of whom are still alive, although some of them have fallen asleep."

In Mk. 1 8, we read the prophecy that the Lord will baptise the faithful with the Holy Ghost, but so far as the ending of the gospel is concerned, that promise is unfulfilled. But another promise made in 14 28 has its fulfillment at least implied in 16 7. We may conclude that it was the double purpose of the author of Mark, as Bacon has already indicated, to testify to the coming of the Holy Ghost and to the appearance of Jesus to the disciples in Galilee.

Can we not then identify the appearance to the 500 described by Paul with the description of the coming of the Holy Spirit in Acts 2 1–42? That a great number beheld the manifestation, whatever it was, is apparent from the statement that about 3000 were baptised the same day.

Not only does Burkitt believe that the Gospel went on to describe the early Christian age, but Bacon likewise says (*Beginnings,* p. xix), "It is as certain as anything in the field of critical conjecture can be that our evangelist's story once went on to relate the substance of the early narrative of Acts and may have wound up, as Acts does with the planting of the Gospel in Rome."

Since considerable evidence seems to point to the conclusion that Mark was a Roman gospel, written in Rome and for Roman Christians, that supposition is not unlikely. If so, it would lend added weight to the similarity of the resurrection appearances listed by Paul and possibly by Mark.

In Corinthians, Paul continues: "Then he was seen by James, then by all of the apostles, and finally by me also." That Paul may have received the substance of the story of the appearance to James on his visit to Jerusalem which he describes in Gal. 1, we have already called attention to. So far as his statement of an appearance next to "all of the apostles" (1 Cor. 15 7) as distinct from the earlier one to the "Twelve" is concerned, we know nothing of it. But of the final vision to Paul himself, we know well enough. The later Gospel to the Hebrews tells of an appearance to James separately from the rest, though it may be derived from Paul or from another source, possibly from Mark.

(6) There is one further factor involved in the problem to which I think attention should be called. It is the so-called Shorter Ending to the Gospel that appears after Mk. 16 8 in a few ancient manuscripts and versions, notably L ψ ד ק; and particularly the Old Latin.

It has little literary merit and naturally was soon superseded by the Longer Ending of the traditional 16 9–20. But if the Shorter Ending be compared with the Longer Ending, it will be seen to side with the Matthean-Markan Galilean tradition rather than with Luke, John 20, and the Jerusalem tradition to which the Longer Ending is also a witness.

Let us assume then, as many scholars have supposed, that an accident occurred to the autograph of Mark. If a portion of the page was torn off at the place in 16 8 leaving the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ* and the accident was not immediately discovered, there would probably have been some eventual attempt at reconstruction. Manifestly this is what happened; for if the discovery of the accident had been made immediately afterwards, the probabilities are that in each of the alternative endings that have come down to us there would have been a closer approximation to the facts in the original ending.

But if a time had elapsed and persons later reading the Gospel came to ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ and there had to stop, at once automatically they would try to recall what they had read there before the accident had occurred. It is probable that certain key-words would stand out, just as a reporter of a speech who returns to his newspaper office, in modern times, without having made any notes of what he had heard (a not infrequent occurrence) recalls only a few picturesque words or phrases that stood out as he heard them, strives to remember only the essential facts, condenses possibly an hour's address into two paragraphs and then turns it into print.

Now assuming that this may have happened and that the author of the Shorter Ending had in mind only some key-words that he could add after a lapse of time to give the Gospel a dignified ending no matter how inadequate, let us see what kind of a reconstruction he would have made from what he remembered, just as certain words without the spaces being filled in would stand out in a reporter's notes or in his mind. The result might very well be something like this:

"They told . . . Peter . . . companions . . ." And then the summary of it all because of the inadequacy of the memory: "Jesus himself sent out by them from the east to the west the sacred and incorruptible message of eternal salvation," thoroughly editorial.

Others have called attention to the fact that the reference to the east and to the west makes it possible that this addition was made to the gospel at Rome, where at that time the furthermost mission of Christianity to the west would have gone. If so, it fits in perfectly with the hypothesis that the Gospel, written at Rome, early suffered damage there, and readers who had known something of its complete contents had attached a reporter's summary. That summary contained the germ of the Galilean tradition and the particularization to Peter, as well as the spread of the Christian message through the Pentecostal power!

Perhaps I have read into this reconstruction more than the facts warrant. But so far as I can observe, it contains as large an element of plausibility as any of the other theories

that have been advanced and it may be open to less objection.

Whatever the ultimate solution of the problem may be, I doubt if the actual text of the ending of the gospel can be culled from any place in the New Testament, and in lieu of that one must reason inductively for what it may originally have contained.

ON THE REPORTING OF MIRACLES

ALFRED M. PERRY
BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

DRAWN forth recently from our academic seclusion, popularly so called, into conflicting currents of the religious expression of the people, as manifested in a campaign of faith healing, I am minded to give utterance to a few reflections upon the subject of the reporting of miracles. I do not anticipate that this brief paper can set forth anything original or novel, nor greatly tax either your time or your attention; but I am hoping that it may give concrete illustration of ideas which, though familiar, may be still somewhat nebulous for some of us, and thus, by definite examples, assist us all to a clearer orientation in our historical study of miracles. So I venture to bring this report of things which have come under my own observation in this year of grace.

Early in the autumn of 1925 faith healing meetings were held in our city, and for a period of three weeks the large music festival auditorium was filled daily. The meetings were conducted somewhat after the manner of ordinary revival services; but the public interest centered in the work of healing. During the meetings nearly five thousand people came for healing, the number increasing steadily from some forty daily to more than six hundred on the closing day. These patients, so far as possible, came, or were brought by friends, unto the stage, where the healer anointed them with oil and uttered a brief prayer, after the manner prescribed in the epistle of James (James 5 14), now and then asking one or another to drop a crutch, or to say "Praise God!", or to give some other immediate demonstration of the cure.

I. My first observation upon the reporting of these phenomena would be that competent testimony in the matter of miracles

is rare and difficult to come at. In many different ways error creeps in. First, there is the tendency to assign an irrelevant cause for the recovery of the sufferer, quite overlooking the obvious and ordinary explanation. To parody Hamlet's phrase, "The miracle's the thing", and if a supernatural cause can possibly be assigned why consider the natural explanation? So, when a girl, long under treatment for tuberculosis of the hip, throws aside her cast and walks, it is deemed a miracle — no matter that the physician has ordered the removal of the cast next week, anyhow[1]. When a deaf mute speaks (or mumbles half intelligibly), it is thought quite irrelevant that she has spent years in a school for the deaf[2]. And when a dear old grandmother tells how the rheumatism which had almost completely crippled her was dispelled in an instant, it is by the merest chance that one discovers that she had not taken her medicine for a month previous to the event, because she had been feeling so much better[3].

Again, there is a boundless capacity for self-deception. A young man with recurring attacks of heart trouble[4], a man

The following cases are drawn mainly from the files of the committee appointed to investigate and review the tangible results of the healing campaign in Bangor, Maine, in September, 1925, and from my own observations while a member of that committee.

[1] A girl with tuberculosis of hip. The cast had once before been removed prematurely, and would soon have been removed by physician's orders in any event. The girl limps badly at present.

[2] A girl of 20. Had been for several years in school for deaf at Portland, but speaks, and reads lips, very poorly. Tested carefully by a member of the committee, she could not hear at all, and her speech was only partially intelligible.

[3] A woman of 70. Had been badly crippled with rheumatism, and claimed to have been entirely blind in one eye. She described how her sight was instantaneously restored at the meeting. She was found to be now able-bodied and apparently had fair eyesight, though in need of glasses.

[4] A young man, 25, who had endocarditis and myocarditis several years ago, with attacks recurring about twice a year since. Also a pleural condition which had necessitated tapping of the cavity three times. After last attack, in spring, he grew steadily weaker, and lost hope, till nearly bed-ridden. After meeting gained strength and courage, and went back to work. Lungs (and heart, apparently) remain the same.

with periodic granulation of the knee[5], an old lady who has "fits" from time to time[6], all assure one that at last they are cured completely because, forsooth, they have had no recurrence of the affliction since they were anointed and prayed for. Imaginary ailments, of course, disappear instantly. A woman proclaims loudly to her neighbor in the meeting, "I felt that goitre just sinking away, and see! it's gone! My husband never could see it, anyhow; but *I* knew it was there."[7] And even the crowd at large is imposed upon: the dumb girl[2] comes forward and mumbles aloud, a lame girl is carried across the stage, barely able to swing her shrunken limbs[8], and the crowd accepts even these pitiful exhibitions as authentic miracles.

In such a soil of credulity rumors grow rank,—indeed, such wild and conflicting reports as grew out of the Bangor meetings have never before come within my ken. A crippled newsboy was healed, was back on his crutches, had been rebuked by the priest[9], a tubercular girl was cured, was dead, was seen at church[10]—and so the stories ebbed and flowed, like waves upon the beach; but the tales of those who were disappointed were submerged and lost in the general cry of "Miracle", so that a presumption in favor of the extraordinary spread among the less intelligent all over the state, and even some of the educated clergy fell victims to it.

In addition to all of this, there is definite evidence of fraud on the part of those in charge of the healing campaign, and testimonials of the cure of goitre, cancer, paralysis, blindness, and total deafness give every evidence of forgery.[11]

[5] A man of middle age who had periodic granulation of knee joint, following a severe blow. Had worn bandage for three years, with no recurrence of symptoms. After being anointed he had removed bandage.

[6] Elderly woman, with periodic attacks of vertigo and severe nausea. No attacks since the meetings.

[7] Overheard at the meetings by Rev. W. L. Robison.

[8] Reported by Mr. Norman S. Davis, at meeting of Nov. 18, 1925.

[9] A common rumor on the streets about Sept. 15, 1925.

[10] Reported by Rev. John S. Pendleton, who saw the girl at church.

[11] A paid advertisement of Sept. 18, 1925 carried fifteen testimonials, of which at least nine bore addresses unknown to the postal authorities, and only two had local addresses.

All of these elements—misinterpretation, self-deception, irresponsible rumor, and clear fraud—brought our investigating committee heartily to agree with the sentiment attributed to the Dean of St. Paul's, that "Only those who have tried to sift the evidence of a miraculous cure know the shifting and prevarication with which they are usually met"[12], and, one might well add, "the indignant resentment of any question whatever."

II. My second observation is that psychical factors played a large part in the impress which was made. There was, first, the hypnotic effect of the personality of the healer, a cheery, hearty woman in white, with complete self-assurance. This was reinforced by a large element of anticipation, fostered by large claims of past successes made from the platform by the healer herself, and by wide advertising of notable local "cures." To these were added a strong appeal to the patient's own volition and determination, by the demand made of many of the sufferers, after the anointing and prayer, that they declare themselves healed, and demonstrate the cure by throwing aside crutches or giving other appropriate proof.

The important part played by these psychic factors contributed greatly to the remarkable ease with which the delusion was deflated. An amusing illustration of their power was given by a woman[13] accustomed to use a single crutch but able to get about to some extent without it who, after being anointed, went home and walked for a day or two without assistance. Then, her prejudice against the healer being raised by the interjection of the Ku Klux Klan issue, she took to her crutch once more. Asked about her "cure" she replied, "No, my lame leg didn't pain me a bit; but the other one ached all the time."

There were also some of the phenomena more specifically associated with abnormal psychical states. Many of those treated spoke of the feeling of exaltation which accompanied their experience. Some believed themselves healed while the exaltation

[12] As quoted by Dr. Edward S. Cowles, *Religion and Medicine in the Church*, New York, 1925, page 58.

[13] A woman of middle age, with one shortened leg. Without a crutch she limps very badly.

lasted[14]. A few spoke of seeing a great flash of light. In particular one old woman[3] who says she was nearly blind before, tells how the dazzling light broke upon her all at once with the restoration of the sight of her useless eye.

These phenomena are reminiscent of, and possibly conditioned by, some features of the Biblical narratives; but such psychical experiences are not unusual under similar circumstances.

III. My third observation is that there were some actual cures. In a group of fifty-seven test cases, one such was found[15], a woman who suffered so greatly from lumbago that she could not bring herself to bend over, but who can now stoop to the floor with perfect ease. Other such cases came to our attention: a young man quite invalided by heart and pleural troubles who was restored to active work (though without any real improvement of his actual physical disabilities)[4]; an old woman almost completely crippled with rheumatism who is now doing her housework and knitting mittens[3]. These are veritable cures, and must be acknowledged as such, and others have been reported; but it should be carefully noted that in none of the cases which have yet come under our observation could the operation of supernatural causes be demonstrated. All real benefit that was received, so far as we have yet ascertained, has been due to the encouragement which the patient received and to his newly awakened determination to be well: there *were* cures, in some cases, but no miracles.

Finally, I should add the observation that the majority of those who received or sought healing were not closely connected with organized religion, but rather were folk of little knowledge and superficial experience in religion. That is to say, the whole delusion rested not on strong and intelligent religious experience, but upon a washed-out, second-hand faith which was little more than superstition.

[14] For example, a young man with very poor vision returned from the meeting confident he could see much better. Two days later he stumbled over the curb stone and was quite badly injured.

[15] An elderly woman who had several times been healed by faith. For some years she had not felt able to put on her own shoes, but was instantly healed at the meeting.

I may sum up these random observations in a single statement: there is no miracle recorded in the Biblical narratives which would not have received credence if reported to have been wrought by the healer. She did actually claim, as a matter of fact, that she had by prayer raised to life her dead sister—and the story was believed implicitly. But, so far as it has been possible to ascertain the facts, the number of cures wrought is disappointingly small—even tragically small—in comparison with the eager multitudes who sought healing.

THE ARAMAIC OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

G. R. DRIVER
MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN view of recent endeavours to revive the traditional view of the date of the Book of Daniel, especially that made by Dr. Boutflower, it may not be amiss to review once again the principal linguistic arguments and to see if any new evidence in favour of the critical date can be adduced.[1] It will perhaps be as well to state at once that the writer believes that one such piece of evidence is available. If a careful study of the change of consonants and of the development of the grammatical forms in the Aramaic of the Egyptian *papyri* be made with reference to the known dates of every dated document in the series, it is possible to fix within the narrow compass of a few years the introduction of each change in the morphology of the language. It will be seen that the older forms linger on till about 450 B. C., while the new ones gradually displace them between the years 450 and 400 B. C. The purpose of this article, then, is to show what bearing this important fact has on the vexed question of the date of the Biblical dialect, especially as exhibited in the Book of Daniel.

Dr. Boutflower argues, in the first place, that, since Daniel was a courtier and diplomat under both Babylonian and Persian kings, it is not surprising to find that he wrote in Aramaic, a language which must have been continually on his lips and was more suitable than Hebrew to the wider outlook of his prophetic visions, and which would moreover have made his book available to a wider circle of readers. This is possible; but, to take only

[1] Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel*, chaps. xxi & xxii.

one point, if the author was living in the 6th. century B. C., at the Babylonian court, when Babylonian was still a living language, it is surely hardly probable that he would have misinterpreted the name בלטשאצר, Belteshazzar, 'according to the name of my god Bel' (Dan. 4 8), with whom it has nothing to do; for it is the Babylonian *Balâṭsu-uṣur*, 'Preserve his life.' A prominent servant of the court cannot have been ignorant of the Babylonian *balâṭu* 'life,' in itself a common word and a component part of many Babylonian names. The anachronistic reference to 'satraps', who were provincial governors under the Persians, under a Babylonian king (Dan. 3 2, *al.*) is lightly dismissed as a likely blunder for a busy old man, an aged servant of the public!

The second argument is to the effect that, if it can be shown that the Aramaic in which the *papyri* are written is essentially the same as that of Daniel, there is nothing, so far as regards the language, to prevent the referring of the date of that book to a period as early as the closing years of the life of Daniel. Very little change, it is assumed, can have taken place in the 120 years which intervened between that date and the writing of the *papyri*. Yet little more, it may be added, can have come about in the 250 years between the date of the last of the *papyri* and that assigned by critics to the book of Daniel, namely 168 or 167 B. C. The most recent supporter of the old theory takes *exempli gratiâ* one of the Aramaic *papyri*—the famous petition from the Jews of Elephantine for the rebuilding of the local temple; in it he finds that out of 81 nouns and adjectives 57 occur in Biblical Aramaic, 49 of these being in Daniel, and that of the remaining roots 19 are to be found in the Hebrew lexicon, one word is possibly Assyrian, two are from old Persian, one reappears later in Syriac, and one is of doubtful meaning and origin. But, in the first place, almost all the words specially marked out by him as showing that Daniel may he dated as early as the Aramaic *papyri*—such as מרא 'lord,' כנת 'companion,' בירתא 'fortress,' אגרת 'letter' and so on—can he shown to occur also in late Aramaic, in the Targûmîm and the Talmûd, or in Syriac; they merely permit, therefore, either the earlier or the later date. Pure Hebraisms like חורין 'nobles,' which occurs in both documents, show only that the authors were Jews.

Much more remarkable is the occurrence of common Aramaic and Hebrew words like למאמר and לאמר 'saying, or אנש and איש 'man' side by side in the *papyri*, whereas the language of Daniel is free from such Hebraisms; they do prove that the writers of the *papyri* were not so familiar with Aramaic as was the author of Daniel—in other words, that Aramaic had obtained a more secure position among the Jews when the latter work was composed than at the time when the *papyri* were being written. Nor is the presence of the same prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions and compound particles both in the *papyri* and in Daniel any proof; all or almost all occur in the later dialects of Aramaic. The argument, indeed, from the vocabulary proves nothing. Not only does it remain substantially the same throughout all the dialects of any given language, whereas it is the grammatical forms and inflexions and the parts of speech, like the pronouns in common use, which exhibit variations; but also it is so imperfectly known from a strictly limited number of documents belonging to this period that it constitutes nothing better than an *argumentum e silentio*, liable to be overthrown by the next inscription or piece of *papyrus*, wherever discovered. The same may he said of the constructions and idioms now found to be common to the *papyri* and Biblical Aramaic—the use of the 'emphatic' termination with the meaning of a definite article, the employment of חד 'one' as an indefinite article, the free use of the relative particle, as well as the construction of the preposition with the infinitive to express purpose, of the active participle as a finite verb, of compound tenses with the verb 'to be.' These permit a date as early as the *papyri* but they do not disallow a later date. The peculiar inflection of the passive participle with the terminations of the finite verb occurs in the Talmûd commonly in the third person plural and also in the first and second persons singular; it is, therefore, no criterion of an early date, although it does not apparently occur either in Nabataean or Palmyrene. These phenomena, then, do not necessitate any modification of the verdict on the language already quoted; for they establish nothing.

There are, however, tests of a more decisive character excluding the earlier date, which can be applied to the language

—those of the interchange of consonants and of the development of grammatical forms.[2] These shew that the language of the *papyri* is older than that of Ezra and the language of Ezra than that of Daniel, which comes nearest of the three to Nabataean and Palmyrene. The most important variation is that in the *papyri* the proto-Semitic *dh* has generally the sound of ז, as in early Aramaic, while in Biblical Aramaic it has for the most part that of ד, as in Palmyrene and Nabataean; for example, the relative is זי 'who,' 'which' in the Egyptian documents, the inscriptions at Zinjîrlū and above all on the weights found at Nineveh, while it is די in Biblical Aramaic as in Palmyrene and Nabataean. So also the *papyri*, like the inscriptions from Zinjîrlū, have the old forms זכה and זנה 'this,' while Biblical Aramaic always has the same forms as Palmyrene and Nabataean, דך and דנה. This clearly makes the Egyptian dialect older than the Biblical. But there are indications that the former is in a stage of transition. Beside the forms given above there occur in the *papyri* זי 'who' (which is never found in Biblical Aramaic) three times, דכא (masc.) and דכי (fem.) and דנה 'this' once each. Similarly for the Biblical Aramaic דהב 'gold,' which occurs in this form in the Targûmîm, the *papyri* have the older זהב five times but דהב only once. Almost the only instance of ז for ד in Biblical Aramaic is זכו 'innocence,' the *papyri* having as the corresponding adjective זכי 'innocent' once and דכי twice. The same result appears from considering the root שקל or תקל 'weighed' and its derivatives. Some *papyri* have forms with ת and others with שׁ, while Biblical Aramaic has only those with ת. In the word ארק or ארע 'land' the *papyri* and all the early inscriptions have both the early ארקא and the late ארעא, which is common to Biblical Aramaic and Nabataean; in the case of אק 'wood,' the *papyri* have only that, the early form, whereas Biblical Aramaic uses only אע, as do the Targûmîm.

To escape from this dilemma, that the documents prove that ד is later than ז, two hypotheses are offered,—in itself a confession of weakness. The first is that, although both ז and ד represent an original *dh* (ذ), it is impossible to suppose that

[2] The relative frequency of the various forms is calculated from the texts contained in Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions*.

this original *dh* (ð) became first ז and then ד; the explanation offered is that *dh* (ð) became simultaneously ז in some and ד in other dialects by a parallel development. But when both forms occur inside the same dialect, as in Egyptian Aramaic, this hypothesis is out of the question; the only reason there can be is that a transition from one sound to the other is in process. Further, the interval evidence of the dated papyri proves that ז was original and later gave place to ד. The forms of the relative and demonstrative pronouns with ז appear from the first dated document in 495 B. C. and run throughout the series; no form with ד occurs before B. C. 447, half a century later. The nouns vary somewhat. Thus דהב 'gold' occurs as early as 456 B. C., but זהב as late as 408 B. C.—but that in a document strongly tinged by Jewish influences; yet זכי 'innocent' occurs in *Aḥiḳar*, which is placed in the last half of the 5th century, but דכי not before 419 and 410 B. C. These variations only serve to show that the years from 460 to 400 B. C. constituted the period of transition. In Greek, too, it may be noticed, the same change appears "without dialectic influence"[3], for instance, ἀρίζηλος 'conspicuous' occurs in Homer, Hesiod and Pindar, while ἀρίδηλος takes its place in Simonides and Herodotus.

The alternative theory put forward by those who cling to the old view is that ז and ד were the original sounds and that *dh* (ð) was a later modification invented by the Arabs, in whose alphabet the distinction is first made. Against this it may be urged that there are clear traces of *dh* (ð) in Hebrew, according to the Massoretic tradition, in the twofold pronunciation of ד with and without an aspirate; the early distinction also of the roots דור and תור as well as of דוה and תוה (Ps. 78 41) shows that at any early period the Hebrews were in difficulties for a symbol to represent *dh* (ð). Now it has been shown that the substitution of ד for ז was only a gradual process in the Egyptian *papyri* and first became normal in Biblical Aramaic, while ז was universal in the old Syrian inscriptions. To push ד further back, therefore, recourse is had to the transcription of Aramaic proper names. The Assyrian scribes of Shalmaneser II (860—825 B. C.) wrote Addi-idri in place of the Hebrew form

[3] Liddell & Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 632 a, *s. v.* ζ.

of Hadad-ʿezer, king of Damascus; since, however, the Hebraised name Ben-hadad is given correctly by the Assyrians as Bir-dadda, the word *bir* being a more correct rendering than *ben* of the Aramaic בר 'son', it is assumed that the true Aramaic form of Hadad-ʿezer was Hadad-ʿeder. Now all nations have difficulty in transcribing and assimilating foreign proper names. Since, therefore, all the evidence at present available points to the fact that ז was preferred in early Aramaic, and since the form is guaranteed by the appearance of the same name (though not in reference to the same person) as הדדעזר on an early Aramaic seal, the best solution is to assume that the Assyrian scribes made a mistake. Knowing in their own language no word to give a suitable meaning to Hadad-ʿezer 'Hadad-(is a)-help' (the Assyrian word nearest in sound to the Aramaic עזר 'help' being *izru* 'curse', which would be unlikely to be found in such a connection, coupled with a divine name) they altered Hadad-ʿezer to Addi-idri or rather Addi-iṭri 'Hadad-saved', on the analogy of their own verb *eṭir* 'saved'. In any case, the form which a foreigner gives to a strange name is no guarantee of its true orthography; and there are several instances of mis-rendering of sibilants in proper names by the Assyrian scribes.

But the linguistic argument in favour of the critical view is confirmed by evidence less open to dispute than the interchange of sibilants. Not only does the interchange of other letters, like that of which examples have been given, yield the same result, but the history also of certain grammatical developments points the same way. It is well known that the pronominal suffixes of the second and third persons plural exhibit an earlier form in Ezra than in Daniel. It can further be shown that the *papyri* invariably employ the earlier form. In the inscriptions from Zinjîrlū and in the Egyptian *papyri* the form of the third person, for example, is ־הם, in Ezra both ־הם and ־הון, in which it is possible to trace the beginning of the transition, in Daniel only ־הון, where the change is complete, in Palmyrene ־ון and lastly in both the Targûmîm and the Talmûd ־הון. The gradation is therefore generally from *m* to *n*, even though Nabataean has ־הם and the Targûm of Pseudo-Jonathan both ־הם and ־ון.

A last test from the verb remains to be applied. In the

simple theme of one verb whose final radical is weak later Aramaic prefixes a helping vowel; for שתי 'he drank' Biblical Aramaic has אשתי, which appears elsewhere only in the late Aramaic of the Talmûd and in Syriac, as far as is at present known. The prefix of the causative theme is equally convincing. The inscriptions from Zinjîrlū and Egyptian Aramaic always have ה־, as in הקים 'set up,' Ezra always has ה־, Daniel ה־ except in one case of אקים (Dan. 3 1) and in one doubtful word, and Palmyrene always אקים; the Targûmîm in all but a few verbs and Syriac invariably have the forms with א־. Once again, then, Daniel reflects a stage of development between Ezra and the later Aramaic.

In the imperfect the prefix of the third person singular in early Aramaic, including that of the *papyri*, is always י־; in Biblical Aramaic it is regularly י־ except in the case of the verb הוא 'he was,' which makes להוא 'he is.' This ל־ being especially characteristic of Eastern Aramaic, attempts have been made to prove from it that the Aramaic of Daniel is Babylonian Aramaic. But it should be noticed in the first place that, according to the evidence at present available, there are no instances of it till after the Christian era in Eastern Aramaic, and secondly that there are a good many sporadic occurrences of it in the later Galilean and Judean dialects. At the same time the presence of four examples (though with the original jussive significance) in an inscription from Zinjirlū proves that it is not necessarily an Eastern or Babylonian form. In the same tense verbs פ״ן usually assimilate the *n* to the following radical, so that יתן 'he will give' becomes יתן. Now out of ten verbs of this class the *papyri* only exhibit two isolated instances of contracted forms, both in very late documents: יחתון 'they will come down' for ינחתון in a text probably to be ascribed to the 4th century,[4] and יתן for ינתן in one of the Ptolemaic period; elsewhere not only these two verbs but all others exhibit uncontracted forms of the imperfect. In Biblical Aramaic, however, these become commoner. In Ezra two out of five and in Daniel three out of four verbs have contracted forms; in the case of נתן 'gave' Ezra

[4] Cooke, *op. cit.*, no. 77.

has only יִנְתַּן, while Daniel has both יִנְתַּן and יִתַּן. The inscriptions, however, vary. Those at Zinjirlū have three contracted and one uncontracted, the Sinaitic and the Nabataean two uncontracted each and the Palmyrene one contracted form; but the full forms on the Sinaitic and the Nabataean monuments may be due to Arabian or Sabaean influence, since these languages do not regard *n* as a weak letter. In the Targûmîm and Syriac contraction is the rule, the longer forms being exceptional, apart from certain guttural verbs. Again, therefore, the Aramaic of Daniel must be put later than that of Ezra.

That some of these forms, to which attention has been drawn, are really late developments receives curious confirmation from modern Arabic. In Syria the classical suffixes *-kum* 'you,' 'your, and *-hum* 'them,' 'their,' have now become *-kôn* and *-hôn*. Verbs also whose final radical is weak often take a helping vowel as prefix in the speech of the *fällâḥîn* who say, for instance, *'äḥkī* for *ḥakī* 'he spoke.'[5]

Both the interchange of such letters as ק and ע, therefore, and the development of the pronouns and of the verbal inflexions prove that Egyptian and Biblical Aramaic were distinct dialects. The preference also of ז over ד, of ק over ע, and of שׁ over ת mark early Eastern as a different dialect from Biblical Aramaic. Yet it is strange that, where the forms current in Assyria in the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. are known, as in the case of זי and שקל, they do not agree with those found in that of Daniel, which has די and תקל for these words. Those, therefore, who maintain the traditional date of the book of Daniel are forced to admit (a) that he was ignorant of one of the commonest words in daily use in Babylon when he was supposed to be living there and (b) that, though resident in the East, he preferred to use a form of Western Aramaic, and (c) that this form exhibits peculiarities of which there is no trace until at least half a century after his death.

In conclusion, it is now possible, in view of the discovery of the *papyri* at Elephantine, to go beyond the verdict that "the

[5] Driver, *Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine*, p. 18.

Aramaic permits a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the great (B. C. 332)," and with fairness to say that the development of the language, as it can be traced in the documents hithertoo recovered, especially in those that are definitely dated, shows that both the Egyptian and the Biblical dialects are in a state of transition; that the earlier *papyri*, down to the middle of the 5th century, exhibit an earlier and those of the second half of the century a later stage, that the language of Ezra is almost identical with that of this second period, and that that of Daniel is distinctly later. To define these periods more exactly is impossible; for, while it is practicable to distinguish the successive stages through which a language has passed, it is out of the question to fix either the *terminus a quo* or the *terminus ad quem* of any given stage. To make the attempt would be to employ a fallacious *argumentum e silentio* which would be liable to be at any moment upset. But the fact that the Aramaic of Daniel must be subsequent to that of the *papyri* and of Ezra, in conjunction with the fact that the author can be shown actually to have preferred forms first known to have come into use in Egyptian Aramaic half a century after his death in preference to those proved to have been current in the Ninevite dialect of his own time is sufficient to establish the fact that it cannot have been written at any time in the 6th century by an author who had spent the greater part of his life at the Babylonian court.

The evidence of the foreign words is the same. There are not more than two Greek words at the most in the 85 documents on *papyri*,[6] in spite of the long and close commercial connection between Egypt and Greece, whereas there are three in four chapters of Daniel. The only inference possible is that the book of Daniel was written at a time when the knowledge of Greek was more widely diffused in the East than it was in the 5th century—namely, after the Macedonian conquest. Further, in addition to the fact that one of the words does not appear at all in extant Greek literature till that epoch, in the case of the other it is an important point that the employment of an ab-

[6] G. R. Driver in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxv, p. 299.

stract term like *συμφωνία* 'concord of sound' in the concrete sense of a musical instrument is a post-classical usage, inconceivable in the age of Herodotus or Thucydides. The fewness of the Greek words in Aramaic written in a Hellenising age is not, as the traditionalists suggest, surprising. It would, on the contrary, be more than surprising if a Jew, strongly opposed to Hellenistic tendencies, had not deliberately avoided them, only making use of them as technical terms denoting things for which the Semitic languages offered no native name.

The Persian words are equally instructive. In all the Aramaic *papyri* together, according to a cursory examination, there are about 20 words of undoubtedly Persian origin; none of them apart from proper names occur in any document dated before 435 B. C., except the Persian coin called כרש and the weight called ארדב. In other words, although Cyrus II overthrew the Babylonian monarchy in 538 B. C. and Cambyses II (529—521 B. C.) shortly afterwards added Egypt to the Persian empire, few Persian words seem to have obtained a footing in Aramaic till after Darius (who died in 486 B. C.) had reconquered the rebellious provinces. Now there are about 15 Persian loanwords in the Aramaic portions of Ezra, who led back the exiles in 458 B. C., when Persian influence was at its height, and only about the same number in the much longer Aramaic section in Daniel. This lower proportion in Daniel is to be explained by the fact that after the overthrow of that empire by the Macedonians in 333 B. C. Persian gradually gave way to Greek. The Aramaic *papyri*, on the other hand, show that a high percentage of Persian words would not be expected in Aramaic as early as the time of Cyrus II. The inscriptions bear this out. In those from Zinjîrlū the only foreign element is a few Assyrian words; in Nabataean there are one Babylonian and a few Greek terms and a considerable Arabic element, while in Palmyrene there are many Greek, some Arabic and only two Persian words. It is, therefore, against the facts to say that "the dialect of Daniel must have been used at or near Babylon at a time not long after the founding of the Persian empire."[7]

[7] Boutflower, *op. cit.*, pp. 241—267.

THE COVENANT MEAL IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

WALTER T. McCREE
STREETSVILLE, ONT.

A cursory reading of the Old Testament reveals a frequent mention of meals. It is usual to ascribe this frequency to the characteristic Semitic admiration for hospitality, but a careful examination discloses more radical implications than the mere satisfying of hunger. To the nomad or to the semi-nomad or even to the descendants of nomadic tribes the mention of food immediately suggests a covenant relationship between the partakers. This understanding is abundantly taken advantage of by the story-tellers in the Old Testament and a realisation of the fact by Biblical students might help towards a better understanding of some difficult passages.

The nature of the relationship engendered by the eating of a meal varied greatly, the religious standing of the participators having certain effects. The king, who was Yahweh's anointed, might effect a lifelong treaty with a subject by means of a special meal. In other cases the food-bond lasted but three days (cp. 1 Sam. 30 12. The Egyptian ceased to owe allegiance to the Amalekites after a three day's fast. Having received food from David he felt free to disclose his late masters' whereabouts). It can be safely stated that there is no mention of a meal in the Old Testament which is not accompanied by some significant feature, whose outcome is connected with the feast.

Many of the theophanies in the early records are marked by meals. These are prepared by men and are eaten or disposed of by the angel visitants. But always there follows a mark of

signal favour bestowed upon the host. Abraham entertained "angels unawares" beneath the oak at Mamre and was promised a son. Lot played host to two angels in Sodom and was even willing to sacrifice the honour of his daughters that his visitors should not fall victims to the lust of the men of Sodom; and Lot escaped the city's doom. Not the least part of Sodom's guilt in the eyes of the Semites would be the violation of the laws of hospitality. Gideon prepared a meal for the "angel of Yahweh" (Judges 6) when that visitor came to call him to defend Israel against Midian. Manoah also invited the "angel of Yahweh" to partake of a specially prepared meal and its reception (Judges 13 23) ensured the safety of Samson's father and mother and validated the promise of a son. It should be noted that it is Manoah who prepared the meal and not his wife, though to her the angel came first.

Elijah ate the food prepared by the "angel of Yahweh" (1 K. 19), and "went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights to Horeb." The meal is a guarantee of his safety from the evil machinations of Jezebel.

In two of the cases cited above children were promised by the heavenly visitants. Later the promise of a child came by way of "men of God." To Hannah, taking part in a cult feast at Shiloh, a son was promised by Eli. Samuel was born in due time and was later dedicated (with a gift of food) to the service of the shrine. Elisha, too, promised his Shunammite *hostess* that a son would be born of her.

Development of the cult or a radical change therein was usually marked by a feast. Abraham was initiated into the cultus of El Elyon by Melchizedek King of Salem and the ceremony was marked by a meal of bread and wine (Gen. 14 18). Jacob set up a maṣṣēbā to El Shaddai at Beth-el and poured out a libation, a drink offering and oil. He sacrificed to the God of his father Isaac at Beer-sheba on his journey to Egypt and received assurance of a blessing in the land of the Nile.

Several accounts serve to suggest the time from which we may date the allegiance of Israel as a nation to Yahweh. The feast of the Passover marked the deliverance of the Israelites from the bondage of Egypt and showed that the nation had

entered into a covenant with their new (?) God. In Ex. 18 there is an account of the coming of Jethro into the camp of the Israelites. Jethro assumed that Yahweh was his God and to Yahweh he offered burnt offerings and sacrifices. To him came "Aaron and all the elders of Israel to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God." (Moses is not included since he already was a worshipper.) This seems to be a second account of the initiation of Israel into the cultus of Yahweh. A third account of the same act is found in Ex. 24. Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy elders were introduced into the very presence of the God of Israel and "they all beheld God and did eat and drink." After the feast Moses received the commissions for the men named as priests of Yahweh. The three accounts of initiatory feasts lend support to those who consider that not all the tribes of Israel were subjected to the Egyptian captivity.

There is no record of a feast taking place when the ark of Yahweh came to Shiloh—mention may have been suppressed in the interests of the Jerusalem cultus,—but when David brought it to Jerusalem, he feasted the whole nation and thus involved all Israel in the acceptance of Jerusalem as the chief centre of the cultus (2 Sam. 6).

Feasts also marked the following incidents:—The opening of Solomon's temple (2 Chr. 7); the institution of the new cultus at Bethel by Jeroboam (1 K. 12); the reform of Josiah (2 Chr. 25); and the reading of the law in the presence of the people (Neh. 8).

A meal at a shrine had to be prepared correctly (1 Sam. 2 13 ff.); and yet a simple offering of food was considered sufficient to secure the benefits of the altar (1 Sam. 9 7). Once eaten the altar meal offered the protection of the god to the feaster (1 Sam. 21, cp. 22 13 and note that the bread is mentioned first). The significance of David's message to Saul—"Say, David earnestly asked leave of me that he might run to Bethlehem his city, for it is the yearly sacrifice there for all his clan"—lies in the fact that once David had shared in the feast his clansmen were bound to uphold his cause (cp. 2 Sam. 3 1).

Treaties and bargains were frequently ratified by meals,

which acted as a guarantee of good faith. Jacob secured his father's blessing by craftily inducing him to eat a meal, and thus ratified, the blessing could not be withdrawn (Gen. 27 33). When Esau's birthright passed to Jacob (Gen. 25) the meal provided by Jacob sealed the bargain, but was not necessarily the purchase price.

Other treaties and obligations ratified by meals are: a treaty between Isaac and Abimelech (Gen. 26 30); a treaty between Jacob and Laban at Mizpah (Gen. 31 54); an alliance between Israel and Moab (Num. 25 2); a covenant made by Joshua with the Gibeonites, an obligation that held in spite of the deceit of one of the parties (Jo. 9).

A significant element in the gruesome story found in Judges 19 reveals the limitations of the covenant imposed by the sharing of a meal. The host felt compelled to protect the Levite but exhibited no feeling of obligation on behalf of the concubine. Moreover he, like Lot, was willing to sacrifice the honour of his daughter rather than that his male guest's safety should be imperilled. These incidents suggest that women were considered to be outside the "pale" of the meal-covenant. Thus we see (a) why the wife of Manoah makes no effort to prepare a meal for the "angel of Yahweh;" (b) why the covenant between Joshua's spies and Rahab of Jericho was not ratified by a meal (Jos. 2); (c) and why the story of Sisera's murder by his *hostess* awakened no feeling of horror in the minds of the hearers (Judg. 4).

The sequel to the story of the Levite and his concubine discloses further implications of the meal covenant (Judges 20 21). One clan failed to contribute to the commissariat of the army assembled to exact vengeance on the perfidious Benjamites. It was this clan that suffered the loss of its men and provided brides for the defeated and excommunicated tribe.

The three hundred selected soldiers of Gideon "took the victuals of the people" when the rest of the ten thousand went to their tents. Indications are not lacking elsewhere that the victualling of an army was looked upon as a sign of an alliance between clans.

The history of David is full of references to meal covenants the implications of which would be quite clear to the Israelites.

A present of food accompanied David to Saul's court and Saul was thereby bound to protect the lad. A sinister light was thus thrown on Saul's subsequent persecution of David, while David's forbearance was calculated to arouse admiration.

Mephibosheth tried to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds when he stayed in Jerusalem and yet sent food to David fleeing before the temporarily successful rebellion of Absalom. He received a *quid pro quo* when David returned to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 19 29). Shobi and Barzillai were more sincere in their support and their contributions of food were kept in remembrance by David. In due time Barzillai's sons were commended to the care of Solomon in the words "and let them be of those that eat at thy table" (1 K. 2 7).

Elisha forbade Jehoram to smite the bewildered Syrians led by a subterfuge into the heart of Samaria (2 K. 6). Bread and water were set before the Syrians and "the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel" (v. 23). A feast sealed the treaty between Jehoshaphat and Ahab on the eve of the battle that brought death to the northern king (2 Chr. 18 2).

The defections of Jahweh's worshippers to other gods were often marked by the mention of a meal, followed by a disaster. Eve ate of a tree that was taboo. Adam shared the meal. Here we seem to have a foreshadowing of many subsequent defections on the part of the nation that had preserved the story. In the story of the exodus we find the people worshipping a golden calf, ascribing their deliverance to it and sitting "down to eat and drink" (Ex. 32 6). Later the Israelites tired of manna, the food of Yahweh, and craved flesh. A plague followed the granting of their request. There is a strong suggestion here of apostasy similar to that recorded in Num. 25 2 when, after eating before Midianitish gods, the Israelites were smitten by a plague.

But when the people entered Palestine, they partook of "the old corn of the land . . . unleavened cakes and parched corn the same day" (Jos. 5 11), thus linking the food of the old religion and the food of the new land. No plague followed, showing that the fruits of Palestine were not taboo.

In 1 Sam. 14 it is recorded that an oracle from Jahweh could not be had because of the violation of a food law.

Saul sealed his pact with the witch at Endor by eating the meal she prepared (1 Sam. 28). The witch thus secured her own safety even though she worshipped at an altar not dedicated to Jahweh. The story, involving Saul in the worship of a strange god, prepares the mind for the coming death of the monarch and the deposition of Saul's family from the kingship.

The importance attached to the meal by the storyteller is vividly shown in 1 K. 13. The "man of God" who prophesied against the altar at Beth-el escaped the vengeance of the king. He declined "to eat bread or drink water," when the placated monarch desired him to accept hospitality (vv. 8, 9). An old prophet at Beth-el finally prevailed upon him to stop and to eat (v. 19). On his way home a lion slew him. Yahweh's protection was withdrawn immediately the prophet had partaken of food with a worshipper at a strange altar.

The great events of family life had close connections with feasts. A feast heralded the birth of Isaac and another marked his weaning (Gen. 21 8). His betrothal feast was conducted by proxy (Gen. 24), but it should be noted that Abraham's servant *would not eat* until his message was delivered. After the negotiations were settled the feast was held (v. 54). There is no record of another feast when Isaac and Rebekah met, just the story of a happy meeting in the gloaming.

A feast marked Jacob's betrothal to Leah, but none occurred on his wedding with Rachel. Reuel invited Moses to eat bread and this is followed by the announcement of the marriage of Zipporah and Moses (Ex. 2 21 f.). Samson's wedding to the Philistine woman was marked by a feast, but the manner of it was strange to the writer of Judges (Judges 14 10). The renewal of the marriage-tie was also marked by a feast (19 4). In Judges 21 we have the record of a betrothal feast on a community scale.

Other significant references to meals in family life are the following: Isaac regularly ate of Esau's venison and this indicated a tribal bond broken only by Rebekah's cunning; Jesse's feasts always bring into prominence the solidarity of the clan.

A coronation feast, if it secured the approval of Yahweh, seems to have involved a lifelong obligation. It is significant

that these feasts began with Saul and ended with Solomon. A coronation feast involved the presence of Yahweh, and all who took part would be bound to recognise all worshippers of Yahweh as coming into a blood relationship. When the kingdom was divided no monarch would care to assume blood responsibility for tribes that were supporting a possibly hostile sovereign.

The experience of Saul is also illuminating, as it suggests what receives support elsewhere, *viz.*, that representatives at a feast could assume obligations for those who had sent them. It also indicates the way in which the difficulties of the practical working of the law in Deut. 16 16 may be solved. Samuel was responsible for four shrines, three of which he had under his own supervision. The fourth at Beer-sheba he placed under the control of his sons. In 1 Sam. 10 we have one record of Saul's coronation at Mizpah. It is probable that the unnamed shrine in chapter 9 was at Mizpah, as Saul was brought into touch with the other two shrines, Beth-el and Gilgal, which were under the jurisdiction of Samuel. At Mizpah Saul was invited to eat with the specially invited guests, who presumably represented those clans who used Mizpah as their sanctuary. He then proceeded on his journey and received *food* from men on their way *to* Beth-el. He was commanded to wait at Gilgal until Samuel came. Saul's impatience upset Samuel's plans. We can conjecture that by his premature feast, Saul failed to make a covenant with some clans whose dilatoriness had delayed Samuel, perhaps clans that worshipped at Beer-sheba. There was thus a division in the kingdom from the first. Echoes of this are found in chapter 10 27, and in the fact that it was in the neighbourhood of Beer-sheba that David sought a refuge in later days.

The call and coronation of David were both marked by feasts. Samuel came to the house of Jesse and prepared a sacrifice and selected David to be the future king of Israel (1 Sam. 16). But the final ceremony was performed when Abner, commander-in-chief of the armies supporting the house of Saul, convened a meeting of the elders of Israel and Benjamin, and induced them to ask David to become king of the whole nation. With twenty men (representatives of their clans) Abner came to Hebron.

David made a feast (2 Sam. 3 20) of which all partook (cp. 1 Chr. 12, where the number of men pledged to David is given as 340,000). Abner then brought all Israel to David, but there is no mention in 2 Sam. of a feast on that occasion. The treaty-meal had already been observed and the people pledged, by the action of their representatives.

By a *fait accompli* Adonijah sought to oust his rivals from his father's throne. He made a coronation feast attended by Joab and Abiathar the priest. As a counter-action others of David's leaders secured through Bathsheba the support of David for the claim of Solomon. Solomon was anointed by Zadok and was received by the people with exhibitions of extravagant joy (1 K. 1 40); but it is in 1 Chr. 29 22 that we find specific mention of a coronation feast with the curious addition "and they made Solomon . . . king the second time." The last clause of the verse furnishes a probable explanation. The words, "and they anointed Zadok to be priest" suggest that the first coronation was considered to be of doubtful validity, because another high priest was still in office.

Reconciliations often witnessed a feast. Abigail effected a reconciliation with David by inducing him to accept her present of food. News of this reconciliation sent such a thrill of terror through Nabal that in ten days he died (1 Sam. 25).

The feast given to Abner by David established a blood covenant between them (2 Sam. 3). This is recognised in the words, "I and my *kingdom* are guiltless before Yahweh for ever from the blood of Abner; let it fall upon the head of Joab" (v. 28). The historian was careful to note that Joab was not present at the meal and was not therefore bound to respect the obligation. Moreover it is recorded twice that the deed was justified because Abner had slain a brother of Joab (vv. 27, 30). The obligation of David to Abner, which clashes with his obligation to Joab, is fulfilled in the curse he pronounced on the house of Joab (v. 29) and in his commission given on his death-bed to Solomon (1 K. 2 5 f.).

There are other feasts which might be considered. Balak invited Balaam to curse Israel and offered up sacrifices when he arrived, *i. e.* made a feast. When a blessing resulted in

place of the curse expected the enraged king cried: "Now flee thou to thy place," giving Balaam, we may presume, a three days' start, lest he should violate the meal covenant (Num. 24 11). Naomi looked upon the gift of food made by Boaz to Ruth as an acknowledgement of the kinship between the farmer and the Moabitish maid (Ruth 2). David found himself hampered in his plans against Uriah because that warrior had partaken of the king's hospitality. He escaped the legal taint by causing Uriah to be slain by the enemy. Nathan's parable which was elicited by this may contain an allusion to the meal-bond. As all members of a village were entitled to eat of a sacrificed animal (and all animals slain for food were sacrifices) the "elder" would have a right to say whose turn it was to supply the animal for the reception of a guest by the village. Thus the choice of the poor man's lamb may not have been illegal, but it was brutally selfish. So could the conduct of David be regarded.

We see then that meals are mentioned in connection with almost every phase of life. In every case they add something to the atmosphere of the story. They carry us back to the time when the pervading presence of God was very real to all men. The desire to avoid offences against Him impelled a respect from which much of our morality has evolved. Fear stayed the hand of Balak from slaying Balaam; a magnanimous spirit caused David to refrain from killing Saul; but the true meaning of the impulse is understood only when we hear the words of Jesus, "Father forgive them, they known not what they do." The "fear of God" is the sanction that has produced this trait. Loyalty, forgiveness of an injury done by a guest, care for the loved ones and of those who have eaten a covenant meal,—all these seem to spring from a common root. He that eats with another has God present as a third guest and, in a mysterious way, he and that other have actually a part of God within them.

A FAMINE ELEMENT IN THE FLOOD STORY

JOHN MARTIN
NORTH ADAMS, MASS.

IN the foreword to his "A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform," Professor Albert T. Clay, adopting the current critical findings of Hebrew tradition, makes a statement which may be accepted as an opportunity to offer a suggestion drawn from conclusions arrived at before the publication of Professor Clay's little book. The statement is: "We learn from this tradition"—the tradition which is the main subject of Professor Clay's monograph—"and also from its redaction written centuries later, that a long famine preceded the deluge, which is not referred to in the Old Testament." The suggestion here ventured is that there is just such a famine, preceding the deluge, referred to in the Old Testament and that it is to be found woven into the Hebrew deluge story in Genesis. The suggestion here offered is based upon the contents and character of the following passages from the Yahwist document:—

1. Genesis 5 29—The naming of Noah
2. Genesis 6 5, 6, 7, 8—Apparent reasons for the deluge
3. Genesis 8 20, 21, 22—The sacrifice upon leaving the ark.

The curse upon the ground mentioned in the naming of Noah can hardly look back to the curse in The Story of the Fall, for that curse, if it rightfully belongs there, marks the difference between man's lost age of ease and his whole future age during which he must earn his bread in the sweat of his brow. That curse is irrevocable. Nor can the curse mentioned in the naming of Noah look forward to Noah's

wine-making. Vine culture could no more lift the primal curse than could the culture of cereal or other crops. Besides, if Lamech's anticipations when he named his son were to be met by vine culture, we should reasonably expect to find something in the vine-culture narrative that would connect it with an issue so important as the minimizing of the toil of humanity in common. Nothing of the sort is found in that narrative. Its whole import is of an entirely different order. So, then, the curse mentioned at the naming of Noah would appear to look neither backward nor forward to anything in these narratives but stands alone, as it is literally left to stand, isolated in the Priestly genealogy. In this connection, one cannot very well resist the suspicion that the Priestly redactor was well pleased to place it where we find it so that it would not be a distracting quantity to the better unity of the deluge narrative, and one cannot help wondering what of its context the same redactor suppressed, if any.

The question now is, shall we leave the curse mentioned at the naming of Noah isolated and meaningless, or are there sufficient reasons for setting apart other portions of the narratives as probably having something to do with it? In the second and third passages, or groups of passages, on which the suggestion here offered is based, there are qualities and points of view which seem to separate them quite sharply from their present context. Such language as the following arrests attention: "Every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually;" "it repented Yahweh;" "it grieved Him at His heart;" "Yahweh said in His heart;" "the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." There is a penetrating subjective quality in almost every word of these passages. That must mean that they could hardly have been written by the author of the rest of the Yahwist deluge story. The rest of that story is crisply and directly objective. But, in addition to the striking mental difference indicated, we have the more striking fact of a direct mention in these passages of a curse on the ground. After Noah had offered the burnt offerings and Yahweh had smelled the sweet savour we read:—"And Yahweh said

in His heart I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, for that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." Now, it may be asked, what part could be played in a universal deluge by a curse on the ground? Besides, in the passage just quoted, the picture in the mind of the Deity, so to speak, does not seem to be that of a depopulated world. Nor can we infer from what the Deity said in His heart that He believed he had regenerated mankind by killing off all the wicked by a flood and saving only a righteous family as seed. There are yet these quite remarkable words: "While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease." If it is difficult to see what part a curse on the ground could play in a universal deluge, it is even more difficult to see how a forty-day's rain could have so disarranged the order of nature as to require this promise of its restoration. But behind the promise of seedtime and harvest, etc., it may be allowable for us to imagine the machinery necessary to work out a curse on the ground, that is, deprive it of its usual fertility. We may imagine summers so cold that they were as winter, rains fairly hammering the ground and days so dark as to be as night, and, on the contrary, heat and drouth so intense and prolonged as to completely defeat man's toil. Indeed similar machinery is employed in the famine portion of Professor Clay's cuneiform deluge story. But only rain was necessary for the flood. It came at the appointed time, was restrained at the appointed time, and there is no intimation that the sun and moon were not following their appointed courses. In fact the duration of the flood is counted in days and nights, by the Deity himself.

When somewhat closely examined, these passages, it would appear, contain material that cannot be integral to the flood narrative. Furthermore, there does not now appear anything to which it could be related except a curse on the ground, or famine element, which curse is found explicitly mentioned within it. It might be hazardous to go further than this, and inquire whether there originally was a curse on the

ground, or famine story that stood alone in Hebrew tradition, or whether such a famine story always broadened into a deluge story as in Professor Clay's cuneiform narrative. Still if Lamech's words are to be taken at their literal value they mean that the patriarch expected ease or comfort through his son and not death by drowning. Hence we are entitled to infer that there once was a curse on the ground that was ultimately revoked. The same thing seems to be implied in the resolution of the Deity not again to curse the ground for man's sake. If all this is not too conjectural, we have, probably, the important facts of a separate tradition, viz: that there was a curse and that Noah's piety won its revocation.

It will be observed that this suggestion and this brief examination of these passages hold the Genesis material to a reasonably logical accountability. This, in turn, is based on a view of the origin of the Yahwist document different from that generally accepted. It is, that the Yahwist document, at least so far as the early traditions are concerned, is not Yahwist at all in the usually accepted sense, but is a compilation from written sources of varying age and scheme, only portions of these written sources being used. This view permits the application of logical accountability to the material itself, but does not expect the document as a whole to meet the demands of such accountability. Of prime importance in the search for the origin and significance of these traditions, this view does not limit us to time or place, as the prevailing opinion as to their origin seems to do. We are free, free even to take the road indicated in Professor Clay's researches if inquiry leads us there.

That we need wide room in both time and place in our search for the origin and significance of these traditions is a plain implication of the suggestion of a curse on the ground, or famine element in Hebrew tradition as here advanced. A reading of the non-Hebrew (*i. e.*, old Babylonian) treatment of this motif shows a progressive advance from the simpler to the more complex or expanded form, the older being the simpler. What looks like a root conception of ground non-fertility becomes in time a luxuriant growth of non-fertility in the whole

vegetable and animal kingdoms, including man. Tracing backward along this growth in search of the root, we find the Hebrew form (if it be admitted that there is a Hebrew form) by far the simpler, and, therefore, probably nearer to the origin. Naturally one would think that post-Abrahamic people in Abraham's land would not be likely to perform such a work of simplification as that involved in pruning and transforming a highly manipulated non-Hebrew form of this motif into a simple curse on the ground. Rather, one would expect, that, if we could reach far enough back, we should find the source of all the forms.

„DIESES VOLK“

JULIUS BOEHMER
MAGDEBURG-CRACAU

DUHM, *Das Buch Jesaja*, dessen 4. Auflage 1923 erschien, hat sich auch in dieser wieder zu *ha'ām hazzeh* 6 9, 10 dahin geäußert: „Dieses Volk da ist eine dem Jesaja eigentümliche verächtliche Bezeichnung Israels, vgl. 8 6, 12 (9 15); 28 11, 14; 29 13, 14, die außer der zweifelhaften Stelle 9 15 überall in Beziehung zum Unglauben oder Aberglauben des Volkes steht.“

Entsprechend hat auch Gesenius-Buhl im *Wörterbuch* 591 a zu *'ām* in jenem Wortgefüge „verächtlich“ hinzugesetzt und sich dafür auf Jes. 6 9: 8 6, 11; 29 13 „u. ö.“ bezogen, ohne anzuzeigen, ob mit „u. ö.“ auch außerjesajanische Stellen gemeint sind, und ohne die Bemerkung „verächtlich“ bei *zeh* zu wiederholen, so daß nicht ganz klar wird, worauf jenes „verächtlich“ sich gründet.[1]

Mehr als einen Schritt weiter geht Gesenius-Kautzsch' *Grammatik*, wenn nach § 136 a das Demonstrativum *zeh* „fast stets“ auf eine vorliegende neue Person (oder Sache) wie *hic, hode* bezogen wird, dagegen *hahū* auf eine schon erwähnte oder schon bekannte Person (oder Sache) wie *ille, ekeinos* hinweist. Das würde ja nun für *ha'ām hazzeh* jedenfalls nicht zutreffen. Die Regel wird denn auch sofort aufgehoben durch den Satz: „Allerdings findet sich in gewissen häufigen Verbindungen auch *zeh*, wo man *hu* erwarten sollte, und umgekehrt“; ist also keine Regel mehr. Dann aber, um zur Hauptsache zurückzukehren, wird *hahū* ebenfalls als „mit verächtlichem Nebensinn“ gleich dem lateinischen *iste* gebraucht angegeben, und dafür außer

[1] Königs *Wörterbuch* sagt weder hier noch dort etwas Ähnliches.

auf und vor Jesaja („Jes. 6 10 *al.*“) auf 1 Sam. 10 27; 21 16; 1 Kön. 22 27 verwiesen.

Kein Wunder nach dem allen, wenn es in der alttestamentlichen Auslegungsliteratur zur gemeinen Rede und giltigen Regel geworden ist, daß mindestens bei Jesaja die Wendung „dieses Volk“ in „verächtlichem“ Sinne genommen wird. Rothstein z. B., um nur *ein* Werk zu nennen, in Kautzsch' *Altem Testament* (4. Aufl.) erwähnt zu Jer. 33 24 wie Hag. 2 14, daß beide Male *hā'ām hazzeh* (wie *haggōj hā'* Hag.) „mit verächtlichem Nebensinn“ erscheint.

Fassen wir zusammen, so haben wir es mit drei Sätzen zu tun, deren erster fast allgemeine Giltigkeit besitzt, während die andern beiden Duhm eigentümlich sind:

1. „Dieses Volk“ ist eine verächtliche Bezeichnung Israels.
2. Sie ist Jesaja (als solche) eigentümlich.
3. Sie steht (als solche) überall in Beziehung zum Unglauben oder Aberglauben des Volkes.

Als Hintergrund oder Rahmen oder Erweiterung dazu muß die Behauptung von Gesenius-Kautzsch' *Grammatik*, gewissermaßen der vierte Satz, angesehen werden, daß „der verächtliche Nebensinn“ von *zeh* auch sonst vorkomme.

Beginnen wir die Prüfung des Sachverhalts an eben dieser Stelle, so lesen wir 1 Sam. 10 27, daß nach der Königswahl Sauls gewisse Menschen im Blick auf Saul fragen: „Was soll uns dieser helfen?“ Daß der Ton hier auf „dieser“ gelegt und „verächtlich“ gefunden wird, ist mindestens willkürlich. „Dieser“ kann ebensowohl unbefangen-sachlich wie verächtlich gemeint sein. Der Ton kann ebenso gut auf „helfen“ wie auf „dieser“ ruhen. Und vor allem, daß die Fragenden Saul „verachten“, ist ja ausdrücklich gesagt, und zwar im Folgenden. Das wäre ja nun überflüssig gewesen, wenn es bereits in *zeh* zum Ausdruck gekommen wäre. Die Septuaginta mit ihrem *houtos* hat hier auch nichts Verächtliches gefunden.

Noch deutlicher ist, wenn möglich und nötig, 1 Sam. 21 16. Achis fragt hier im Blick auf David, der, um sein Leben zu retten, sich wahnsinnig stellt: „Habe ich denn Mangel an Verrückten, daß ihr mir auch diesen noch herbringt? Dieser sollte zu mir ins Haus kommen?“ Verachtung spricht aus diesen

Worten in keiner Weise, schon darum nicht, weil man in Israel und im Morgenlande überhaupt, früher und heute vor Wahnsinnigen eher Angst und Scheu, Achtung und Ehrerbietung hegt als Verachtung. Das spricht auch aus Achis' Fragen. Dazu stimmt und der verachtenden Gesinnung widerspricht geradezu, was vorhergeht, nämlich daß im vorhergehenden Verse von dem Verrückten in der mindestens einfach-harmlosen Benennung *īsch* und dann mit *ōtō* die Rede ist, und auf diese Worte wird dann mit *zeh* zurückverwiesen. Die Septuaginta hat übrigens für das erste *autón*, für das zweite *hūtos*, läßt also auch nichts von Verächtlichkeit erkennen.

Die dritte Stelle 1 Kön. 22 27 ist womöglich noch deutlicher und völlig eindeutig. König Ahab befiehlt hier, den Propheten Micha aus vorliegendem Anlaß ins Gefängnis zu setzen. Im Zusammenhang liegt gar kein Grund vor, daß der König den Mann verächtlich nehme. Nach allem hätte er eher Haß und Zorn und Rachgefühl gegen ihn zu hegen gehabt. Im vorhergehenden Verse nennt er ihn jedenfalls bei seinem ehrlichen Namen „Micha" ohne Zusatz, und das „dieser" V. 27 ist der einfache, natürliche Hinweis oder Rückweis auf „Micha". Auch ist kaum anzunehmen, daß, wenn Micha sich vom König „verächtlich" behandelt gefühlt hätte, er im selben Augenblick V. 28 dem König eine solch ernsthafte, von Achtung zeugende Antwort erteilt hätte. Auch hier liest Septuaginta das unbefangene *tūton*.

Kommen wir jetzt auf Jesaja in Duhms Einschätzung. Nach Duhm hätte Jesaja „dies Volk" wegen seines Unglaubens oder Aberglaubens gesagt. Es sind folgende Stellen vollständig aufgezählt: 6 9, 10; 8 6, 11, 12 (9 15); 28 11, 14; 29 13 (14) im ganzen also (höchstens) 10 Stellen, die in Betracht kommen[2]. Fragwürdig sind nur 9 15 und 29 14.

Zunächst ist es sehr schwer vorstellig zu machen, daß Jahwe in dem Augenblick, wo er sich anschickt, seinem Volk einen Propheten, und zwar einen Jesaja, zu senden (6 8), seiner Verachtung gegen dieses Volk (V. 9, 10) habe Ausdruck geben sollen.

[2] Duhm hat bei seiner Aufzählung zu 6 9 f. die Stelle 8 11 übersehen und scheinbar noch nicht gewußt, daß er (außer 9 15) auch 29 14 für unecht erklären wollte.

Ferner aber: was anders als der Unglaube oder Aberglaube des Volks hätte für Jahwe, auch in Jesajas Urteil, Anlaß sein können, ihm einen Propheten oder überhaupt Propheten zuzusenden? doch nicht etwa das Gegenteil: der Glaube?? Das bezeugen auch die übrigen Propheten, ein jeglicher mit seinen Worten.

Ferner 8 6, 11, 12 wird zwar „diesem Volk“ zum Vorwurf gemacht, daß es „die Gewässer von Siloah“ d. h. Jahwe verachte. Aber es selbst wird darum von Jahwe keineswegs verachtet, sondern ernst genommen und dringend verwarnt und zu Jahwe wie zum Anschluß an ihn zurückgerufen.

Weiter ist die Unechterklärung von 9 15 nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten, die Duhm übersehen zu haben scheint. Daß V. 15 zur Begründung von V. 16 nicht tauge, wie Duhm erörtert, trifft nicht zu. Vielmehr, indem die Obrigkeit das Volk irreleitet (V. 15), eine Mißregierung besteht, werden Jünglinge, Waisen, Witwen ins Unglück gestürzt, und das tut (gemäß dem Grundsatz Am. 3 6 b) niemand anders als Jahwe. Mit anderen Worten: die Mißregierung ist so arg, daß tatsächlich[3] mit den Jünglingen, den Starken erst recht und vollends Waisen und Witwen zu grunde gehn. Ein begründender Zusammenhang zwischen V. 13 und V. 16 ist freilich noch viel weniger zu erkennen, so daß Duhm zu der schon mehr als verzweifelt aussehenden Auskunft greifen muß, V. 14, 15 sei „ein Einsatz von der Hand des Sammlers, dazu bestimmt, vier unleserlich gewordene Stichen durch zusammengesuchtes jesajanisches Material notdürftig zu ersetzen“. Die Hauptsache aber: ist 9 15 jesajanisch, dann ist Duhms Theorie vom Unglauben und Aberglauben des Volks als Grundlagen des verächtlichen „dies Volk“ hinfällig. Indes bedarf es aller dieser Erörterungen nicht: schon die sentenzenartige Form und der epigonenhafte Inhalt von 9 14 f. beweist, daß wir es mit einem Zusatz zu tun haben, auch wenn die Einzelheiten des Wortlauts und Zusammenhangs der Rhythmik und Metrik nicht mehr klarzustellen sein sollten.

Ähnliches wie das, was oben dargelegt wurde, gilt auch zu 28 11, 14. Nichts weniger als Verachtung des Volks spricht hier.

[3] Duhm selbst zu 10 2: „bezeichnet wie öfter den Effekt der Handlung als deren Absicht“.

Und wenn einer hier verächtlich gemacht und genommen wird, so sind es gemäß V. 14 „Die Herrscher", die obrigkeitlichen Personen, nimmer aber das Volk als solches. — Und das Gleiche ist, *mutatis mutandis*, zu 29 13, 14 zu erinnern. Nicht so sehr und nicht in erster Linie das Volk wird von Verachtung oder Verwerfung oder dergleichen etwas getroffen, sondern seine Weisen und Klugen, so daß also das Volk eher als entlastet dasteht.

Liegt also in der Wendung „dies Volk" an sich bei Jesaja nichts weniger als Verachtung noch etwas von seinem Unglauben oder Aberglauben angezeigt, so muß dagegen umgekehrt gelten, daß mit anderen, ehrenden und ehrenvollen Bezeichnungen Israels als Jahwes Volk („mein Volk", „dein Volk", „sein Volk") sein Unglaube oder Aberglaube, Gericht, Verwerfung, Verdammung zusammengebracht wird. Da heißt es: „mein Volk will es (LXX mich) nicht erkennen", spricht Jahwe 1 3. „Du hast dein Volk verstoßen" 2 6. „Kinder sind Gebieter meines Volks; deine Führer, mein Volk" — — 3 12 (vgl. 28 14). „Jahwe richtet die Ältesten seines Volks" 3 14. „Mein Volk wird weggeführt werden" 5 13. „Jahwes Zorn ist über sein Volk entflammt" 5 25. „Ich will Befehl geben wider das Volk meines Zorns" 10 6. — Selbstverständlich besteht daneben, daß die gleichen Bezeichnungen im Sinne des Heils gebraucht werden. So 3 15 „warum zertretet ihr mein Volk?". 10 2 „sie rauben das Recht der Armen meines Volks". [10 24 „fürchte dich nicht, mein Volk, vor Assur".] [11 11 „er macht sich den Rest seines Volks zu eigen". 11 16 „da ist eine Bahn für den Rest seines Volks" — ähnlich 28 5]. 14 32 „die Elenden seines Volks werden getrost sein". 22 4 „trösten über die Verstörung der Tochter meines Volks". [30 26 „Jahwe verbindet den Schaden seines Volks".][4] 32 13 „auf dem Acker meines Volks wachsen Dornen". 32 18 „mein Volk wohnt in Häusern des Friedens".

So blieben acht Stellen übrig, in denen unzweifelhaft der echte Jesaja von „diesem Volk" redet, denen ebenfalls acht Stellen gegenüberstehen, wo Jesaja von Jahwes Volk im gleichen Sinne spricht, wie er sonst „dieses Volk" verwendet (in Duhms Auffassung geredet). Dazu kommen sechs andere Stellen, die

[4] Die vier eingeklammerten Stellen gehen nicht auf Jesaja zurück.

Jahwes Volk als Jahwes Liebling, als Heilsvolk nehmen. Ein Grund, warum an diesen sechs Stellen nicht gleichfalls „dies Volk“ gesetzt wurde, ist nicht erkennbar und, wie später deutlich werden wird, auch nicht vorhanden.

Dabei bleibt ein Umstand beachtenswert. Die Bezeichnung „dies Volk“ findet sich nur in zwei einst selbständigen Sammlungen des Jesaja-Buchs, nämlich in der 6 1—9 6 und der 28—33. Allein auch hier nicht durchweg, sondern innerhalb der erstgenannten Sammlung nur in ihrem ersten (6 1-11), fünften (8 5-8) und siebenten (8 11-15) Stück; innerhalb der zweitgenannten aber nur in ihrem zweiten (28 7-22)[5] und sechsten (29 13-14) Stück. In eben diesen fünf Stücken nun, die „dies Volk“ bieten, kommt nie eine andere Bezeichnung des Volkes vor. Ja, auch nicht einmal in der ganzen Sammlung 6 1—9 6, der und deren Einheitlichkeit gegenüber die Sammlung 28 –33 ein völlig anderes, gar bunt zusammengesetztes Gepräge trägt, von der von vornherein eine auch nur leidliche Einheitlichkeit des Sprachgebrauchs nicht zu erwarten steht.

Sollte, wer das alles erwägt, nicht auf den Gedanken, mindestens die Möglichkeit verfallen dürfen, ob nicht der Ausdruck „dies Volk“ rein reaktionelle Arbeit sei? Nicht, als wenn nicht Jesaja selbst ihn (nicht etwa geprägt, das ist ausgeschlossen, s. u., aber doch) angewandt und eingeführt hätte. Aber die Einzelanwendung und die Einführung an ebendiesen Stellen, wo wir dem Ausdruck jetzt begegnen, wird auf den Redaktor zurückgehen, während andere Redaktoren andere Wendungen bevorzugten. Dem Sinn nach aber war im Urteil der Redaktoren, der Sammler und der Leser zwischen „diesem Volk“ und „Jahwes Volk“ keinerlei Unterschied.

Dies würde nämlich zu dem übrigen alttestamentlichen Tatbestand aufs beste stimmen. Es ist ja doch nichts an Duhms Satz, daß „dieses Volk“ eine Jasaja eigentümliche Bezeichnung Israels bilde. Dieser Satz lautet ja so, als finde sich diese Benennung Israels außerhalb Jesajas nicht. Da dies von Duhm

[5] 28 7-22 ist gegen Duhm als *ein* Stück zu zählen; er macht zwischen V. 13 und V. 14 einen Absatz; mit Unrecht, zumal er anerkennt, daß 28 14-22 „von Jesaja selber mit dem vorhergehenden Stück (28 7-13) verbunden worden“ sei.

unmöglich so gemeint sein kann, weil er nicht wohl alle die Stellen übersehen haben kann, die sonst noch Israel „dies Volk" nennen, so muß sinngemäß ergänzt werden, daß die Benennung „dies Volk" für Israel im Duhmschen (verächtlichen) Sinn Jesaja eigentümlich sei. Nachdem freilich die Verächtlichkeit, die in der Benennung liegen soll, schon oben vorläufig als unbegründet zurückgewiesen wurde, ist gleichwohl und erst recht ein Blick auf den Sprachgebrauch des übrigen Alten Testaments erforderlich, da niemand annehmen wird, daß Jesaja im allgemeinen oder mit jenem Ausdruck sich auf einer Sprachinsel befunden haben sollte.

Da machen wir nun die nach allem, was Duhm und Verwandte darbieten (s. o.,) die überraschende Doppelentdeckung: einmal daß Jesaja den Ausdruck „dieses Volk" als längst und eindeutig geprägten in vorhandenen Geschichtsquellen vorfand, sodann daß er mit seinem Ausdruck viele Nachfolger oder Genossen hatte, die schwerlich auf ihn (oder gar auf ihn allein), sondern wohl auf die gleichen Geschichtsquellen zurückgingen.

Im Hexateuch kommt im Munde Jahwes und im Gespräch mit Jahwe die Wendung „dies Volk" gar nicht so selten vor. Niemals im verächtlichen, öfter sogar in höchst ehrenvollem und immer heilsgemäßem Sinn. Ex. 3 21 verkündet Jahwe: „Ich will diesem Volk Huld gewähren bei den Ägyptern". 5 22 macht Mose seinem Gott den Vorwurf: „Warum handelst du so übel an diesem Volk?" 17 4 ruft er ihm zu: „Was soll ich mit diesem Volk nur machen?" 18 18 sagt Jethro zu Mose: Durch dein Verfahren „machst du dieses Volk, das bei dir ist, (ohne Not) müde"; und im gleichen Zusammenhang 18 23: „dann wird dieses Volk in seiner Gesamtheit befriedigt heimkehren". Weiter sagt Mose 32 21 zu Aaron: „Was hat dir dieses (Luther hat hier: das) Volk getan, daß du eine so schwere Schuld auf es gebracht hast?" Und im selben Zusammenhang gesteht Mose seinem Gott zu: „Dies Volk hat sich schwer versündigt". 33 12 wird Jahwes Auftrag an Mose in Erinnerung gebracht: „Führe dies Volk hinauf". Weiter klagt Mose bei Gott Num. 11 11: „Du legst die Last dieses Volkes nach seiner Gesamtheit auf mich"; fragt V. 12: „bin ich denn mit diesem (Luther: das) Volk nach seiner Gesamtheit schwanger gegangen

oder habe ich es geboren?“; zagt V. 13: „Woher soll ich Fleisch kriegen, um es diesem Volk in seiner Gesamtheit auszuteilen?“; sagt endlich V. 14: „ich kann allein die Last dieses Volks in seiner Gesamtheit nimmer tragen“. Umgekehrt ruft Jahwe 14 11 Mose zu: „Wie lange wird mich dieses Volk schmähen?“ Und im folgenden häuft sich aufs neue die Wiederholung des Ausdrucks. V. 14: „man hörte, daß du, Jahwe, inmitten dieses Volkes bist“; V. 15 „wenn du (Jahwe) nun dieses Volk töten wirst“; dann wird man sagen V. 16 „weil Jahwe es nicht imstande war, dieses Volk in das ihnen zugeschworene Land zu bringen . . .“ Dann bittet Mose V. 19: „Vergib doch die Missetat dieses Volkes . . . wie du . . . bisher diesem Volke vergeben hast“. Auch sei nebenbei erinnert an 32 15, wo (allerdings ohne Beziehung auf Gott) in der Unterredung von Israeliten untereinander über Israel gesagt ist: „Ihr werdet dies Volk in seiner Gesamtheit verderben“. Deut. 4 6 heißt es: „Ei welch ein weises und verständiges Volk (*ʿām*) ist dieses große Volk (*haggōj haggadōl hazzeh*)“. Ferner sagt 5 25 Jahwe zu Mose: „Ich habe die Reden gehört, die dieses Volk an dich gerichtet hat. Sie haben in allem, was sie gesagt haben, recht“. Dann bittet umgekehrt Mose seinen Gott 9 27: „Sieh nicht an die Härtigkeit dieses Volks“. 31 7 heißt es aus Moses Mund an Josua: „Du wirst dieses Volk in das Land bringen . . .“ Jahwe kündigt 31 16 Mose an: „Dies Volk wird fremden Göttern anhangen“. Jos. 1 2 kündigt Jahwe dem Josua an: „Überschreite diesen Jordan, du und dies Volk in seiner Gesamtheit“; 1 6: „Du sollst diesem Volk das Land austeilen“. Umgekehrt fragt Josua 7 7 Jahwe: „Warum hast du dies Volk über den Jordan geführt?“

Diese Übersicht über den Hexateuch zeigt, daß hier durchweg, zumeist aber in den älteren Geschichtsquellen, beim Jahwisten und beim Elohisten, die Jesaja schon vorlagen, „dies Volk“ schon ganz geläufig war und entweder einen ganz harmlosen oder sogar auszeichnenden, heilsmäßigen Sinn hatte. So steht es an 25—26 Stellen.

Weniger häufig kommt „dies Volk“ in den übrigen Geschichtsbüchern vor. Ri. 2 20 sagt Jahwe: „Weil dies Volk (*haggōj hazzeh*) meine Bundessatzung übertreten hat“. 2 Sam. 16 18

versichert Chusai dem Absalom: „Wen Jahwe erwählt hat und dies Volk und alle Männer Israels,[6] zu dem gehöre ich". Dann mehrere Male in den Verhandlungen 1 Kön. 12 6, 7, 9, 10 (entsprechend 2 Chr. 10 6, 7, 9, 10): „Wie ratet ihr mir, daß ich diesem Volk Bescheid erteile?" „Wirst du dich diesem Volke heute gefällig erzeigen . . ." Und nochmals: „Wie ratet ihr mir, daß" usw. Endlich: „So sollst du diesem Volk Bescheid geben . . ." Ferner 12 27: „Wenn dies Volk hinaufzieht zum Opfern, dann wird das Herz dieses Volks sich wenden". König Abia spricht vom Propheten Ahia 1 Kön. 14 2: „er hat mir angekündigt, ich solle König über dies Volk werden". Elia betet 1 Kön. 18 37: „Erhöre mich, Jahwe, damit dies Volk wisse, daß du, Jahwe, Gott bist". Endlich betet Nehemia Neh. 5 19: „Gedenke mir zum besten, o mein Gott, alles, was ich für dies Volk getan habe". Immerhin handelt es sich auch hier um 14 Stellen aus alter und neuer Zeit, an deren keiner „dies Volk" irgendwie in verächtlichem Sinn vorkommt.

Geradezu auffallend aber ist die Häufigkeit des Ausdrucks im Sprachgebrauch Jeremias, wogegen die übrigen Propheten stark zurücktreten. Micha, also Jesajas Zeitgenosse, sagt einmal: „Dann wäre ich ein Prediger für dies Volk", 2 11. Auch Haggai und Sacharja gebrauchen die Wendung einige Male. Hag. 1 2 „Dies Volk sagt: Es ist noch keine Zeit für den Tempelbau"; 2 14 „so ist dies Volk (*ha'ām hazzeh*), ja so ist dies Volk (*haggōj hazzeh*) vor mir (nämlich unrein), spricht Jahwe". Und wiederholt „was dem Überrest dieses Volkes unmöglich vorkommt", Sach. 8 6, 11, 12. Das sind sechs Stellen im prophetischen Schrifttum außerhalb Jesajas und Jeremias. Dieser nämlich braucht als Bezeichnung Israels den Ausdruck „dies Volk" mit auffallender Häufigkeit und ist doch gewiß, wenn je ein Mann des alten Bundes, von Verachtung Israels weit entfernt. Sehen wir zu.

„Du hast dies Volk getäuscht, Jahwe" 4 10. „Zu der Zeit wird man von diesem Volke sagen" 4 11. „Und an einem

[6] Diese Worte sind entweder Erläuterung für „dies Volk" oder Zusatz.

Volke wie dieses ist sollte ich mich nicht rächen?“ 5 9, 29; 9 8. „Ich will dieses Volk zu Brennholz machen“ 5 14. „Dies Volk hat einen störrischen, aufrührerischen Sinn“ 5 23. „Ich bringe über dies Volk Unheil“ 6 19. „Ich lege diesem Volk Anstöße in den Weg“ 6 21. „Du sollst nicht Fürbitte für dies Volk tun“ 7 16; 11 14. „Die Leichname dieses Volkes sollen Vögeln und wilden Tieren zum Fraße dienen“ 7 33. „Warum hat sich dies Volk immerfort (von mir) abgewandt?“ 8 5. „Dieses (Luther: das) Volk, das böse[7], das meinen Worten zu gehorchen sich weigert“ 13 10. „So spricht Jahwe über dies Volk“ 14 10. „Schaffe mir dies Volk aus den Augen“ 15 1, sprach Jahwe zu Jeremia. Ebenso: „Ich mache dich zu einer starken, ehernen Mauer für dies Volk“ 15 20. Ebenso: „Ich habe mein Heil von diesem Volk weggenommen“ 16 5. „Wenn du diesem Volk das alles gesagt hast“ 16 10. „Ich will dies Volk zerbrechen“ 19 11. „Sage diesem Volk: So spricht der Herr“ 21 8. „Propheten, die mein Volk in die Irre führen, die ich nicht gesandt noch beauftragt habe, die diesem Volk gar nichts nützen“ 23 32. „Wenn dich nun dies Volk fragt“ 23 33. „Zu diesem Volk in seiner Gesamtheit habe ich gesagt: So spricht Jahwe“ 27 16. Jeremia zu Chananja: „Du bist schuld, daß dies Volk sich auf eine Lüge verläßt“ 28 15. Semaja „soll unter seinen Nachkommen keinen haben, der inmitten dieses Volkes wohnen bleibe, und keiner von ihnen soll das Gute sehen, das ich meinem Volk antue, spricht Jahwe“ 29 32. „So spricht Jahwe: Wie ich über dies Volk all dies große Unglück gebracht habe, so bringe ich über sie (= dies Volk) alles Gute gemäß meiner Verheißung“ 32 42. „Hast du nicht gemerkt, was dies Volk spricht?“ sagt Jahwe zu Jeremia 33 24. „Dies Volk hat nicht auf mich gehört“ 35 16 (vielleicht Zusatz). „Groß ist der Zorn und Grimm, womit Jahwe wider dies Volk geredet hat“ 36 7. Jeremia zu Zedekia: „Was habe ich an diesem Volk gesündigt?“ 37 18. Über Jeremia wird gesagt: „Dieser Mann ist nicht auf dieses Volkes Bestes, sondern auf sein Verderben bedacht“ 38 4.

[7] Kautzsch-Rothstein dafür: „diese ruchlosen Menschen“.

Das sind 32 Stellen, in denen Jeremia oder Jahwe Israel „dies Volk“ nennt. Und nicht viel mehr, gegen 40, finden sich, wo Jahwe „mein Volk“ o. ä. sagt. Einige Male (s. o.) steht beides unmittelbar nebeneinander. Beide Wendungen werden gebraucht, wenn es sich um Gericht und Verurteilung des Volkes handelt; beide aber auch, wo Jahwes und Jeremias Liebe zu Israel spricht. Und beide endlich, wo weder dies noch das in Frage kommt, wo es sich lediglich um einen Hinweis handelt. Von „verächtlichem“ Sinn findet sich keine Spur: den haben erst die Ausleger hineingebracht.

Nicht ganz selten ist im Hebräischen überhaupt, im Alten Testament wie in der rabbinischen Literatur, der Gebrauch von „dieser“, ohne daß das Wort auf etwas Genanntes zurückwiese. Es heißt etwa „dieses Gesetzbuch“ *j. Sabb.* 14 d, oder „diese kleinsten Gebote“ Mt. 5 19 u. dgl. Im Deutschen muß da das bestimmte Geschlechtswort mit dem Nebensinn „der (die, das) bekannte“ vollauf genügen. Diese einfache und geläufige sprachliche Erscheinung erklärt ohne weiteres das jesajanische (wie das anderweitige alttestamentliche) „dies Volk“. Vgl. auch Dalman, *Jesus,* S. 58 f.

Der Vollständigkeit halber sei noch hinzugefügt, wie der Sprachgebrauch der Apokryphen und des Neuen Testaments aussieht. Er ist wichtig, schon darum, weil man daraus ersehen oder nicht ersehen kann, ob hier etwa Spuren von jenem (vermeintlich) verächtlichen Nebensinn begegnen. Die Ausbeute ist gering, aber deutlich. Judith 5 20 heißt es „wenn dies Volk sich versündigt hat“, griechisch *ho laŏs hūtos,* wie fast stets in der Septuaginta. 2 Mk. 11 25 lesen wir „daß dies Volk im Frieden lebe“, wo *tūto to ethnos* gesagt ist. — Im Neuen Testament handelt es sich mehrere Male um Jesaja-Zitate; so Mt. 13 15; Apg. 28 27; ferner Mt. 15 8; Mk. 7 6. Aber gerade die beiden Lukasschriften und nur sie im Neuen Testament zeigen einen selbständigen Gebrauch der Wendung „dies Volk“. Einmal, im Evangelium, ist sie mit Gottes Gericht zusammengebracht: Luk. 21 23 heißt es, daß ein Zorn (gemeint ist der Zorn Gottes) über „dies Volk“ ergehen wird. In der Apostelgeschichte aber finden sich vier Stellen verschiedener Art, wo doch jedesmal nichts weniger

als „verächtlicher Sinn“ kund wird. „Der Gott dieses Volkes hat unsere Väter erwählt“ 13 17. Paulus „lehrt alle Menschen wider dies Volk“ 21 28.[8] Tertullus bekundet vor Felix: „diesem Volk sind dank deiner Fürsorge viele Wohltaten zuteil geworden“ 24 2; und Paulus ebendort: „Du bist der Richter dieses Volks“ 24 10.

Das Gesamtergebnis unserer Untersuchung kann nur dahin lauten, daß keinerlei Anhalt vorliegt für die Behauptung, daß „dieses Volk“ bei Jesaja (oder sonstwo) einen verächtlichen Nebensinn trage. Das gilt ebensowenig, als wenn man etwa in *hasséfer hazzeh,* vom deuteronomischen Gesetzbuch 2 Kön. 22 13; 23 3 gesagt, oder in *happèsach hazzeh* 2 Kön. 22 22, auf Josias Passahfeier gedeutet, etwas Verächtliches finden wollte.

Auch in der Bezeichnung für „Volk“ liegt nichts derartiges. Es wird gebraucht, wie gelegentlich erwähnt, sowohl *gōj* (selten) als *'am* (in der weit überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Fälle), ohne daß im Sinn ein Unterschied erkennbar wäre. Denn *gōj* bedeutet das Volk, das von *einem* Stammvater stammt, und findet sich zwar nie in der Zusammensetzung mit *jahwe,* wird aber sonst von Israel, von den beiden Reichen, von den israelitischen Stämmen gebraucht, doch in der Regel freilich von außerisraelitischen Völkern (auch von Tieren). Sodann *'am* bedeutet zunächst dasselbe: Volk, Stamm, dann auch Bevölkerung, Einwohner; in der Regel von Israel, aber auch von andern Völkern gebraucht; in späterer Zeit von der heidnischen Bevölkerung Palästinas, allgemein: Leute (auch von Tieren). Wie sehr *gōj* und *'am* promiscue gebraucht werden, sieht man an Stellen wie 2 Chr. 32 13–17. Einige Male stehen beide Wörter nebeneinander, weil wegen des Wohlklangs Wechsel beliebt wurde, wobei (s. o.) mit Jahwe stets *'am* verbunden worden ist. Dabei erscheint in der Septuaginta für *gōj* stets *ethnos,* für *'am* dagegen *laós.* Z. B. Ex. 33 13 *'ammeka haggōj hazzeh, laós sū to ethnos tūto.* [Einmal, in profanem Zusammenhang, Num. 32 15 schreibt Septua-

[8] Hier steht nebeneinander: dieses Volk, dieses Gesetz und dieses (heilige) Gebäude. Denn *tūtū* ist sinngemäß zu allen drei Begriffen zu ziehen.

ginta für *„'am" „he synagoge hautē"*]. Ebenso Deut. 4 6 „dieses große Volk, *haggōj haggadōl hazzeh*, ist ein weises und kluges Volk, *'am*" (Septuaginta las hier anders). Ausnahmsweise steht Ri. 2 20 von Israel *„haggōj hazzeh", „to ethnos tūto"* (ebenso, selbstverständlich, von den Aramäern 2 Kön. 6 18). Jes. 1 4 steht wieder nebeneinander „das sündige Volk", *gōj*, und „das Volk, *'am*, voll schwerer Missetat", griechisch, *ethnos hamartōlōn* und *laós plérēs hamartiōn*. Jes. 22 4 ist *'am* ausnahmsweise mit *tu génūs mū* wiedergegeben; ebenso 43 20. Sonst aber, in der überwältigenden Mehrzahl der Fälle, heißt es *'am* = *laós* und ausnahmsweise *gōj* = *ethnos*.

Ist es nun grammatisch und lexikalisch im Blick auf das Buch Jesaja wie auf das übrige Alte Testament unmöglich, in *ha'ām hazzeh* als Bezeichnung Israels irgend etwas von verächtlichem Sinn zu erkennen, so bleibt zuletzt noch die Frage aufzuwerfen und zu beantworten, ob eine solche verächtliche Art gegenüber seinem Volk überhaupt dem Charakter und der Predigt eines Jesaja entspreche, ob nicht etwa Ernst und ernste Mahnung, ob nicht innige Anteilnahme und heißes Mitleid oder dergleichen etwas in der Wendung „dieses Volk" erklinge oder mitklinge. Es ist ja schon auffallend und bezeichnend, daß in allen Erklärungen, Auslegungen und Erörterungen zum Propheten Jesaja der Schriftsteller und Prophet im Vordergrunde steht, während von seiner Person nur das Geläufige, Notdürftigste gesagt wird, und gar seine Persönlichkeit und sein Charakter, seine innere Stellung und Gesamthaltung eigentlich nie ernsthaft und umfassend zur Darstellung gelangt. Selbst ein so gründlicher und alle Minutien ins Auge fassender Aufsatz wie der von A. Klostermann über Jesaja in Herzogs *Realenzyklopädie* 8 705–731 berührt diesen Punkt kaum. Überall erfährt man nur, daß Jesaja ein Mann von vornehmem Stande, wahrscheinlich fürstlichem Geblüt und daher bester Erziehung gewesen sei, der daher auch in solcher Achtung bei König und Volk stand, daß ihm zwar Verachtung und Spott, nie aber Gewalttat oder gar ein Versuch, um seiner lästigen Erinnerungen willen ihn zu beseitigen (wie einem Amos und Jeremia gegenüber), begegnen

konnte. Auch daß Jesaja in seiner Predigt als ernster und strenger, herber und schroffer Charakter auftritt, wird genugsam betont. Allein ein Gesamtbild von Charakter und Persönlichkeit sucht man vergebens, und gar der Frage, ob es denn dem Propheten wohl innerliche Möglichkeit gewesen sei, von Israel mit „verächtlicher“ Haltung und Wendung zu reden, wird kaum nachgegangen, sie nicht einmal aufgeworfen.

Aber hätte denn wohl ein Jesaja seine Tätigkeit, seine prophetische Tätigkeit an ein Volk gesetzt, setzen können, das er innerlich verachtete? Wenn er aber selbst es samt seinen Oberen bis zum König hinauf zu verachten Ursache gefunden hätte, beweist nicht sein Auftreten und seine prophetische Wirksamkeit und seine — trotz allem — unermüdliche Tätigkeit, sein heißer Eifer und Drang um das Volk, daß er sich bewußt ist: es gilt etwas gewinnen, es lohnt? Gerade weil er von Anfang an, seit seiner Berufung oder doch bald nach ihr sich überzeugt hielt, daß seine Predigt ohne (endgiltigen, bleibenden) Erfolg, jedenfalls also namenlos schwer sein werde, hätte er sich ja jeden Zugang zum Volk und jede Möglichkeit seiner Beeinflussung verbaut, wenn er ihm mit verachtendem Sinn genaht wäre.

In der Tat beweist sein Buch das Gegenteil. Neben den richtenden und verdammenden Worten werden hier viel Töne heißer Klagen, schmerzlich bewegten Gemüts, mitleidiger Wehmut, entsetzter Erschütterung laut, die das gerade Gegenteil von Abweisung, Erbitterung und Verbitterung bedeuten und es geradezu verbieten, von einer verächtlichen Haltung Jesajas seinem Volk gegenüber zu sprechen und in diesem Sinn *ha'ām hazzeh* aufzufassen. Wie ergreifend lautet die Klage über Jahwes Volk 1 2-3, 5-9 (über Jerusalem 1 21-26), gar 22 4-5. „Ruhe“ und „Erquickung“ hat Jesaja laut 28 12 dem armen, gequälten, zertretenen Volk angeboten. Und die Erkenntnis von dem drohenden, ja unabwendbaren Untergang seines Volks zu Beginn seiner Wirksamkeit 6 9, 10 hat ihm eine unsagbare Angst um sein Volk abgepreßt, die sich in der bangen Frage und Klage: „Bis wann, o Herr?“ Luft macht. So mag die Wendung „dies Volk“ nicht bloß rein sachlich-tatsächlich, sondern oft genug weich-wehmütig gesprochen worden sein.

Verächtliche Haltung, ja grobe Verachtung hat Jesaja anderswohin gerichtet: nicht gegen sein Volk, dem sein Herz vielmehr voll Mitleids und liebenden Eifers entgegenschlug, wohl aber gegen dessen Obere und Älteste, Priester und Propheten, mit einem Wort: gegen dessen Leiter und Regierer. Man lese nur 3 12, 15; 28 7 f., 14. Man könnte für 28 11 nach dem Zusammenhang fast geneigt sein, „dies Volk" auf die Oberen ausschließlich zu deuten. Da aber mit den Oberen zugleich das ganze Volk getroffen wird, und der Sprachgebrauch Jesajas für „dies Volk" sonst einhellig und eindeutig ist, wird man es doch bei dem Verständnis der übrigen Stellen bewenden lassen müssen. Eben in diesen Zusammenhängen nun, wo es mit Verachtung und Schärfe wider die Volksführer geht (denen übrigens doch auch laut 28 12 vom Propheten „Ruhe" und „Erquickung" zugedacht war), wird gleichzeitig die weiche Stimmung, das herzliche Mitleid mit dem Volk offenbar. Daß daneben auch, ein anderes Mal, das Volk als Ganzes ernsthaft gescholten wird (z. B. 30 1, 9–12), bleibt bestehen. Nur von Verachtung des Propheten gegen sein Volk, von einem verächtlichen Ausdruck in *ha'ām hazzeh* kann nach allem in keinerlei Weise die Rede sein.

Es muß als ein Fleck auf dem Ehrenschild des Propheten Jesaja gelten, wenn seine Wendung „dies Volk" länger als Ausdruck verächtlicher Gesinnung gedeutet wird. Diesen Fleck beseitigt zu haben ist mir eine Pflichtleistung im Dienste der geschichtlichen Wahrheit, der Bibelauslegung und der Gerechtigkeit gegen einen Großen, einen der Größten unter den Propheten des Alten Bundes, gewesen.

THE BABYLONIAN OFFICIALS IN JEREMIAH 39 3, 13.

SAMUEL FEIGIN
PITTSBURGH, PA.

THE officials mentioned in Jeremiah 39 13 do not offer any difficulty. The names are known and correct and the offices are easily explained. But this verse, as well as the preceding two verses, is surely a later interpolation and is omitted in the LXX. These verses (11–13) contain an account of the rescue of Jeremiah from imprisonment, which is obviously connected with the story in chapter 40.[1] V. 3, on the contrary, is original and is quite difficult. Let us examine each name separately:

The first name is Nergal-sareṣer. The Massoretic text writes this compound name in two words נֵרְגַל שַׂרְאֶצֶר. 𝔖 reproduces this name with š. 𝔙 regards it as two names, Neregel, Sereser. 𝔊 B א corrupted it to *Μαργανασὰρ*.[2] But in spite of the fact that this name appeared in all the versions, it could

1 According to Jer. 40, Jeremiah was among the captives. Nebuzaradan released him and gave him the alternative either to go with him or stay in Palestine. However, the same command was given to him by Nebuchadrezzar in Jer. 39 11–12. Compare also the similarity of the words וְעֵינֵיךְ שִׂים עָלָיו (Jer. 39 12) and וְאָשִׂים אֶת־עֵינִי עָלֶיךָ (Jer. 40 4). The story of how he fulfilled the command of the king began in 39 13 and was continued in 40 2.

2 The corruption of 𝔊 B א can be explained in that M and N are similar in script, Λ and N are nearly alike in sound and script, while ΣΑΡ dropped out. But compare Neriglissor where the *σαρ* is omitted. All the other Greek codices have slight corruptions which can be easily explained. Thus *Νηργελ Σασασαρ* (A) is a mere repetition of ΣΑ instead of PA; *Νηργες Σαρασαρ* (Q) consists of an omission of the Λ and a repetition of the Σ.

not have appeared in the original book (Giesebrecht, see Gesenius-Buhl, [16th ed.], *s. v.*). The reasons for this statement are as follows:

1) The name Nergal-sareṣer is mentioned only once in v. 13; the interpolator surely did not have it written twice in his copy. 2) The name Nergal-sareṣer is mentioned below as a *rab-mâg*, and it is improbable that two officials shall bear the same name. 3) We surely expect at the head of the officials Nebuzaradan, as in v. 13, and not Nergal-sareṣer. We have, therefore, to place the well known Nebuzaradan instead of Nergal-sareṣer. The name is good Babylonian, *Nabû-zêr-idin*, meaning "*Nabû* gave a seed." The reason why this name is now omitted is because the *rab-ṭabbâhim* is omitted in v. 3. Since this name was omitted the space was filled in with Nergal-sareṣer, the later king.

The following name is סַמְגַּר. The Massoretic text connects it by a maqqeph to the following נְבוֹ,[3] 𝔖 and 𝔙 regard it also as one name, *Semgarnabu* in the 𝔙. The LXX regards סַמְגַּר separately.[4] This cannot, however, be a personal name for the following reasons:

1) Such a name is unusual, in spite of שַׁמְגַּר, in Judg. 3 31 and 5 6.[5] 2) No such name is mentioned in the interpolation in v. 13. 3) From v. 13, we see that every name of the official is

[3] There were Massoretic texts in which סַמְגַּרְנְבוֹ was written in one word. Others wrote two words connected by a maqqeph, but there were texts in which נבו was written with a šureq, so that this word is connected with the following ones. See Qimhi.

[4] The *καί* before the reproduction of סַמְגַּר is found only in 𝔊^{B}, but is omitted in א, Q and Q^{mg}. A, however, seems to have had it, and this explains the strange writing Εισσαμαγαθ, namely, Κ[Α]Ι(Σ)ΣΑΜΑΓΑΘ, the Α being dropped out and the Σ repeated twice. According to those codes, where the *καί* is omitted, סַמְגַּר would be a description of the preceding name. The name סַמְגַּר is reproduced in the Greek in two erroneous ways. While in 𝔊^{BA} א the final ר, because of its nearness to נ of נבו, was read as θ, Σαμαγὼθ, 𝔊Q preserved a misreading to the ר as Δ, Σαμαγαδ. Only the Q^{mg} corrected it according to the Hebrew, Σαμαγαρ. The pronunciation of A (*αθ*) and Q (*αδ*) is more correct than that of B and א (*ωθ*). The *καί* before the next word is common to all codes.

[5] See Gesenius-Buhl [16th edit.], *s. v.* Compare also Macalister, *The Philistines*, p. 41.

followed by his office. We should expect the same here. סַמְגַּר must, therefore, be an office and not a personal name. Giesebrecht and Ehrlich regard the word as a textual corruption from רַב מָג.

The appearance of the name at the end of the list, is due to a scribal error, it having been taken from the preceding line. Also Duhm[6] regards the name at the end as a correction of the first name. But סַמְגַּר can hardly be corrupted from רַב מָג. Also סַר מָג is here improbable, since we should expect שַׂר מָג, as שָׂרֵי in the same verse. Since the interpolator (vv. 11–13) mentions three names, we should expect here also three names, with Nebuzaradan at the head.

In the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of October 17, 1925 (vol. 50, pp. 482—486), Eckhard Unger published the names of the officials of Nebuchadrezzar II, which are contained on a prism found by Koldewey in Babylon (now in Constantinople, No. 7834). In Col. 4 22, *Nergal-šar-uṣur amêl Sin-magir*, appears as one of the "great ones of the land of Akkad" (rabûti ša mât Akkadim). Unger identifies him with the רַב מָג in Jer. 39 3 and the later king of Babylon. While he was a *rab mag* in 586 B. C., he was later appointed as a ruler of the city *Sin-magir*, but also, on another occasion he ruled *Akšak*, etc. (see Unger, *ibid.*). Professor J. A. Bewer (*AJSL.*, vol. 42, p. 130) identifies this official with נֶרְגַּל שַׂראֶצֶר סַמְגַּר. The word סַמְגַּר is a corruption from סַמְגִּר, Sin-magir. The repetition of the name Nergal-sareser is due to a parallel reading which intended to attach to him the title *rap mag*. However, Professor Bewer's explanation does not remove the difficulty of the text: 1) We expect first Nebuzaradan, the main executor of the destruction, named at the head of the officials in Jer. 39 3, as in 39 13. Even though we admit that the future king of Babylon was of greater importance than Nebuzaradan, at least the latter's name should have been mentioned. 2) Surely only one *Nergal-šar-uṣur* participated in the council, as we see from 39 13. In such case why should the text repeat this same name in

[6] In *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*, p. 310. For Ehrlich see מקרא כפשוטו, vol. II.

order to attach the office *rab mag* which was then also held by him. He would rather add the name of this office to סמגר which, according to Bewer, is the name of a city. 3) We see from 39 13 that there were three officials of greater importance who were individually mentioned by name, but according to Bewer only two officials would remain, since the third and the first are one person. 4) The writer of Jer. 39 was in Babylonia and had every opportunity to know that *Sinmagir* is the name of a city. How could he, in such case, omit the word שַׂר before the word סמגר? 5) If *Nergal-šar-uṣur* was, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, a ruler of *Sin-magir*, his proper place would seem to be in his own dominion and not in Jerusalem. For the above reasons, it seems to me that the first official was not *Nergal-šar-uṣur* but Nebuzaradan, whose name was omitted by a later copyist because of the omission of *rab ṭabbâhim* after his name, and especially because of his designation as a סַמְגַּר. The vacant place was filled in with the name of the king *Nergal-šar-uṣur*. The writer, however, did not know that he was then a *rab mag*, and that he was mentioned at the end. He regarded them as two different persons.

I would suggest that סַמְגַּר is correct. סַמְגַּר is the priestly official ^{lú}*Šim. Gar* who appears in the Early Sumerian contracts. The 𝔊 has the reading *Semgar*, like the Sumerian *Šim. Gar*. The Akkadian *š* is reproduced in Hebrew by a ס. Compare *šênu* = סְאוֹן, *šâkin* = סוֹכֵן, *muškenu* = מְסְכֵּן, *ṭupšarru* = טִפְסָר, etc. Thus *Šim. Gar* is reproduced סַמְגַּר.

The meaning of *Šim. Gar* is, according to Ungnad (Kohler & Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, N. N. 984 and 979) and Schorr (*Altbabylonische Gerichturkunden*, N. 104 A : 2), "Küchen-meister". Compare *ibid.* N. 115 : 1 and p. 574. רַב טַבָּחִים, in the meaning "the chief of the cooks" is the Hebrew translation of the Sumerian סַמְגַּר. Nebuzaradan was not the "head of the cooks," but was of a priestly family who held this office in the temple in ancient time. Compare רַב־שָׁקֶה.

In the above mentioned list of Babylonian officials published by Unger, the name *Nabû-zêr-i-din-nam rab-nuhtimmu*, appears as the first of the *mašennum* officials. (col. 3 : 35.) Unger identifies him with the *rab ṭabbâhim* in Jeremiah. If

this identification be certain my suggestion that סַמְגַּר was the office of Nebuzaradan would be impossible. However, the identification is not certain. The equivalent of *rab nuthimmu* is not רַב טַבָּחִים but שַׂר הָאוֹפִים. The omission of the name of *Nabû-zêr-idinam Šim. gar* in the list cannot serve as evidence against my suggestion, since the name of the second official, *Nabû-šezibanni*, is also omitted there. Moreover, there is a Talmudic tradition that Nebuzaradan disappeared from the court of the Babylonian king soon after the capture of Jerusalem. According to the Talmudic phantasy, he, as well as Nero, became a proselyte. (Babli, *Giṭṭin*, p. 57 b.)

The second official is נְבוּ שַׂר סְכִים. 𝔖 and 𝔙 regard שַׂר סְכִים as a personal name. But against this can be said: 1) There is very little probability for such a name, either separately or compounded with Nebo. 2) In the interpolation we have a good Babylonian name נְבוּשֵׁזִבְנִי namely, *Nabû-šezibanni*, "Nabu saved me." 3) The LXX has Ναβουσάχαρ, נבוסכר, which is surely a corruption from נבוסכים, through the loss of the left part of the ם[7]. The שַׂר in the Massoretic text must mean "prince," like the Aramaic רַב. Compare Hebrew שַׂר טַבָּחִים and the later רַב טַבָּחִים (See Gesenius-Buhl, *s. v.*). This was omitted in some texts; compare סַמְגַּר, which is not preceded by שַׂר. This text was before the Greek translator. The introduction of שַׂר in the Massoretic text is due to the plural form of סכים.

Giesebrecht, Ehrlich, etc., are surely correct in maintaining that in v. 3 also the name נְבוּשֵׁזִבְנִי appeared. The following שַׂר סְכִים or סכים, 𝔊 סכר is the office of this man. Winckler explains it as שַׂר סְכִיִּים, "Haupt der Negersklaven" (See Ges.-Buhl, [16th ed.] p. 794). I would suggest that this official is as well a priestly one, and is to be identified with *iskim* = *ittu*, "sign," "omen" (Meißner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*, N. 11228). שַׂר סְכִים is the omina-priest who foresees the future of the war. רַב סָרִים in v. 13 is either a Hebrew explanation of שַׂר סְכִים, or a corruption of סכים. This word can easily be corrupted to סָרִים. The second ך lost its end and resembled

[7] The reading of code Q, Ναβουσαραχ, is based on the same text by an interchange of the places of the letters in the last syllable χαρ to ραχ. Q mg here also has the Hebrew Σαρσαχειμ.

a ר, the final ם became a ס. Compare סַבְכִי and מְבֻנִי (2 Sam. 21 18 and 23 27). Cf. *AJSL*, vol. 41, p. 138. The *rab sâris* from v. 13 was also added as a gloss to v. 3 and finally entered into the text. While 𝔖 regards it correctly as an official, 𝔙 regards it as a personal name Rabsares. The LXX corrupted the ר to נ and has thus Ναβουσαρ(ε)ὶς.[8]

The last name is in both verses the same, נֶרְגַל שַׂרְאֶצֶר. The office is of a רַב מָג. The name is the Babylonian *Nergal-šar-uṣur* "Nergal preserve the king." 𝔖 reproduced the name correctly, regarding רַב מָג as an office. 𝔙 regards it as three personal names, "Neregel, Sareser, et Rebmag." 𝔊 has a far fetched corruption.[9] The office רַב מָג is either the Assyrian *rab-mugi* (Ges.-Buhl, p. 395) or it is Semitic rendering of an earlier Sumerian *En-maḫ*, "high priest;" the *maḫ* can, however, be the adjective "high" of any of the Babylonian priestly occupations, as *gala-maḫ, šutug alal maḫ*, etc. The interpolator did not preserve the main official but the adjective. He added the usual רַב before it, which was also accepted in v. 3.

[8] The reading Ναβου instead of Ραβ is explained partly by the ר which may look like ג, but also by the preceding Ναβου. The reading of Q, Ναβουσαρις, is not better than that of B, Ναβουσαρείς. א* supports also the writing Ναβουσαρεις, because Ναβουσεεις is surely corrupted from Ναβουσαρεις, not σαρις, namely, by omitting the αρ and repeating the ε. Compare note 4.

[9] The corruption of this name is common to all the codes. Even Q^{mg} has Νηρεα Σαρσαρ in which, however, it is easy to find Νηρ[γ]ελ Σαρ[α]σαρ, the A being a corruption from Λ. It is not easy to see how the corruption of 𝔊^{B} Ναγαργασνασερ happened. But it should be noticed that και is omitted where we expect it. Thus ΚΑΙ ΝΑΡΓΑΛΣΑΡΑΣΕΡ became ΝΑΓ[Ν]ΑΡΓΑ[Λ]Σ[Α]ΝΑΣΕΡ. The Κ became Ν, the Ι was completed to Γ, the Ν dropped out, the Λ was omitted because of its likeness to the preceding Α. The corruption of Ρ to Ν may have happened rather in Hebrew than in Greek. Compare נְבוּכַדְרָאצַר for נְבוּכַדְנָאצַר. See note 8. The Α dropped out.

The name of the office is also corrupted in most of the codes. Only 𝔊Q has Ραβμαγ. Ραβμακ of A can be perhaps traced to the same original. But Ραβαμαθ of B, Ρα'ματ of א*, and Βαματ of א$^{c, a(?)}$ surely indicates a corruption of the ג to ת which some pronounced ה and some ת. Ρα'ματ and Βαματ are conflated to Ραβαματ. It is not probable that we have here *rab mât* "the head of the country." The ת rather originates in ג and the adjacent ו, thus גו became ת.

The original story was, according to the above discussion: "And it came to pass, when Jerusalem was taken, that all the princes of the king of Babylon came in and sat in the middle gate, even Nebuzaradan "the cook," Nebushazban the omina-priest, Nergal-sareser the high priest (?), with all the residue of the princes of the king of Babylon. And they sent and took Jeremiah out of the court of the guard and committed him unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan. And he dwelt among the people." (39 1–3, 14.) Verses 4–13 are an interpolation.

בִּכְלֵי עֹז לַיהוָה 2 CHRONICLES 30 21

A PERFECT TEXT

MOSES BUTTENWIESER
HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

EVER since Bertheau, some fifty years ago, suggested that the seemingly dubious בִּכְלֵי עֹז 2 Chr. 30 21 be emended to read בְּכָל־עֹז and that either the לַיהוָה following be omitted or the לַיהוָה of the preceding יוֹם בְּיוֹם לַיהוָה וּמְהַלְלִים[1], commentary after commentary has unreservedly accepted the emendation, and editor after editor has adopted it in the Hebrew Dictionary. Yet בִּכְלֵי עֹז לַיהוָה is a perfect text. It requires no emendation whatever.

The difficulty which the text is thought to present arises primarily from the fact that כְּלֵי־שִׁיר is generally taken to mean only "musical instrument," while in reality it occurs repeatedly also with the meaning "song," "melody." Of the passages in which it is found with this meaning, 2 Chr. 7 6 is to be mentioned first of all: וְהַלְוִיִּם בִּכְלֵי־שִׁיר אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה דָוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ לְהֹדוֹת לַיהוָה כִּי־לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ בְּהַלֵּל דָּוִד בְּיָדָם בִּכְלֵי־שִׁיר לַיהוָה. It will be noted that בִּכְלֵי־שִׁיר לַיהוָה is used synonymously with בְּהַלֵּל דָּוִד בְּיָדָם, "with David's paean of praise in their hands," so that it is clear beyond doubt that כְּלֵי שִׁיר must mean "song." Also in וְהַמְשׁוֹרְרִים בִּכְלֵי הַשִּׁיר וּמוֹדִיעִים לְהַלֵּל 2 Chr. 23 13 it is shown both by הַמְשׁוֹרְרִים "the singers," and by מוֹדִיעִים לְהַלֵּל "leading the song of praise," that כְּלֵי הַשִּׁיר is used with the meaning "song." Another passage in Chronicles where it has this meaning is 2 Chr. 5 13 וּבְהָרִים קוֹל

[1] *Die Bücher der Chronik*[2] (1873), p. 385.

בַּחֲצֹצְרוֹת וּבִמְצִלְתַּיִם וּבִכְלֵי הַשִּׁיר וּבְהַלֵּל לַיהוָה כִּי טוֹב כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ, for it is evident that the writer would not have followed the mention of the specific instruments, "the trumpets and cymbals," with "and instruments of music." The RV. had the right feeling in this case, and therefore gave as an alternative the marginal translation "and instruments for song." But this is a mere makeshift, as is also Kautzsch's translation "Und die übrigen Musikinstrumente."[2] Had this been the writer's meaning, he would have said וְכָל־כְּלֵי־שִׁיר. As soon as כְּלֵי שִׁיר is rendered correctly "song," another difficulty is removed, namely, the difficulty which וּבְהַלֵּל presents in consequence of the wrong translation of כְּלֵי שִׁיר. The RV. in violation of every rule translates וּבְהַלֵּל "And praised." The correct translation of בִּכְלֵי הַשִּׁיר וּבְהַלֵּל is "with the song and paean of praise"—Kautzsch, in fact, translates בְּהַלֵּל this way, "Lobgesang."[3] As to the translation of what follows, לַיהוָה כִּי טוֹב גו׳, I shall come back to this point in a moment.

Finally, כְּלֵי־שִׁיר has the meaning "melody" in Am. 6 5 הַפֹּרְטִים עַל־פִּי הַנָּבֶל כְּדָוִד חָשְׁבוּ לָהֶם כְּלֵי־שִׁיר. It is generally recognized that the parallelism הַפֹּרְטִים עַל־פִּי הַנָּבֶל "who improvise to the flute," as well as the expression חָשְׁבוּ לָהֶם exclude the probability that כְּלֵי־שִׁיר could mean here "musical instruments." But instead of drawing from this fact the obvious inference that חָשְׁבוּ לָהֶם כְּלֵי־שִׁיר must mean "like David they compose melodies," Biblical scholars have in this case, too, resorted to arbitrary and farfetched emendations. Since, then, the meaning "song" is established for כְּלֵי־שִׁיר and, of course, for the ellipsis כְּלֵי which occurs again 2 Chr. 29 26 וַיַּעַמְדוּ הַלְוִיִּם בִּכְלֵי דָוִד וְהַכֹּהֲנִים, and also 1 Chr. 23 5, the rest is very simple: עֹז לַיהוָה בַּחֲצֹצְרוֹת are the opening words of the song, just as are אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר of עַל־אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר, "to the tune of אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר," in the heading of Ps. 22, and יוֹנַת אֵלֶם רְחֹקִים in the heading of Ps. 56, and probably also מוּת לַבֵּן in the heading of Ps. 9. Similarly לַיהוָה כִּי טוֹב כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ of 2 Chr. 5 13, which I discussed a moment ago, is the opening line of the song; the line originally read הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה

[2] *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*[3].

[3] *Op. cit.*

כִּי טוֹב כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ, as may be seen from 𝔊, Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ κυρίῳ ὅτι κτλ., which shows that the Hebrew copy of the Alexandrian translators read הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה; and also from the recurrence of the quotation in its complete form Jer. 33 11, which likewise begins הוֹדוּ, reading, with but a slight variation (אֶת־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת for לַיהוָה): הוֹדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת כִּי טוֹב כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ. The hymn cited 2 Chr. 5 13 is, of course, Ps. 136.

The use of the plural כְּלֵי in this example as also in the other examples from Chronicles has its parallel in the plural מַעֲשַׂי of Ps. 45 2 אֹמֵר אֲנִי מַעֲשַׂי לְמֶלֶךְ "I address my poem to the king," not "my poems," for the word applies to Psalm 45 only, written for the express purpose of celebrating the king's wedding. The plurals מַעֲשַׂי and כְּלֵי find their explanation in the fact that שִׁיר, as its *nomen unitatis* שִׁירָה[4] shows, is a collective.

[4] שִׁירִים is plural of שִׁירָה, not of שִׁיר; cf. מִלָּה : מִלִּים, שׁוֹשַׁנָּה (from שׁוּשָׁן): שׁוֹשַׁנִּים, דְּבוֹרָה (from דְּבוֹר, cf. 1 Sam. 14 26 𝔊): דְּבוֹרִים.

MICAH 6 AND 7 A NORTHERN PROPHECY

F. C. BURKITT
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

THE Book of Micah falls into two well-defined parts, as separable as Isaiah 1—39 and Isaiah 40 ff. The first five chapters present many difficulties in detail, but the point of view of the Prophet is everywhere the same. He is a Judaean, but not a Jerusalemite. To him, as to all Judaeans, David is the national Hero, but it is not David the King in Zion and Jerusalem, but rather David the guerilla chieftain, the warrior who came from Bethlehem and took refuge in the cave of Adullam. The really characteristic utterance of 'Micah the Morasthite' was recognised as such so long ago as the days of Jeremiah: it is 'Zion shall be plowed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps' (see Jer. 26 18).

In 'Micah' 6 and 7 we are in another atmosphere, and it is generally recognised that these chapters must be assigned to a different author from that of 1—5. When did he live? The usual answer appears to be that 6 and 7 1-6 may belong to the bad days of Manasseh, while 7 7-20 must be later still because they seem to be written during the Captivity. Prof. Nowack in his article "Micah" in Hastings' *Dictionary* even speaks of 'Zion' suffering for her sins and of the hope that Jahwe will 'build the walls of Jerusalem.'

As a matter of fact neither Zion nor Jerusalem is mentioned in chaps. 6 and 7, and the object of this paper is to suggest that the walls, which in 7 11 are to be rebuilt, are those of Samaria. It is noteworthy that all the geographical allusions in these chapters belong to the horizon of Northern Israel.

Carmel, Bashan, Gilead (7 14) are all Northern: so is Gilgal (6 5). As far as one can see it is at Gilgal, not at Zion, that the would-be worshipper proposes to come with his costly ritual offerings (6 6 ff). Then again the reference to Omri's statutes and to the house of Ahab (6 16) fit Northern Israel, and do not fit Judah, whether in Nebuchadnezzar's time or at any other period. Aaron also (6 4), who made the Golden Calf, seems to have been more revered in Northern Israel than in pre-exilic Jerusalem, where from the time of Solomon the Sons of Zadok had had the pre-eminence. Is it not the case that the references in 6 4 and 7 20 to the stories narrated in the Pentateuch recall the manner of the Northerner Hosea (12 3 f., 12 f., etc.) rather than that of any other of the Prophets?

And the 'Captivity' of 7 7-20, of what sort is it? The exiles are in Assyria and Māṣōr. There is no mention of Babylon or the Chaldeans, and if Māṣōr does mean Egypt it is at any rate a word characteristic of the times of Isaiah, not of those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (see 2 Kings 19 24, Is. 19 6). Indeed I venture to claim that there is nothing in the thought or theology that is inconsistent with a Northern Israelite origin, nothing which would make such a theory an anachronism. The Hebrew style is, of course, somewhat different from the very peculiar style of Hosea, and indeed I am not suggesting that Hosea was the writer of these two chapters. But if Micah 6, 7 were incorporated with the Book of Hosea and read continuously with it I do not think any one who was unfamiliar with these works would be conscious of any serious differences either from a theological point of view or from the political and social state of things set forth.

One further point may be noted in conclusion. Micah 6 6-8 has received many panegyrics in modern times and I do not propose to add to the number. But if the view of these chapters here indicated be adopted, we have a parallel in the prose of 2 Kings 17 23-41 to what the prophet formulates so nobly. In that passage the ecclesiastical historian, writing from the point of view of the Southern Kingdom and of Josiah's reformation, tells us how the new settlers from Babylon and Sepharvaim did not know how to worship Jahweh,

the God of the land, and how the King of Assyria sent them a priest of the Old Religion, whereby the worship of Jahweh was set going again, though in the eyes of our historian it was conducted in an unauthorized fashion. In 'Micah' 6 6-8 we also have set before us a man of that very time who does not know how Jahweh must be worshipped. He is ready to practise all manner of heathen rites, even to the sacrifice of his first-born child. Who and what sort of man is this? Not surely Balaam, and not any Israelite; it is rather the earnest but ignorant settler in Palestine who knows nothing of the religion of Elijah and of Amos. Our Prophet gives him the great Answer: in my view it is the swan-song of Northern Israel, a sort of view from afar of personal religion, like Moses viewing the Promised Land from Pisgah, while for the Judaeans who came after was reserved the more prosaic and more difficult task of organizing the Prophetic Vision into a working system in actual operation.

SYMBOL AND REALITY IN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

J. GAMBLE
BRISTOL, THE CATHEDRAL, ENGLAND

THE Bible does not offer us anything that we should call a philosophy of history, i. e. a survey of the past in which its various periods appear as stages in one continuous movement, or as the steps of a rising stair. We find in the Old Testament anticipations of the rise and fall of states and empires, but no attempt is made to connect these occurrences with each other, as a cause is connected with its effect, to show how the fall of one state prepared the way for the appearance of its successor.

The New Testament does, however, contain one book where the religious development of mankind, and its final outcome, are, not indeed expressly described or foretold, but indicated and implied. And here, as elsewhere in the sacred volume, the forecast is made incidentally, in view of a practical object. The writer lets us see his interpretation of the past, and his anticipation of what is yet to come, while he labours to strengthen the faith of his intended readers.

In reading the books of the Bible we often fail to see the wood for the trees. Many questions rise up by the way, and draw off our attention from the writer's central purpose. We lose ourselves in bypaths, and have no clue in our hands to bring us back. This may not matter so much when we are reading a narrative of events. But the loss is serious when we are following a consecutive argument in which the separate parts combine to form one carefully-planned structure.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews had to obviate a doubt which sometimes reappears in our own midst. He had to show that Christianity was not one among many existing religions, destined in its turn to pass, but that it was firmly rooted in human experience, and would to the end satisfy the cravings of the soul. The alternative may be put in the concise form: "Is Christianity a religion or is it religion?"

We may suppose the readers addressed in the Epistle, Jews by nationality who had accepted the Messiahship of Jesus, to argue thus: "By no faith was the claim to a Divine origin more confidently made than by the religion of Moses in which we were born, which gave us a law by which to live, a worship with which to approach God. Yet this religion has already passed, or is passing. We know the thrill of anguish with which the Jewish world saw the Temple, the pledge of God's abiding Presence, reduced to a ruin. Is the faith we have now embraced assured of any greater permanence? Is it anything more than another religion doomed in its turn to be superseded?"

The answer given by S. Paul would not have entirely overcome such misgivings. The great Apostle had indeed pronounced the Mosaic system to be a preparation for Christ. It was as the servant who takes the child to school and there leaves him to be instructed by his proper teacher. He had, however, more than once implied that there had been a complete breach of continuity between the old religion and the new. He had told the Galatians that if they admitted the Law's obligations they would be faithless to Christ. The two faiths were thus left as rivals or antagonists. Yet Judaism was of Divine origin, and had been the stay of patriarchs and prophets. Might not a time come when Christianity also should be found to have grown old, and to be ready to perish?

It is in his solution of this difficult question that our writer shows his profound originality. We need not confine his principle to the one religion to which he applies it. We may use it to illuminate the religious experience of mankind.

The principle is that old things do indeed pass away, but do so by becoming new. These words of Paul (2 Cor. 5 17), which he uses only in a personal sense, might, if we enlarge them, stand as a summary of the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The old things pass, but what is of value in them is carried over, and finds a place in the new structure. The Epistle is thus the sacred illustration of a principle but for which history would be a series of disconnected fragments, and the past a mere rubbish-heap or lumber-room. It is the recognition of a continuous evolution in religious experience.

The writer has to show that the Temple worship, and the law upon which this worship rested, might be of Divine origin and yet temporary, good for a time, and yet not good for all time. To do this he makes use of the Platonic distinction between the real and the apparent. In the mind of Plato there were, as we know, two worlds, which he distinguished as "upper" and "lower," although he did not picture either of them as localities, but as states of being. To the lower or phenomenal world belonged the objects of sense-perception, the things we see and handle. These objects are in a constant state of flux or "becoming," and being so, could not be regarded as real. The upper world contains the realities which these ever-changing objects indicate or symbolize. These realities are "eternal," not in the sense of persisting changelessly through time, but in the sense that they have no relation to time. Of this distinction, which had reached him through the religious thinkers of Alexandria, our writer makes, as far as I know, an original use.

It becomes in his hands the basis of a far-reaching doctrine of symbol and reality. The things of the phenomenal or "lower" world receive from him the significant name of "shadows." The meaning he puts upon this word needs to be carefully noted. In our ordinary speech a shadow is either something unsubstantial or something disturbing. It has the first of these meanings in Burke's exclamation: "What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue!" It has the other sense when we speak of a landscape as chilled by the passing cloud-shadows. For our writer the word has a quite

different significance. The "shadows" for him are such as a luminous body casts before when it approaches. We see the shadow long before we see the luminary itself. It grows in size and power as the luminary draws near. The real world announces its presence by a succession of these revealing shadows, which indicate the reality with greater force and vividness as the ages pass. But in no case are the shadows misleading or treacherous. They are Divinely given, and as such to be valued and cherished, although to the end they are only symbols of unseen realities.

Such is the writer's conception of religious progress. He pictures it as never-ending. Christians have fuller light than their predecessors. But they only see the real world with the eye of faith (11 1). Thus it is not that God withholds the knowledge of His life-giving secrets from the earlier generations that He may tell them all at once to their descendants. His revelations are in each case proportionate to the receptiveness of those who receive them. And for all alike the ultimate reality remains invisible until humanity has run its course (11 40).

The truth by which the writer thus illuminates the history of religion is plainly susceptible of a far wider use than that to which he needs to put it. Before we consider its applications, however, we shall do well to look at the two illustrations by which he shows how the "shadow" makes way for the "substance" (8 5; cp. Col. 2 17).

He fixes our attention upon the two institutions which, in the Jewish as in most ancient religions, stand out conspicuous. These are law and priesthood.

(a) The *laws* of early ages are, as we know, sacred customs. The custom is invested with sacred authority because of its immemorial antiquity. It must be obeyed because no one can remember a time when it was not obeyed. Even though it be mischievous it does not for this reason awaken misgivings. The teeth must be pulled out, the feet must be squeezed because they always have been. Primitive law is thus beyond criticism. The reason is not allowed to work upon it. On the other hand, our modern laws derive their whole force

from the consent of the governed. "You cannot," said Burke, "bring an indictment against a nation." When the entire nation breaks the law, the law is held to have lost its force.

Obedience to primitive laws could thus only be willing as long as it remained mechanical. As soon as reflection began obedience became burdensome and precarious. The law was only secure as long as it was not examined. When examination began, the foundations of the law began to shake. When the question came to be asked: "Why should I obey?" the answer: "You must obey because people have always obeyed" was found unsatisfying. The authority of custom broke, and the law lost its hold.

The understanding and will of the governed must consent to a law, before the law can be safe. When this consent has been given then a marked change takes place. The law which was before external passes inwards and becomes the bidding of a man's own spirit. The will of God becomes his own will. He is glad to obey. Duty becomes to him a stern, and yet a gracious lawgiver:

> "Stern Lawgiver! yet thou dost wear
> The Godhead's most benignant grace,
> Nor know we anything as fair
> As is the smile upon thy face."

The progress from the one kind of law to the other may be illustrated by that ambiguous word "sacrifice." The sacrifices of ancient religion can hardly have been more than expressions of loyalty to a tribal or national deity. The spirit of the worshipper can seldom have been deeply moved. The offering was made for, and not by him. Nothing was expected of him but that he should bear the cost. When we pass from this mechanical obedience to any of those surrenders of place, or wealth or life itself which we should think worthy of the name of sacrifice, we find that their author receives, in the sense of spiritual freedom and joy which he gains, more than the equivalent of what he surrenders. A man who pays off the load of his father's debts, a woman who surrenders some career which she loves in

obedience to a filial call, would say that it would be harder to refrain from their surrenders than to make them. Their self-abnegations lose themselves in joy.

Such is the contrast which our writer wishes to emphasize when he compares the laws of Moses, external, rigid, written upon tables of stone, with that law of Christ which the heart of the believer lays upon itself, and is the outcome of a willing conformity on his part with his Master's experience. The conformity is, like all Christian duties, self-imposed and voluntary. The believer is drawn by "the cords of a man, and the bands of love." He assents to what he does, and thus, in all his privations, he remains a free man (10 16; 8 10).

(b) The conception of *priesthood* suffers a like transfiguration. The hereditary priesthood of ancient religion makes way for a spiritual and consequently real priesthood. The authority of the real priest rests upon self-conquest and upon a knowledge of human nature (5 4, 7-10). He knows what sin is, because he has striven with it himself. He does not contemplate the weaknesses of his fellows from the standpoint of untempted virtue. He will thus seldom commit himself to unqualified condemnations, knowing that such condemnations are seldom deserved. No external appointment can make such priests. The title may indeed be conferred by human authority, but the qualifications will not necessarily follow the title. On the other hand the qualifications may be present where no human authority has intervened. Melchizedek, the priest-king of early Jewish story, who comes, one knows not whence and goes one knows not whither, who has no human credentials—he, and not the official hereditary Aaron, becomes the prototype of the Christ. The new religion, the writer would say, has not discarded priesthood. What it does is, here as elsewhere, to supplant shadow by substance, symbol by reality. Christ is the spiritual reality whom the shadow heralded. This He is, first by reason of a Divine Vocation, and secondly by virtue of that fellow-feeling with humanity which He gained amidst the conflicts and sorrows of His troubled days. Passing through this school of suffering He entered the higher world and became the eternal priest.

To the Jewish worshipper the spectacle of the high-priest, raising the curtain and entering once a year within the veil, can hardly have been more than a ceremonial incident. The spirit of the Christian disciple follows Christ, not at long intervals, but habitually into the Presence of God. The intervening veils—whether they are thought of as fleshly or spatial—for the writer makes use of both conceptions (9 19; 4 14) are penetrated or overcome. The spirit approaches God, feels its oneness with Him, and enjoys the sense of pardon, and the peace of eternal life.

Such is the view of man's religious history which we reach with the help of this deep-thinking writer. The history, as he sees it, is a progress towards a real or eternal world. In the progress symbols, or, as he calls them, shadows make way for realities. The spirit becomes more and more conscious of itself, is more deeply moved and more firmly held, by the worship it offers and the law it obeys. What was mechanical becomes spontaneous, what was perfunctory becomes heartfelt. The movement is towards greater reality, because it is towards a larger and more intense spiritual life.

The goal of the whole progress—the heavenly or eternal world—cannot be brought within the reach of our present vision. It cannot be pictured in terms of space or time. It is not a locality, nor is it an endless succession of years. But it is not an hallucination, or fancy. It is the consummation to which the whole history of the spirit of man points.

From this higher world we are separated by no spatial or temporal obstacles. No deep gulf is fixed between earth and heaven. The veils which once obstructed access have been done away by the passage of Jesus, on behalf of humanity, into the heavens. All who look to Him, and learn His great lesson, may follow Him and share His eternal life. To do this they need above all to *see* the eternal world and to live in its presence (11 27; 12 1, 2).

What makes such vision difficult is the tyranny of visible things. Overpowered by this tyranny we sell our heavenly citizenship for a mess of pottage (12 16). If we could look through the things seen to the things unseen, or, in other

words, live in the world of reality and not in the world of appearance, the occurrences of the passing day would, for us as for Paul, work out an exceeding weight of glory (2 Cor. 4 17, 18).

Such vision can only be the outcome of spiritual habit. The will must be brought into exercise (12 1). There are no short cuts to the desired end. The power cannot be gained by escaping from the contrarieties of every-day life, and seeking shelter in seclusion. This would only be to repeat the experience of the early solitaries. Nor must the soul be thought of as imprisoned within the body, and panting for its release. Body and soul form one organism, and both must be used as instruments for reaching the heavenly vision (cp., e. g., 13 4, 9).

One great help in the life-long struggle thus ensuing is the sense of companionship. The present runners in the race of life are surrounded by a large number of consenting witnesses, near though invisible. They were not faultless or blameless heroes. They represent various moral codes, and some of them hardly even reached the low standard of the rough ages in which they lived (11 31, 32). The value of their testimony arises from the fact that they trusted their aspirations, and thus earned a reward greater than they knew (11 39, 40).

Such is the hope of immortality as it is here presented. The goal of man's pilgrimage is a spiritual and not a material city. He moves on into ever-widening hopes, and more exalted visions, and he thus learns to believe that God keeps in store for him things greater than he knows how to pray for (11 40). He may try to visualize the object of his desire by the aid of the pictorial imagination, and dream of years which never end, of streets of gold and gates of pearl. These images are good in their time, but gradually fade in the growing light. The vision itself is, however, no illusion. It is a sure prophecy, proving itself by the great things it enables those who trust it to accomplish, and pointing onwards towards a state of being of which the spirit has, in its best moments, convincing assurance.

Thus, if human life be judged by its visible achievements,

the civilizations it builds up, it may indeed be a temple destined to be buried beneath the débris of a universe in ruins, but if the aspirations of man be taken into account, as surely they must, for they are as certainly a part of our nature as our bodily appetites are, then the history of these aspirations —the part they have already played, the fulfilments they have already received—enables us to disregard the downfall of the material temple. It then becomes the prophecy of another and better fabric of which it was only the revealing shadow.

EINIGE KEILSCHRIFTLICHE PARALLELEN ZU JES. 40—66

FRIEDRICH STUMMER
WÜRZBURG

ES ist schon längst aufgefallen, daß zwischen Jes. 40—66 und der keilschriftlichen Literatur Beziehungen bestehen. Rudolf Kittel hat in seinem Aufsatz „Cyrus und Deuterojesaja" in der Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 1898, S. 149—162 auf die stilistische Ähnlichkeit zwischen Jes. 45 1 ff. und dem Cyruszylinder V R 35 hingewiesen, und Friedrich Delitzsch hat in seinem Buche „Die große Täuschung", zweiter Teil[1], S. 78 diesen Hinweis wiederholt. Auch H. Zimmern und H. Winckler haben in der 3. Auflage von E. Schraders Buch „Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament"[2] den zweiten Teil des Jesajas herangezogen, und ebenso haben Alfred Jeremias[3], Anton Jirku[4] und neuestens Lorenz Dürr[5] zu einer Reihe von Stellen Parallelen aus der Keilschriftliteratur angemerkt. Allein eine erschöpfende Behandlung der Frage nach dem Verhältnis des zweiten Teils des Jesajabuches zum sumerisch-akkadischen Schrifttum steht noch aus. Auch die folgenden Seiten wollen das Thema noch

1 Stuttgart-Berlin 1921.

2 Berlin 1903.

3 Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients. 3. Aufl. (Leipzig 1915), S. 605 ff.

4 Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Leipzig 1923), S. 202 ff.

5 Ursprung und Ausbau der israelitisch-jüdischen Heilandserwartung (Berlin 1925), wo insbesondere § 6 (der leidende „Gottesknecht") S. 125 ff. zu beachten ist.

nicht abschließen, sondern begnügen sich damit weiteres Material beizubringen und zu besprechen. Auf die schon von den genannten Forschern aufgezeigten Parallelen soll dabei nur im Ausnahmefall eingegangen werden.

1) JES. 40 3–5

Die geheimnisvolle Stimme befiehlt, in der Wüste Jahwe „einen Weg zu bahnen", in der Steppe „eine Straße für unsern Gott zu ebnen" (V. 3). Von einer solchen Straße durch die Wüste spricht auch Jes. 35 8. Namentlich aber gehört Ps. 68 5 hieher. An allen diesen Stellen schwebt den alttestamentlichen Schriftstellern das Bild eines Prozessionsweges vor, auf dem Jahwe (bezw. sein erlöstes Volk Jes. 35 9) festlich einherzieht. Eine ganz ähnliche Szene schildert der Hymnus IV R 20 Nr. 1, der von der Rückkehr Marduks aus Elam berichtet.[6] In diesem zweisprachigen Text heißt es nun Vs. 12–16:

„. . . aus dem feindlichen Elam schlug er eine Straße des Jubels,
einen Pfad des Frohlockens
[. . .] der Erhörung nach Sú-an-na (= Babel) ein.
Es sahen die Leute des Landes seine hohe Gestalt, den Herrscher in (seinem) Schmucke."

Wie hier Marduk aus Elam nach Babylon zurückkehrt, weil er sich seiner Stadt erbarmt (ebd. Vs. 9–11), so wendet sich auch Jes. 40 1 ff. Jahwe dem verlassenen Jerusalem zu und kommt aus Babylon wieder heim. Auf diesem Zug schaut „alles Fleisch" die sich enthüllende „Herrlichkeit Jahwes" (V. 5).

Wenn im Babylonischen von einem Aufenthalt Marduks in Elam, wie hier, oder im Lande Ḫatti, wie K 3353[7], die Rede ist, haben wir an eine feindliche Verschleppung des Götterbildes, und demgemäß bei der Heimkehr des Gottes an dessen Zurückführung zu denken. Es handelt sich also in unserem

[6] Hehn, Hymnen und Gebete an Marduk (B A V 279—400) Nr. X (339—344).

[7] Fr. Martin, *Mélanges assyriologiques*, in: *Rec. d. trav. rel. à la philol. et archéol. égypt. et assyriennes* XXIV (1902) 96—108.

Texte um ein feierliches Geleit einer Mardukstatue, worauf auch der Ausdruck „seine hohe Gestalt" deutlich hinweist. Solche Götterprozessionen waren in Babylonien nichts Seltenes.[8] Dagegen haben wir in Israel zwar auch festliche Züge mit der Bundeslade. Aber sie beschränken sich auf ganz bestimmte, durch Notwendigkeiten bedingte Anlässe, wie z. B. der Zug durch die Wüste oder die Überführung der Lade auf den Zion solche sind. Merkwürdigerweise wird aber die Zurückkunft der Lade aus dem Philisterlande (1 Sam. 6) nicht als Siegeszug geschildert. Sie kehrt nicht, wie Marduk aus Elam, unter dem Jubel der Volksmenge im festlichen Gepränge zurück.

Das Bild des im Triumph zu seinem Heiligtum heimkehrenden Gottes ist also den Israeliten offenbar von Haus aus nicht geläufig. Hier wie in Ps. 47 und 68 werden wohl fremde, also zunächst babylonische Vorbilder eingewirkt haben. Freilich ist gerade an unserer Stelle zu bemerken, wie der Schriftsteller das aus der Fremde ihm zugekommene Bild in seinem Sinne umgestaltet hat. Echt alttestamentlich ist, daß alles vermieden wird, was den Leser veranlassen könnte sich eine *Gestalt* Jahwes vorzustellen. Nur von der כְּבוֹד יי ist die Rede, während der babylonische Dichter von der „hohen Gestalt" Marduks spricht. Das Ganze ist eben für den Propheten, den Vertreter einer grundsätzlich bildlosen Religion, nur Einkleidung für einen Gedanken, fast möchte man sagen Formel, während der akkadische Sänger, der das Götterbild als selbstverständliches Mittel des Kultus betrachtet, oft geschaute Wirklichkeit schildert.

2) JES. 40 12–16

Der Abschnitt schildert die Herrlichkeit Jahwes. Schon die Frage, mit der er beginnt, zielt darauf hin. Der Prophet erwartet als Antwort: „Jahwe". Er ist es, der mit der hohlen Hand die Wasser maß, mit der Spanne die Himmel bestimmte,

[8] Man denke an die Prozessionsstraße, die von Esagila durch das Istartor zum Palaste Nebukadnezzars führte. Andere hieher gehörige Texte siehe bei Dürr a. a. O. S. 146.

ins Drittelmaß (שְׁלִישׁ) den Staub der Erde faßte und mit der Wage die Berge wog. Nun wird Marduk in dem Hymnus D T 109, der bestimmt war bei einer der Kulthandlungen rezitiert zu werden, die im Nisan zu Ehren des Gottes vorgenommen wurden, „Durchschreiter des Himmels, Aufschütter der Erde, Abmesser der Wasser des Meeres (*êbir šamê šâpiku irṣitim mâdidi mê tamtim*)“ genannt.[9] Hier fällt die Parallele zwischen den Ausdrücken מִי מָדַד בְּשָׁעָלוֹ מַיִם und *mâdidi mê tamtim* ohne weiteres auf. Aber es ist zu beachten, daß Jes. 40 12 ebenso wie im babylonischen Hymnus neben den Wassern des Meeres der Himmel und die Erde genannt ist. Freilich finden sich gerade hier charakteristische Unterschiede. Aber schon im ersten Gliede des V. 12 findet sich eine Besonderheit: Jahwe mißt die Wasser „in seiner hohlen Hand (בְּשָׁעָלוֹ)“. Das kann nun aus dem Bestreben hervorgegangen sein, das Bild deutlicher, greifbarer zu gestalten. Es kann aber auch noch eine andere Absicht dahinter stehen: nämlich die, Jahwes Größe recht stark, selbst um den Preis eines handgreiflichen Anthropomorphismus, in die Erscheinung treten zu lassen: Israels Gott ist so riesenhaft gewaltig, daß er das Weltmeer in seiner hohlen Hand wie in einem Gefäß unterbringen kann. Der Eindruck, daß eine solche Herausstellung der überragenden Größe Jahwes angestrebt wird, verstärkt sich, wenn wir die beiden andern Glieder miteinander in Vergleich stellen. Marduk ist der *êbir šamê*, „der, welcher den Himmel durchschreitet“. Es ist hier offensichtlich an seine Eigenschaft als Gestirngottheit gedacht. Dagegen „bestimmte (תִּכֵּן)“ Jahwe „mit der Spanne die Himmel“, d. h. wie ein Mensch mit der Spanne seiner Hand das Maß irgendeines Gegenstandes festsetzt, so machte es Jahwe mit dem Himmel. Wie das Wasser des Weltmeeres mit seiner hohlen Hand, so wird dieser mit der Spanne gemessen. Jahwe wird hier also Marduk gegenüber als der viel Größere, Gewaltigere dargestellt. Weniger auffallend, aber doch deutlich genug ist

[9] Vs. 11 f. (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. XXIV, S. 375 ff.). Vgl. dazu Enûma eliš IV, 141 (er durchschritt den Himmel) und 143 (es maß der Herr des *apsû* Gestalt).

dieses Bestreben beim dritten Glied; aber wenn Jahwe den „Staub der Erde" im *šāliš* faßt und die Berge auf der Wage wägt, so ist er doch wieder mehr als Marduk, der die „Erde aufschüttet (*šâpiku irṣitim*). Offenbar will der alttestamentliche Schriftsteller das, was der Hymnus von Marduk sagt, überbieten und Jahwe dem babylonischen Gotte gegenüber zur Geltung bringen.

Dieser Eindruck verstärkt sich bei V. 13 und 14. Ihr Sinn ist: niemand hat Jahwe seine wunderbare Einsicht gegeben: er hat alles aus sich und braucht es nicht von andern zu empfangen.[10] Dagegen ist Marduk jener, „der wohl gebildet ist (*ša ṭabiš ibbanû*)"[11], „dessen Herrschaft gewaltig gemacht hat . . . A[nu] (*ušašriḫu belussu . . . ^{il}A[num]*)"[12], von dem es heißt: „unter den Göttern hat dich glänzend gemacht Nudimmud . . . der die Geschicke der großen Götter in deine Hand gegeben hat (. . . *ina ilâni bunni ubannika ^{il}Nudimmud . . . ša šimâti ilâni rabûti ušatmeḫu ritukka*)"[13]. Das stimmt zur Darstellung, die im babylonischen Weltschöpfungsepos gegeben wird. Hier wird ja auf Tafel 4 V. 1 ff. geschildert, wie die zum Rate versammelten Götter Marduk „das Geschick bestimmen".

Nun könnte man freilich sagen, in Enûma eliš handle es sich um Marduks Macht, um seine physische Kraft sozusagen, während beim Propheten von der „Einsicht" Jahwes, vom „Pfade des Rechts" die Rede sei. Allein der Zusammenhang, ganz besonders aber V. 15c zeigt doch, daß der Prophet keineswegs bloß an intellektuelle Eigenschaften denkt, und ferner kann bei einem geistigen Führer Israels es nicht überraschen, wenn ethische Prädikate Jahwes — und דַּעַת, תְּבוּנָה enthalten ebensogut sittliche Elemente wie אֹרַח מִשְׁפָּט — im Vordergrund des Interesses stehen. Nun gehörte aber das

[10] Die Fragen sind „Herrlichkeitsschilderung", nicht „Klage", wie die von A. Jeremias, Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients[3], S. 605 aus IV R 60* angeführten Fragen. Sie sind deshalb in Wirklichkeit keine Parallelen zu unserer Stelle.

[11] K 7592 + K 8717 + D T 363 (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. I, S. 309 ff.), Vs. 2.

[12] ebda. 6.

[13] ebda. 9 f.

Epos Enûma eliš ebenso zu der im Nisan gefeierten Markdukliturgie — es war ja die Festlektion der Zagmuk-(Neujahrs)-feier — wie der Text D T 109. Wie V. 12 Jahwe weit über den Lobpreis erhebt, der Marduk in dem letztgenannten Hymnus gespendet wird, so behauptet V. 13 f. die Überlegenheit Jahwes gegenüber dem Stadtgott von Babel in einer andern Richtung: Jahwe hat nicht „die Götter, seine Väter" gebraucht um zu sein, was er ist, wie das babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos und im Anschluß daran andere Texte von Marduk erzählen. Der Verfasser von Jes. 40 12 ff. wendet sich also hier offensichtlich gegen die Liturgie Esagilas, des glänzenden Heiligtums des Marduk. Er stellt — und das ist wesentlich — Jahwe unter den Gesichtspunkten als einzigartig überlegen dar, unter welchen der Götterkönig von Babylon von seinen Verehrern verherrlicht wird.

V. 16 führt den Lobpreis Jahwes nach einer anderen Richtung durch: so groß ist der Gott Israels, daß selbst der ganze Libanon nicht zu einem seiner würdigen Opfer hinreicht. Wichtig ist hier besonders die zweite Vershälfte, die besagt, daß „sein Getier" d. h. sein Wild nicht zum Brandopfer genüge. Das ist im Munde eines Juden auffällig, da ja nach israelitischer Sitte nur Haustiere geopfert werden konnten. Aber in Babylon wurde auch Wild dargebracht. In dem schon einmal herangezogenen Mardukhymnus IV R 20 Nr. 1 heißt es V. 27: *azlu tubbuhu* „Wild[14] wurde (in Masse) geschlachtet". Dann hätte also unsere Stelle eine Spitze gegen die im Mardukkult übliche Opferpraxis. Ps. 50 8–10 spräche nicht gegen diese Auffassung. Denn hier ist der Gedankengang ein anderer und zwar folgender: Jahwe erklärt, daß er das Opfer von Stieren und Böcken (beides gesetzliche Opfertiere) nicht annehme und begründet das damit, daß 1) überhaupt alles Getier des Feldes sein sei, 2) er für seine Bedürfnisse den Menschen nicht nötig habe, da der Erdkreis ihm gehöre und 3) daß er sich überhaupt nicht von Fleisch und Blut nähre. Der Gedanke, daß das Wild des Waldes ein Opfer sei, liegt hier gänzlich außer dem Bereich des Gesichtsfeldes.

[14] Dies wenigstens die immer noch wahrscheinlichste Übersetzung.

3) JES. 41 9 f.

Der Ausdruck לֹא מְאַסְתִּיךָ hat seine genaue Parallele in den Orakeln an Asarhaddon[15] IV R 61, wo die Ištar von Arbela zum König sagt: *la as lî[ka]* „ich habe [dich] nicht verworfen". (col. III Z. 40). Auch die Formel, mit der in V. 10 das eigentliche Jahwewort eingeleitet wird, אַל־תִּירָא findet sich in diesen Orakeln. Da heißt es col. I Z. 6. 25; col. II Z. 16. 33; col. III, Z. 38: *la tapalaḫ* = „fürchte dich nicht". Aber die Jesajasstelle steht schon stilistisch höher als die Orakel. Sie nimmt den Gedanken im zweiten Gliede auf: אַל־תִּשְׁתָּע „sieh' dich nicht um" (nämlich nach Hilfe). So stellt sie einen schönen parallelismus membrorum her, und die jedem der beiden Glieder angefügte Begründung trägt noch weiter dazu bei dem Verse Fülle und Ebenmaß in der Form und Lebendigkeit im Ausdruck zu geben. Inhaltlich steht der ganze Abschnitt der äußeren Anklänge ungeachtet über den Orakeln an Asarhaddon. Der Gedanke des ethischen Verhältnisses der Liebe und Treue, der bei dem alttestamentlichen Schriftsteller deutlich im Hintergrund steht, fehlt in den Aussprüchen der Ištar von Arbela und ihrer Mitgötter.

4) JES. 41 13 = 42 6 = 51 18

Anton Jirku hat zu Jes. 42 6 auf den Vertrag zwischen Šubbiluliuma und Mattiuaza verwiesen, wo der Ausdruck „bei der Hand fassen" zweimal (K Bo I Nr. 1 Vs. 56 u. 58) belegt ist, und vermutet, daß es sich um eine dem höfischen Leben entnommene Formel handelt[16]. Eine ähnliche Redeweise wie hier im Buche Jesajas findet sich aber auch Ps. 73 23. Ebenso kennen sie die babylonischen Hymnen, insbesondere die Marduktexte. So heißt es IV R 57 (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. XIV), 43: *[taṣab] bat ḳatsu ša* [. . . . .] = du [fas]sest die Hand des [. . . .]. Nach K 9595 [Hehn a. a. O. Nr. XX), 6 ist Marduk *ṣabit*

[15] Neu bearbeitet von F. Schmidtke, Asarhaddons Statthalterschaft in Babylonien (AOTU I 2, Leiden 1916), S. 115—123.

[16] Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament, S. 202 f. Der Vertrag auch bei E. F. Weidner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien, Leipzig 1923 (= Bogh. Stud. VIII) S. 2—37.

ḳâtâ ulali „der die Hände des Schwachen faßt", nach IV R 40 Nr. 1 (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. XXV) Vs. col. I 29 *ṣabit ḳâtâ nasku* „der die Hände des Elenden faßt". Der Ausdruck findet sich ferner in dem Ištarhymnus K 101[17] Vs. 16: „*taṣabati ḳatsu*" = „du fassest seine Hand"; ebenso in dem Bußpsalm IV R 10, 59[18]: „*aštani'ema manman ḳati ul iṣabat*" = „ich schaute umher; (aber) niemand faßte meine Hand". Auch Šurpu IV 18 gehört hieher: „*ḳât enši ṣabâ[tu ittikama]*" = „den Elenden bei der Hand zu fas[sen, steht bei dir]". Es wird also nicht nötig sein an eine Entlehnung aus dem *höfischen* Stil zu denken. Der Ausdruck findet sich in der Sprache der Religion oder sogar der des täglichen Lebens und wird aus diesen Quellen stammen. Da aber dem Verfasser von Jes. 40—55 nach dem, was oben gesagt wurde, die Marduklitургie nicht unbekannt gewesen sein kann, so wird man am besten annehmen, daß er in der Wahl dieses Ausdrucks durch den Blick auf sie bestimmt war.

5) Jes. 41 22 ff.

In Kap. 41 22 ff. wird ein Gedanke eingeführt, der öfter wiederkehrt: die Götter der Heiden haben weder das Vergangene gewußt, noch kennen sie die Zukunft; also sind sie keine Götter. „Das Frühere, — was ist's damit? Verkündet's, daß wir darauf achtgeben und seinen Ausgang erfahren! Oder das Künftige laßt uns hören! Verkündet, was nachher kommen wird, damit wir erkennen, daß ihr Götter seid!" (V. 22 f.) Es handelt sich um das Heranrücken des Kyros, wie V. 25 andeutet, und sofort schließt sich V. 26 an: „Wer verkündete es von Anfang an, daß wir es erkennen, und von vornherein, daß wir sagen können: Es ist richtig?" Kap. 42 9 beruft sich Jahwe darauf, daß „das Frühere" eingetroffen sei, und daß er „das Neue" ankündigt, „bevor es sproßt". 43 9 heißt es: „Wer unter ‚euch'[19] kündigte dies an, ‚ließ'[19] uns das Frühere hören?" Ebenso stellt Jahwe

[17] Veröffentlicht bei Haupt, Akkadische u. sum. Keilschrifttexte S. 115; Zimmern, Babylonische Bußpsalmen Nr. 1; Bab. Hymnen und Gebete (D. Alte Orient VII, 3) S. 26.

[18] Zimmern, Bab. Bußps. Nr. 4.

[19] Lies בָּכֶם (so 2 Hss. bei Ginsburg) und יַשְׁמִיעָנוּ.

43 3 fest: „Das Frühere habe ich seit langem verkündigt, aus meinem Munde kam es und ich habe es kund getan". Zu diesen Stellen bieten uns nun wieder die Orakel an Asarhaddon einige Parallelen. Die wichtigste steht IV R 61 col. II 36 f.: *anâku kâlakâni urkiâte lâ kî pâniâte* = „ich, ich rede[20] das Künftige wie das Vergangene" (der Sprecher ist, wie aus Z. 39 hervorgeht, Nebo). Da behauptet der orakelgebende Gott von sich genau das, was Jes. 41 22 ff. von den Göttern der Heiden verlangt wird. Bedeutsam sind aber außerdem noch zwei Stellen: zunächst col. I 16—19: *aiâte dibbiia ša akkabakanni ina muḫḫi la tazizâni* = „auf welche meiner Worte, die ich zu dir gesprochen habe, konntest du dich nicht verlassen?" Ähnlichen Inhalts ist col. VI 7—12: *dabâbu pâniu ša akabakanni ina muḫḫi la tazizi umâ ina muḫḫi urkî tazazma* = „Konntest du dich auf ein früheres Wort, das ich zu dir sprach, (etwa) nicht verlassen? Also wirst du auch auf das spätere dich verlassen können". Das erinnert an Jes. 42 9. Der Fall liegt offensichtlich ganz ähnlich wie bei Jes. 40 12. Nur wird hier Jahwe als der einzige Gott dargestellt, der wirklich die Zukunft kennt, im Gegensatz zu den Orakelgöttern, die nichts wissen. Man wird auch hier direkte Polemik des alttestamentlichen Schriftstellers gegen seine Umgebung annehmen dürfen. Wir haben zwar außer IV R 61 wenige Texte, die solche politische Orakel enthalten; dafür aber haben wir eine Reihe von Texten, welche Anfragen assyrischer Könige an Šamaš (und Adad)[21] in politischen Angelegenheiten darstellen. Es ist wohl nur ein Zufall, daß uns aus der Zeit des Nebukadnezzar nichts Ähnliches erhalten ist. Wenn man übrigens die Orakel an Asarhaddon und Asurbanipal oder die Anfragen dieser Könige an die Götter liest, kann man die Gefühle des Propheten verstehen: Ankündigungen von Ereignissen von so weltgeschichtlicher Tragweite, wie der Zug des Kyros gegen Babylon war, sucht man da vergebens.

[20] Ich möchte (im Gegensatz zu Schmidtke) bei der von Delitzsch HWB 582 b vertretenen Auffassung bleiben.

[21] I. A. Knudtzon, Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus, Leipzig 1893; E. G. Klauber, Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit, Leipzig 1913.

6) JES. 42 7

Was hier als Zweck der Erwählung des Ebed Jahwe angegeben wird, finden wir auch als Tätigkeit babylonischer Götter erwähnt. Wiederum ist hier an erster Stelle Marduk zu nennen. Von ihm sagt der Hymnus K 9918 (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. XIX) Z. 8: *ša ina bît ṣibitti nadû tukallam nûr* = „wer ins Gefängnis geworfen ist, den lässest du Licht schauen". Auch IV R 57 (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. XIV) Z 44 ist mit Recht so ergänzt worden[22]. Auch vom „Nichtsehen der Augen" (*la dagâl ênâ*), das Marduk „öffnet", ist K 3505 (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. III) Z. 11 die Rede; freilich ist das entscheidende Verbum *te[-ip-ti]* „du öffnest" durch eine, allerdings sehr naheliegende Ergänzung gewonnen. Aber auch von Šamaš heißt es: *kasâ ušširu . . . . ittika iba[šši]* „den Gefesselten zu lösen . . . steht bei dir" (IV R 17 Vs. 36–37),[23] oder: *il Šamaš mîtu bulluṭu kasâ paṭâru ša kâtikāma* = „Šamaš, den Toten zu beleben, den Gefesselten zu lösen, liegt in deiner Hand".[24] Das Motiv der Gefangenenbefreiung haben wir auch Jes. 61 1 und Ps. 146 7; an letzterer Stelle und Jes. 35 5 ist auch von der Heilung der Blinden die Rede.

7) JES. 43 10

Zu dem in der zweiten Vershälfte ausgesprochenen Gedanken „Vor mir wurde kein Gott gebildet, und nach mir wird keiner sein", darf man die babylonischen Göttergenealogien heranziehen. Besonders ist hier an Enûma eliš I, 9 ff. zu erinnern, wo geschildert wird, wie „die Götter geschaffen wurden" (V. 9), Laḫmu und Laḫamu „ins Dasein traten", „mit Namen genannt wurden" (V. 10), Anšar und Kišar „geschaffen wurden" (V. 12), Anšar den Anu „seinen Erstgeborenen" „(sich) gleich machte" (V. 15), und dieser „als sein Ebenbild Nudimmud zeugte". (V. 16). Ferner kennt das Epos Enûma eliš (und die

[22] Hehn a. a. O. S. 350.

[23] Schollmeyer, Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš (Paderborn 1912) S. 46; vgl. ebda. Rs. 1–2.

[24] S. 787 + S. 949 (= Craig, Religious Texts II pl. 3 = Gray, The Šamaš Religious Texts pl. 4, vgl. Schollmeyer a. a. O. S. 96) Vs. 5.

babylonische Literatur) zwar den Gedanken des Todes von Göttern im Sinne völligen Untergangs nicht, wohl aber die Vorstellung, daß ein Gott über „die Götter, seine Väter" die Herrschaft erlangt, so daß diese völlig gegen ihn zurücktreten. Das typische Beispiel dafür ist ja Marduk. Jahwe sagt also hier von sich aus, daß er von keinem andern göttlichen Wesen „gebildet", also geschaffen sei, und daß seine Herrschaft von keiner andern abgelöst werden würde, daß er gegen keinen andern zurücktreten werde. Zu dem Glauben an die ursprüngliche Existenz von Apsû, Mummu und Tiâmat wird hier keine Stellung genommen. Auch soll natürlich nicht gesagt sein, daß Jahwe von irgendeinem Urwesen stamme, das nicht zu den „Göttern" gehört. Die Redeweise ist hier antithetisch, *ad hominem*; wir haben auch hier wieder eine Polemik des Propheten gegen seine heidnische Umgebung.

8) JES. 43 11

Dieser Vers enthält eine noch schärfere Spitze gegen den babylonischen Götterkult. Sie liegt in der Wendung: „Außer mir ist kein Retter". Diese Ausdrucksweise ist im 2. Teile des Jesajas sehr beliebt und kehrt in mannigfaltigen Abwandlungen wieder (44 6. 8; 45 5. 6. 21; 46 9). Auch in Ps. 18 32 haben wir bekanntlich diesen Gedanken. Nun lesen wir in dem schon erwähnten Ištarhymnus K 101 Rs. 2/3: „Außer dir hat er keinen rettenden Gott" (*zaêna dimmer sidi nutukam = ela kâti ilim muštêširu ul iši*). Die Gleichheit des Gedankens fällt ohne weiteres auf. Freilich steht diese Ausdrucksweise in der babylonischen Hymnenliteratur bis jetzt einzig da; aber sie ist im Grunde die Folgerung aus einer andern Anschauung, die weit häufiger belegt ist. In Hymnen an verschiedene Gottheiten treffen wir die Frage „wer ist dir gleich?" (*a-ba e-da-di* u. ä.; akkadisch *mannu išananka, mannu šanindka, mannu malâka*), so z. B. in dem Mardukhymnus IV R 26 Nr. 4 (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. VI) 13/14 oder in dem sumerischen Hymnus an Sin VAT 414 Vs. 7–9 (dreimal wiederholt).[25] Oder es wird festgestellt,

[25] Reisner, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen Nr. 38; Perry, Hymnen und Gebete an Sin, Nr. 4, S. 19 ff.

daß der Gott keinen Rivalen hat.[26] Auch Jes. 46 9 haben wir ja in Verbindung mit dem Ausdruck אֲנֹכִי אֵל וְאֵין עוֹד die parallele Wendung אֱלֹהִים וְאֶפֶס כָּמוֹנִי „ich bin . . . Elohim, und es ist keiner wie ich". Also auch hier die Übertragung einer Prädikation, die sich in babylonischen Hymnen, und zwar auch in Marduktexten findet, auf Jahwe. Allerdings liegt hier keine besondere Eigentümlichkeit des 2. Teils des Jesajabuches vor, denn die Frage „wer ist wie du (bez. wie Jahwe)?" findet sich ja auch im Psalter (Ps. 35 10; 71 19; 77 14; 89 7. 9; 113 5 ff.).

9) JES. 43 13

„Ich tue (es), und wer macht es rückgängig", sagt Jahwe. Den babylonischen Göttern wird in den Hymnen nachgerühmt, „daß ihr Wort (ihr Befehl, ihre Zusage) nicht vereitelt (gehemmt, rückgängig gemacht) wird". Das gilt nicht zuletzt auch von Marduk. Enûma eliš IV, 7. 9. 10 sagen ihm die Götter: Von nun an sei unabänderlich dein Befehl! . . . . Fest stehe dein Ausspruch; gegen dein Wort gebe es keine Auflehnung! Kein Gott verrücke deine (d. h. die von dir gesteckte) Grenze!" In dem von Hehn a. a. O. unter Nr. III behandelten Hymnus K 3505 Z. 2 ist Marduk der, „dessen Wort nicht gehemmt wird (*ša la uštamsaku epêš pîšu*)", und IV R 57 (= Hehn a. a. O. Nr. XIV) Z. 19 wird er als derjenige bezeichnet, „dessen Wort nicht geändert wird (*ša la uttakkaru [epêš] pîšu*)". Von Marduks Sohn Nebo heißt es[27]: „Dein Wort wird wie der Himmel nicht verändert (*ḳibitka kima šamê ul uttakar*)". Aber auch den Šamaštexten ist diese Anschauung nicht fremd. Als Belege seien genannt der kleine Hymnus VAT 5,[28] wo es Z. 6—7 heißt: „Šamaš . . . ., dessen Zusage kein Gott vereitelt, dessen Befehl nicht rückgängig gemacht wird (*ša annašu ilu manmam lâ ennû ḳibitsu lâ uštepêli*)", ferner der bei Schollmeyer a. a. O. unter

[26] Vgl. j. B. K 3459 (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. V) Rs III, 10; K 3351 (a. a. O. Nr. V) Z. 12; IV R 29 Nr. 1 (a. a. O. Nr. VII) 17—18 — lauter Marduktexte!

[27] K 3130 (IV R 20 Nr. 3) Z. 19, vgl. Pinckert, Hymnen u. Gebete an Nebo Nr. 3 S. 23.

[28] Schollmeyer a. a. O. Nr. 64 f.

Nr. 15 veröffentlichte Text, der Z. 7—8 eine ganz ähnliche Ausdrucksweise bietet.[29] Auch hier wird die Parallele zwischen dem alttestamentlichen Schriftsteller und den babylonischen Hymnen kein Zufall sein, sondern dem bewußten Gegensatz des Propheten zu dem babylonischen Heidentum entsprungen sein. Das läßt auch die viel kraftvoller wirkende Form der Gottesrede erkennen.

10) JES. 44 24

Hier ist uns der Ausdruck נֹטֶה שָׁמַיִם לְבַדִּי „der ich *allein* die Himmel ausspanne" von Bedeutung. Freilich ist diese Art der Prädikation im übrigen Alten Testament nicht selten (Deut. 32 12; 1 Reg. 8 39; 2 Reg. 19 15, 19; Jes. 2 11; 37 16, 20; Ps. 72 18; 83 19; 86 10; 136 4; Neh. 9 6; 2 Macc. 1 24, 25; 7 37; Sir. 18 1). Aber es ist doch nicht unwichtig, daß auch in sumerisch-akkadischen Hymnen von verschiedenen Göttern gesagt wird, daß sie „allein" erhaben sind, oder ähnliches. Auch Marduk erhält dieses Prädikat; er ist der Gott, „der schön gebildet, allein erhaben (*šaḳû edišišu*) ist".[30] Aber soweit uns das vorliegende Material zu urteilen erlaubt, ist es in der ihm gewidmeten Liturgie weder alt noch häufig gewesen. Dagegen scheint es in den Kulten des Sin und der Ištar öfter vorgekommen zu sein. So wird es in dem berühmten Sinhymnus IV R 9 wiederholt und mit einer gewissen Emphase angewendet. Gleich bei Beginn des Liedes (richtiger: der Liturgie) wird der Gott „Herr, Gebieter der Götter, der im Himmel und auf Erden allein erhaben ist",[31] genannt. Später (Vs. 53—56) wird die zweimalige Frage: „Im Himmel (bezw. auf Erden) — wer ist erhaben?" jedesmal mit dem Satze beantwortet: „Du, du allein bist erhaben" (*zae ušuzu maʿam = atta ediššika ṣîrat*). Nach VAT 294 + VAT 586 Vs. (in Wirklichkeit Rs) 19/20 ist Ištar

an áš-bi du-ám ki-a áš maʿ-ám
ina ša-me-e e-diš-ši-ša na-ba-at ina ir-ṣi-tim e-diš-ši-ša ṣi-rat[32]

29 Vgl. etwa noch Schollmeyer Nr. 25 (S. 110) 6 f.
30 K 7592 + K 8717 + DT 363 (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. I) Vs. 2.
31 Vs. 1-2.
32 Reisner, Sumerisch-bab. Hymnen Nr. 55.

„Am Himmel ist sie allein auf Erden ist sie allein erprächtig[33] haben."

Von Nergal sagt der Text K. 4995 (bei Böllenrücher, Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal unter Nr. 7 behandelt) Vs. (?) 5, er sei „allein Held" (*ašni ursagam = ediššišu ḳarradu*). Der Ausdruck „Du allein bist erhaben" (*diš-zu maʿam*) wird einmal auch von Ninurta gebraucht.[34] Über die Beurteilung dieser Formeln in der religiösen Literatur der Sumerer und Akkader kann nach den Darlegungen von J. Hehn in seinem Buche „Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee" kein Zweifel sein: sie sind affektiv, als „begeisterte Hyperbel" zu nehmen.[35] Dagegen denkt der alttestamentliche Schriftsteller zweifellos streng exklusiv.

11) JES. 52 7

Die Verkündigung, die der vom Propheten mit Entzücken begrüßte Freudenbote an Zion zu bestellen hat, lautet: מָלַךְ אֱלֹהָיִךְ „König ist dein Gott!" Ps. 96 10 fordert die Israeliten auf unter den Heiden zu verkünden: יהוה מָלָךְ „Jahwe ist König!" Mit diesem Ruf beginnen bekanntlich Ps. 93 1; 97 1; 99 1. Aus dem Buche Jesajas wäre noch 24 23 anzuführen; ferner wären zu vergleichen Ps. 10 16 und 146 10 sowie Ex. 15 18, obwohl aus diesen fünf Stellen der ursprüngliche Charakter dieses Ausdrucks nicht mehr so deutlich hervorgeht, wie aus den erstgenannten. Es ist nämlich ein hymnischer Jubelruf, eine Äußerung der Freude über irgendeine Tat Gottes, wie z. B. über die Rückkehr Jahwes nach Zion (52 8), oder über irgendeine Offenbarung seiner Macht und Größe. Nun erzählt uns das Weltschöpfungsepos Enûma elîš, wie die Götter dem Marduk, der das vor ihm aufgestellte Kleid durch sein Wort verschwinden läßt und ebenso wieder ins Dasein ruft, mit dem Rufe huldigen:

[33] *du* steht wohl durch Ideogrammvertauschung für *dŭ* (𒁺) = *dur* s. Delitzsch SGl s. v. III dur S. 150). *nabât* hängt wohl mit *nibâ* „glänzen" zusammen.

[34] H. Radau, Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Ninib (BEUP, Series A Vol. XXIX, 1) Nr. 5 Rs 4.

[35] S. 99.

Marduk-ma šarru „*Marduk* ist König" (Tfl. IV Z. 28). Sonst ist meines Wissens diese Ausdrucksweise nur im Ištarkult belegt. Der schon einmal erwähnte Hymnus Br. M. 26187 schließt Z 103—105 mit dem Epiphonem:

Ištarma ṣîrat — *Ištarma šarrat*
Belitma ṣîrat — *Belitma šarrat*
Irnini mârat Sin ḳarittu maḫira ul išu
„*Ištar* ist herrlich — *Ištar* ist Königin
Belit ist herrlich — *Belit* ist Königin
Irnini, Sins heldenhafte Tochter, hat keinen Rivalen."

Ein ähnlich lautendes Epiphonem findet sich VAT 8261 Vs. II 7b–9:

. . . . . — *Ištar-ma ṣîrat*
Ištarma šarrat — *Ištar-ma šurbâta*
Ištarma — *šûzuba ile'*.
. . . . . — „*Ištar* ist herrlich,
Ištar ist Königin, — *Ištar* ist erhaben,
Ištar — vermag zu retten."[36]

Die Übereinstimmung im Ausdruck und in der Art des Gebrauches ist vollkommen. Aus Enûma eliš wie aus Br. M 26187 ergibt sich aber, daß die Formel die damit geehrte Gottheit über die andern Götter erheben will. Nun sind aber für die Propheten und Psalmisten die Götter außer Jahwe אֱלִילִים „Nichtse". Von diesem Standpunkt aus ist es für den Gott Israels eigentlich keine besondere Ehre, ihnen gegenüber „König" zu sein. Auf dem Boden des Jahwismus konnte also diese Ausdrucksweise nicht entstehen. Es wird also auch hier eine Entlehnung vorliegen, die aus dem Bestreben entstanden ist, Jahwe gegenüber der heidnischen Umgebung zur Geltung zu bringen.

12) JES. 53 7

Das Bild vom geschlachteten Schaf, das auch Jer. 12, 3 und Ps. 44 23 verwendet wird, findet sich auch in der sumerisch-akkadischen Literatur; vgl. Šurpu V/VI 9–10:

[36] Veröffentlicht bei Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts Nr. 57; bearbeitet von demselben in: Quellen z. Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion II S. 3ff.

gàllubi ašg'ul uḫuḍìm šumma
amêlu šuâtum arrat limuttim kima immeri iṭbuḫšu
„Jenen Menschen schlachtet ein böser Fluch wie ein Schaf ab."

13) JES. 59 11

Der Vergleich des in seinem Leide Stöhnenden mit der girrenden Taube (vgl. noch Jes. 38 14 u. Nah. 2 8) ist auch den Babyloniern nicht fremd. So heißt es in dem von Zimmern in seinen „Babylonischen Bußpsalmen" unter Nr. 7 behandelten Liede IV R 26 Nr. 8+IV R 27 Nr. 3 Z. 59: „Wie Tauben seufzt er (der Leidende) schmerzlich Nacht und Tag" (*kima summâte idammum šupšuḳ mûši u urri*). In dem wiederholt zitierten Ištarhymnus Br. M. 26187 Z. 64 klagt der Beter ebenfalls[37]:

„Ich seufze wie eine Taube Nacht und Tag
(*adammum kima summatum mûši u urra*)."

14) JES. 62 3

Wenn hier Zion eine „Herrlichkeitskrone" und ein „Königsturban" in der *Hand* Jahwes genannt wird, wo wir „auf dem *Kopfe* Jahwes" erwarten, so dürfen wir mit K. Budde[38] um so eher die Wirkung einer gewissen Scheu vermuten, als ja in Ps. 60 9 (= 108 9) Ephraim ganz unbefangen „die Wehr meines Hauptes (מָעֹז רֹאשִׁי)" also „mein (Jahwes) Helm" genannt wird. Dazu ist der Marduktext IV R 40 Nr. 1 (Hehn a. a. O. Nr. XXV) Vs. I 16 zu vergleichen, wo gesagt wird: „Bel, ... Borsippa ist deine Tiara (*Barsip agûku*)." Dieses Bild konnte am ehesten in Babylonien entstehen, wo die das Stadtbild beherrschenden Stufentürme den Vergleich mit einer Tiara nahelegten, und wird deshalb wohl aus dem Zweiströmeland nach Israel gekommen sein.

Es seien noch drei Stellen besprochen, zu denen literarische Parallelen nicht angeführt werden können, die sich aber immer-

[37] Diese Stelle wird auch von Jirku, Altorientalischer Kommentar S. 202 zu Jes. 38 14 angeführt.

[38] In Kautzsch's: Die Hl. Schrift des Alten Testaments Bd. 1 z. St.

hin durch babylonische Verhältnisse gut beleuchten lassen. Jes. 40 15 werden die Völker mit einem „Tropfen vom Schöpfeimer" (מַר מְדָלִי) verglichen. Eine genaue Parallele ist mir nicht bekannt; doch darf wohl an den Vertrag des Mattiuaza von Mitanni mit dem Hethiterkönig Šubbiluliuma erinnert werden,[39] wo es Rs 31 (48) heißt: „Wie das Wasser der Schöpfmaschine (*mê nartabi*) an seinen Ort nicht zurückkehrt, so sollen (im Falle der Vertragsverletzung) wir wie das Wasser der Schöpfmaschine an unsern Ort nicht zurückkehren." Das Wasser, das die Schöpfmaschine ausgießt, ist seinem Schicksal nicht nur unwiderruflich, sondern auch wehr- und hilflos verfallen. Man wird wohl beide Momente als Vergleichspunkte betrachten dürfen. Nun ist es sehr gut möglich, daß dieses Bild öfter in der babylonischen Literatur gebraucht wurde und bloß durch die Tücke des Zufalls an dieser entlegenen Stelle erhalten ist. Dann wäre auch hier eine Übersteigerung des Bildes zu beobachten. Wie dem auch sei: jedenfalls lag der Vergleich, wenn er auch einem Palästiner nicht fremd zu sein brauchte, dem Schriftsteller besonders nahe, wenn er in Babylonien lebte, wo das Land seine Fruchtbarkeit wesentlich der künstlichen Bewässerung durch Kanäle und Schöpfmaschinen verdankte.[40]

Zu Jes. 44 5 hat A. Jirku auf die von Sellin in Jericho gefundenen Krugstempel mit der Aufschrift יה und יהו aufmerksam gemacht.[41] Man wird aber auch auf die Sitte hinweisen dürfen, dem Sklaven den Namen des Eigentümers oder das Wahrzeichen der Gottheit, deren Tempel er zu eigen war, auf die rechte oder linke Hand zu schreiben, wie das in Assyrien und Babylonien üblich war,[42] freilich auch bei den Juden von Assuan und Elephantine belegt ist.[43]

[39] Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi I Nr. 3 = Weidner, Politische Dokumente S. 36—57.

[40] Vgl. Br. Meißner, Babylonien und Assyrien (Heidelberg 1920) S. 191 ff.

[41] Altorientalischer Kommentar S. 203.

[42] Meißner, a. a. O. S. 382.

[43] Sayce-Cowley, Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan, Pap. K (= Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the 5th Century B. C. Nr. 28) Z. 4 ff. Doch wäre auch Erman-Ranke, Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum (Tübingen 1923) S. 257 A. 1 zu beachten.

Auch Jes. 54 11b–12 läßt sich aus dem babylonischen Altertum gut illustrieren. Es heißt da:

„Siehe, ich verlege (מַרְבִּיץ) in Antimon deine Steine,
Und gründe dich auf Sapphire,
Und mache zu Rubin(?) deine Zinnen,
Und deine Tore zu Karfunkel(?)stein,
Und all' dein Gebiet zu Schmucksteinen."

Man denkt daran, wie die neubabylonischen Könige, vorab Nebukadnezzar, oft davon sprechen, daß sie dies und jenes Bauwerk in Edelsteinen ausgeführt hätten. Namentlich der *uknû*-Stein d. h. der Lapis Lazuli oder Lasurstein wird gerne erwähnt. Freilich hat es sich tatsächlich um ganz gewöhnliche Ziegel gehandelt, die mit blauem Glasfluß überzogen waren. Nun ist zu beachten, daß der Lapis Lazuli zu den Halbedelsteinen gehört, während die in der Jesajasstelle genannten Steine nicht bloß lapides pretiosi, sondern gemmae im eigentlichen Sinne darstellen. Der *uknû*-Stein wäre also durch den (ebenfalls blauen) Sapphir überboten. Das Bestreben die Pracht Babels in der Schilderung des neuen Jerusalem zu überbieten, ist ebenso offensichtlich wie das andere, Jahwe weit über Marduk zu stellen. Diese Tendenz möchte ich übrigens schon in 11b annehmen. Dem Hiphil von רבץ möchte ich dieselbe Bedeutung zuschreiben, die unsere Bauhandwerker dem deutschen „verlegen" geben, wenn sie sagen, die Steine dieser und jener Mauer seien in Kalkmörtel oder Cement u. dgl. „verlegt". Nun sind, wie bekannt, in den babylonischen Bauten die Steine vielfach in Asphalt „verlegt". Nach unserem Verse würde nun Jahwe die Steine des neuen Jerusalem in Antimon (Spießglanz) verlegen lassen, ein Metall, das die schwarze Farbe mit dem Asphalt gemeinsam hat, aber natürlich ein viel wertvollerer Stoff als dieser ist. Daß man Antimon nicht als Mörtel verwenden kann, ist klar. Aber es ist auch technisch unmöglich, Zinnen aus Rubin herzustellen. Würden wir, wie das vielfach geschieht, פּוּךְ in נֹפֶךְ ändern, so erhielten wir auch kein „möglicheres" Bild. Wir können also den Text lassen, wie er ist. Es kommt ja dem Propheten gar nicht darauf an Anweisungen für einen Architekten zu geben; er will nur in konkreter Schilde-

rung sagen, daß das neue Jerusalem das prachtstrotzende Babel an Herrlichkeit überbieten werde.

Wie eingangs bemerkt, sollten nur einige weitere Beiträge zu dem Problem des Verhältnisses von Jes. 40—66 zur keilschriftlichen Literatur gegeben werden. Ich hoffe aber, sie werden nicht als unbedeutend erachtet werden. Besonders die Wichtigkeit jener Stellen, an denen eine direkte Spitze gegen gewisse Texte des Mardukkultes und insbesondere der Neujahrsfestliturgie sichtbar wird, braucht man, dächte ich, den Fachgenossen nicht erst auseinanderzusetzen. Fraglich kann hier nur sein, wie der Prophet zu der Kenntnis der Texte kam, gegen die er sich wandte. Aber hier gibt es eine Reihe von Möglichkeiten, die gleich wahrscheinlich sind, so daß ein ernstes Problem in dieser Hinsicht eigentlich nicht entstehen kann.

LEXICAL NOTES ON LUKE-ACTS

II. RECENT ARGUMENTS FOR MEDICAL LANGUAGE

HENRY J. CADBURY
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

AT the meeting of the *Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* held in Washington in 1912 I offered a report upon an investigation, since published *in extenso*,[1] of the alleged medical language of Luke and Acts. After certain adumbrations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries W. K. Hobart[2] produced in 1882 a list of over 400 terms found in Luke's writings, many of them occurring nowhere besides in the New Testament, which from parallels in the writings of Hippocrates, Aretaeus, Dioscorides and Galen he regarded as technical terms of medicine. Many English scholars, notably Knowling and Moffatt, and in Germany Zahn and Harnack, had endorsed this thesis, though they selected independently more limited lists of examples. My reply was that these examples, even the more select ones, could not be called technical, since they were extensively used in writers who were not physicians. Their occurrence was not confined to Luke and the medical writings. In fact, the medical writings in Greek, unlike our own, apparently never had a restricted professional vocabulary.[3] It was shown

[1] *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Harvard Theological Studies VI.) Part I, pp. 39ff. Cambridge, Mass., 1919.

[2] *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, Dublin, 1882.

[3] In modern languages medical language is a jargon derived from the Greek and Latin, whereas the Greek medicine used the native Greek words, sometimes imitating the dialect of Hippocrates. Galen's interest

further that by such proofs as good a case (which in reality is no case at all) could be made out for the medical training of Lucian and other Hellenistic writers or even for the evangelists Mark and Matthew in comparison with whom Hobart, Harnack and others were wont to find evidence of "Luke's medical degree."

The present paper is intended, without repeating the answers to these arguments, to carry the review of such arguments down to date. It will be obviously impossible to present such material to its fullest extent, but sufficient illustration will be offered, it is hoped, to give a suggestion of the fallacies still at work in the continued use of this most ingenious argument for the traditional authorship of the books *ad Theophilum*. At the beginning of his *Luke the Physician* (p. 7, note), the work in which Harnack espoused this thesis, occur the following sentences: "Even criticism has for generations its freaks and fancies. Very often one notices that when some comprehensive critical theory has been in fashion for a long time and then has been refuted, particular fragments thereof still cling obstinately to men's minds, although they have no intellectual basis." He was referring to the theory of Baur, but we may well apply his words to the probable history of the theory of technical medical vocabulary in Luke-Acts. It is sure to have a longer life than the data warrant.

in vocabulary is mainly in reference to the purist tastes of contemporary Atticism. He distinguishes terms as ancient or modern, accurate or inaccurate, Hellenistic or Attic, popular or literary, usual or unusual, but not as professional or unprofessional. See W. Herbst, *Galeni Pergameni de Atticisantium Studiis Testimonia*, 1911. He does not adopt a technical vocabulary but claims both for himself and for Hippocrates clear and customary words intelligible to οἱ πολλοί (*Style*, p. 64 note 91 and *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xiv, [1921] p. 106). His criticisms of language are directed against medical writers because they use vague or inaccurate terms (see below on "great fever") or because (as e. g. Archigenes) they used "the diction of sailors, merchants, bath-house men and tax collectors." The last is the complaint of a purist who prided himself on the style of his work while he often copied verbatim those whom he criticized. Even a Christian historian like Eusebius (in describing Jesus as a physician) may be quoting verbatim (*H. E.* x 4, 11) from an ancient medical treatise. See McGiffert, *ad loc.* and Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, I, p. 106, note 2.

The chief quarry for examples of medical language is still Hobart's industrious and, as far as quotation goes, generally accurate work. Few additional examples have been proposed in the decades that have followed. I have already alluded to some examples which Plummer attempted to add.[4] I am able now to trace, I think, the origin of one of these:

Plummer writes (on Luke 8 23):

> In *Anth. Pal.* 9. 517 *ἀφυπνόω* means "awaken *from* sleep." Here it means "fall *off* to sleep," a use which seems to be medical and late (Heliod. ix. 12).

But he is merely misunderstanding Liddell and Scott, whose definition reads (Seventh Edition [1883], p. 265):

> *ἀφυπνόω*, fut. *-ώσω to wake from sleep*, Anth. P. 9. 517. II. *to fall asleep*, Ev. Luc. 8. 23: and so in Med., Heliod. 9. 12.

But of course in Liddell and Scott 'Med.' means middle voice, not medical writers.[5]

Another example of more recent vintage seems to be entering the exegetical and lexical tradition. That is *πρηνής* meaning 'swollen' at the death of Judas (Acts 1 18), a meaning which we are told to substitute for the translation "falling headlong,"[6]

[4] *Style*, p. 54, note 2. Plummer also recalls an earlier example not in Hobart, viz. *ἐσκίρτησεν*, Luke 1 41. He says: "Grotius states that the verb is a medical word for the movement of children in the womb, but he gives no instances." The passage to which he refers is apparently Grotius, *Annotationes in libros evangeliorum* (1641), p. 612: "*Solent quidem medici hoc verbo notare motum naturalem infantis in utero, quod ἀσκαρίζειν est aliis.*"

[5] For tracing Plummer's misunderstanding to its source I am indebted to my friend Professor Norman B. Nash, of Cambridge, Mass. A good early lay instance of the verb entirely parallel to Luke's use is at the beginning of Hermas (*Vis.* I. 1. 3). Is Hermas also among the doctors?

[6] F. H. Chase, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XIII (1912), pp. 278 ff., followed by Harnack, *Theol. Literaturzeitung* (1912), col. 235 ff., Rendel Harris, *American Journal of Theology* XVIII (1914), pp. 127 ff. Wendt (*ad loc.*) gives examples of the translation of *πρηνής* as swollen, e. g. by the Armenian here and in Wisdom 4 19 and by the Old Latin in the latter passage. The idea of Judas' swelling is conspicuous in the later tradition and may be derived from such an understanding of this passage, for

and then to add it to the medical examples. But there is no case of *πρηνής* meaning swollen quoted from the medical or even the non-medical writers. If that is its meaning in Acts it is doubtless a popular meaning due to association with the verbs from a like root, *πιμπρᾶσθαι* (Acts 28 6) and *πρήθω*, rather than a technical one.[7]

The originator of this example was F. H. Chase. I may mention next therefore another effort of his in the same direction. Believing as he does both in the accuracy of the speeches in Acts and in the medical education of its author he makes the following comment:

> Galen (xix, p. 11, *ed.* Kühn) mentions the fact that the medical students who attended his lectures took them down. It is by no means impossible that St. Luke acquired the power of shorthand-writing in connexion with his training in medicine.[8]

This fancy however finds no support in the passage of Galen quoted, for it makes no reference to shorthand and does not indicate whether the books were dictated to his students for their own use, or were being multiplied for the trade in the usual way, by dictating them to copyists, for which purpose young 'medics' were doubtless convenient labor.[9]

Another new suggestion of medical terminology is to be credited to Rev. Thomas Walker, D. D. in his *Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of His Age* (p. 336). He is referring to the complaint of Dives in Luke's parable (16 24). "I am in anguish in this flame." He objects to taking *φλογί* literally and calls attention to the absence of *πυρός* as in the phrase *φλὸξ*

which intrinsically much may be said. But I must return to this at another time.

7 Of course we had been previously assured by Hobart and others that *πρηνής* in its usual sense of "prone" was technically medical.

8 *The Credibility of Acts* (1902), p. 112 note.

9 *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐδ' εἶχον ἁπάντων αὐτῶν ἀντίγραφα μειρακίοις ὑπαγορευθέντων ἀρχομένοις μανθάνειν, ἢ καί τισι φίλοις ἀξιώσασι δοθέντων.* B. W. Bacon, *Story of St. Paul* (1904), p. 157 note, suggests without accepting the suggestion that "the mention of 'many lights' in Acts 20 8, as if connected with the drowsiness of Eutychus 20 9, betokens the observation of the physician."

πυρός. "Hence as there is here no explanatory genitive, the request for a drop of water to 'cool' the 'tongue' suggests that φλόξ on the lips of the rich man means 'fever,' a hitherto unobserved medical use of the term in Luke: 'Father Abraham, pity me and send Lazarus that he may dip his finger-tip in water and cool my tongue, for I am suffering acute pain in this fever.'" It is evident that the purpose of this translation is not to confirm Luke's medical knowledge but to acquit Jesus of the contemporary Jewish conception of literal hell fire. No medical parallels for φλόξ, fever, are offered.

Beside the discoveries of medical terms in Luke we have to chronicle the discovery of Lucan terms in the doctors. To the arguments that Luke's preface is influenced by the preface of Dioscorides[10] an additional parallel is now found in the recently discovered letter of the physician Thessalus to Nero πολλῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων . . . παραδοῦναι.[11]

But the most striking additional argument of recent years is connected with the phrase "great fever." This phrase has constituted one of the oldest and most effective arguments for medical terminology. Luke says that Peter's mother-in-law was afflicted with great fever, 4 38 ἦν συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ. Galen, *Different. Febr.* 1, 1 (Kühn vii. 275) states that it was customary for physicians with regard to this kind of difference [i. e., of heat] to name the great fever and small fever. Hobart does not continue the quotation in which Galen himself objects to that usage. Now in 1915 a Munich physician, Dr. Joseph Schuster, published two new passages in which the term 'great fevers' was used.[12] One is from Aulus Cornelius Celsus, a layman, who wrote in Latin in the first half of the first century.[13]

[10] P. de Lagarde, *Psalterium juxta Hebr. Hieronymi* (1874), pp. 165 f.

[11] S[alomon] R[einach], "Encore Luc médecin," *Revue archéologique*, 5th series, Vol. X (1919), p. 235. Both the initial πολλοί and the use of ἐπιχειρέω are found in other writers. See Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. II, p. 490 note 4; pp. 492 ff.

[12] *Biblische Zeitschrift*, XIII (1915), pp. 338 ff.

[13] Lib. iv, Cap. 14. *De viscerum morbis et primo de pulmone: "hunc eius casum subsequitur tussis, bilem vel pus trahens, praecordiorum totiusque pectoris gravitas, spiritus difficultas, magnae febres, continua vigilia, cibi fastidium, tabes."*

The second is Alexander of Aphrodisias in Caria who lived at nearly the same time as Galen. He speaks several times of the distinction between great and small fevers and one passage is almost verbatim the same, including the objection to the misuse of the term, as the passage of Galen.[14] This shows that we are not dealing with really independent writings, but that both writers are merely, as is common in medical writers as well as gospel writers, excerpting from their predecessors. In this case Alexander continues: "But all these differences of fevers one of our predecessors accurately and clearly described." Students of medical literary history[15] identify this common source with Archigenes and thus he and his two excerptors represent not independent witnesses to the terminology but only a single source multiplied.

Hobart's book remains therefore the chief source of medical illustrations and is still quoted often quite indiscriminately, though some writers criticize his method as a whole and hope by making selections to strengthen his thesis. This was the method of Zahn, Harnack and Moffatt, to whose examples I devoted my attention on an earlier occasion. None of these three writers has reversed his former views. Moffatt in republishing in 1918 his *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* left unchanged his discussion of "the 'medical' element" in the language of the third gospel and Acts.[16] He has also come to the defense of the argument in an article in the *Expositor*[17]

[14] The principal reference is *De febribus libellus* 31 (in J. L. Ideler, *Physici et medici Graeci minores*, I (1841), pp. 105 f.) *μικρούς τε καὶ μεγάλους ὀνομάζομεν πυρετούς· οὐ κυρίως μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοῦ πράγματος ὄνομα ποσότητος ἐπιφέροντες, ὅμως δ' οὖν εἰθισμένοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐπὶ πυρετῶν μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων μυρίων, ἐν ποιότητι μὲν ἐχόντων τὴν ὕπαρξιν, ὀνομαζομένων δὲ μεγάλων καὶ μικρῶν.*

[15] M. Wellmann, *Die pneumatische Schule bis auf Archigenes*, Berlin (1895), p. 87. C. Allbutt, *Greek Medicine in Rome*, London (1921), pp. 279 f.

[16] Third edition (1918), pp. 298 ff. Moffatt endorses about one third of Hobart's medical terms. An unbiased student of general Hellenistic Greek would find practically all of these words and Luke's use of them familiar and untechnical.

[17] "St. Luke and Literary Criticism," *Expositor*, Eighth Series, Vol. XXIV (July 1922), pp. 1 ff.

to which I shall refer again. Zahn's commentaries on Luke[18] and Acts[19] continue to accept the medical evidence of Hobart, as occasional notes in them indicate. Harnack has not returned to this theme recently, though the reference to it in his introduction to his *Acts of the Apostles* remains in the subsequent editions of his *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* in which that whole introduction was incorporated.[20] About a year ago he wrote me in reply to an inquiry that without a fresh study of the matter he could take no assured position on it.[21]

Other writers who have selected and presented the same arguments may be mentioned. No one was more constant in advocating it than R. J. Knowling, who not only in his commentary on Acts but repeatedly thereafter argued for it.[22] A more recent exposition is to be found in A. T. Robertson's *Luke the Historian in the Light of Research* (1920), pp. 9ff., 90ff. Both he and M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Luc* (1921),

[18] *Kommentar zum N. T.*, III[3] (1920).

[19] *Kommentar zum N. T.*, V 1[3] (1922), 2[1] (1921).

[20] *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1—20 = *The Acts of the Apostles*, xiii—xliii = *Die Mission und Ausbreitung*[3], 83—99 = *Die Mission und Ausbreitung*[4], 89—107. The omission in the latter work of the phrase "a physician probably already well stricken in years" is due to Harnack's change of date from "in der Zeit der flavischen Kaiser" to "in der mittleren Zeit der Regierung des Kaisers Nero," rather than to a changed view of authorship. Following Ramsay (*Luke the Physician*, pp. 16f.) Harnack lays stress upon the fact that in Acts 28 8 the word used of Paul's cure of Publius is *ἰάσατο*, while in the next verse other treatments of disease (forsooth by Luke the diarist) are described by *θεραπεύω*. But the juxtaposition of these words in Luke's gospel (e. g. 5 15, 17; 6 17, 18, 19; 8 43, 47; 9 1, 2, 11; 14 3, 4) forbids our reading in the variation any fixed distinction of meaning. Cf. Robertson, *Luke the Historian*, pp. 10. 101f.: "Luke employs one verb for the miraculous cure of Publius by Paul and another for the general practice of medicine in which he is engaged."

[21] "Ohne ein neues *Studium* kann ich keine feste Stellung zu dem Problem nehmen. Meine Ansicht, daß Lukas der Verfasser des Evangeliums und der Acta sei, bleibt mir unerschüttert, auch wenn das von der Sprache genommene Argument wegfällt." Postcard 17 i. 1925.

[22] *Expositor's Greek Testament*. II (1900), pp. 9ff. and *passim*; *The Biblical World*, XX (1902), pp. 260ff., 370ff.; *Literary Criticism and the N. T.*[2] (1910), pp. 9ff., 68ff.; *Messianic Interpretation and Other Studies* (1910), pp. 113ff.

pp. cxxv ff. wrote (or at least published) their arguments after reading my monograph, without becoming convinced of its contention.

Feine on the other hand in the third edition of his *Einleitung in das N. T.*, (1923), pp. 58 ff. has felt bound to change his earlier position and to admit that the technical medical expressions of the Lucan writings do not offer a proof that the author was a physician, though he thinks the same contention can be established on other grounds.[23]

[23] Among other recent writers who have acknowledged the insufficiency of the argument from "medical language" may be named A. Thumb in Hastings *D. A. C.* I (1916) p. 555; K. Lake, *ibid.*, p. 720; M. Goguel, *Introduction au N. T.* III (1922), p. 146; G. W. Wade, *N. T. History* (1922), pp. 206 f.; B. S. Easton, *St. Luke*, 1926, p. xxxiv.

Meanwhile the validity of the medical evidence is taken for granted and enters the most elementary text books; e. g.:

W. F. Adeney, *Century Bible*, "Luke" (1922), see index *s. v.* "Medical."

H. Appel, *Einleitung in das N. T.* (1922), p. 166.

W. C. Allen in Allen and Grensted, *Introduction to the Books of the N. T.* (1913), pp. 50 f.

J. V. Bartlet, *Century Bible*, "Acts" (1901), see index *s. v.* "Medical." In *Encyclopedia Britannica* [11] (1910), XVII, pp. 117 f. Bartlet would make even the Canon of Muratori, the oldest external witness to the Lucan authorship, bear witness to him as a doctor by supposing 'iuris studiosum' to be based on an error of νόμου for νόσου.

A. W. F. Blunt, *Clarendon Bible*, "Acts" (1922), p. 21.

S. C. Carpenter, *Christianity according to S. Luke*, (1919), pp. 192 f.

G. Milligan, *The N. T. Documents* (1913), p. 56, "medical training which enriched his vocabulary with many scientific and quasiscientific terms."

J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, II (1919—), 9 note: "the medical writers who so profoundly influenced his diction."

W. F. Burnside, *St. Luke* (1913), see index *s. v.* "Luke, Medical Language," and *The Acts* (1916), p. xii and index *s. v.* "Medical." At Acts 21 1 he notes on τὴν Κῶ: "famous as the birthplace of Hippocrates and therefore of special interest to S. Luke."

E. J. Goodspeed, *The Story of the N. T.* (1916), p. 68, "a few echoes of medical language."

G. H. Gilbert, *The Bible for Home and School*, "Acts" (1908). pp. 13, 50, 60, 103, etc.

L. Ragg, *St. Luke* (1922), (Westminster Commentaries), pp. xxx f. *et passim.*

A. T. Robertson, *A Translation of Luke's Gospel* (1923), *passim.*

The newer advocates repeat the defects of the older arguments. There is no apparent effort to test the extent of the occurrence of the examples outside Luke and the medical writings.[24] That a word occurs in both is of little significance unless it can be shown that it is not frequent in other contemporary Greek.[25] Rarely is the claim of such exclusively medical use advanced and for most of the words suggested as medical terms such a claim cannot be substantiated.

That the words in question occur nowhere else in the New Testament is no valid evidence that they are really rare in Greek literature or that they are characteristic of Luke. Even

A. Souter, Hastings *D. C. G.* II (1908), p. 84: "From the character of the language of his writings it is evident that he had a good education, both rhetorical and medical."

A. Wright, *ibid.*, p. 91: "Hobart's *Medical Language of St. Luke* needs some weeding out, but has never been refuted."

For older sponsors of the thesis, Roman Catholic and Protestant, see Knowling, *Biblical World* XX, p. 260 *note.*

[24] Knowling is an exception. After calling attention to the occurrence in ordinary Greek of his examples he regularly argues that nevertheless they may be regarded as medical because they are frequent in the doctors or are not used by other N. T. writers.

[25] Beside the examples of such claims cited in my *Style*, pp. 61 f. note 76, I may refer to the general exaggerated statement in the popular apologetic work, *The Truth of Christianity*, by W. H. Turton, 9th Edition (1919), p. 296: "There are 201 places in Acts, 252 in the Third Gospel where words and expressions occur which are specially, and many of them exclusively, used by Greek medical writers." The claim of Hobart, to which I previously referred, that ἐκψύχειν, to die, "seems to be almost confined to the medical writers" is repeated by L. Pirot, *Les Actes des Apôtres et la Commission Biblique*, Paris (1919), p. 50, in the form: "un terme exclusivement réservé à la littérature médicale." Robertson who quotes Hobart on ἐκψύχειν adds on the same page (99) a similar claim for βάσις (Acts 3 7): "The word for feet is unusual in this sense outside of medical works." But according to Knowling *ad loc.* (who nevertheless thinks it has been justly held to point to a technical description of a medical man) it "is found in the same sense as here in Wisdom 13 18; cf. also Josephus, *Ant.* VII. 3, 1, so in Plato, *Timaeus*, 92 A." To which we may add at random Dion. Hal. V, 25; Philostrat. *Imag.* ed. Keyser. p. 418. 2 f.; Apollodorus I, 3, 5 *et al.*; Philostrat., *Apoll. Tyan.* 55, 11.; Philo, *De opif. mundi*, 40 § 118; Josephus, *Ant.* VII. 5. 5 § 113, *bis*; 11, 3 § 269; 12, 2 § 303; P. Lond. 121 line 518, etc.

limitation of a few words to Luke and Galen would prove little. It is natural that in our limited knowledge of Hellenistic Greek the voluminous medical writings of the early empire should show some points of contact with the rarer words of every contemporary writing. It is interesting how prominent is the citation of occurrence of words from the doctors, especially Galen, in such word lists as W. Schmid compiled for Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, Aristides, Aelian and Philostratus,[26] or P. N. Harrison for the Pastoral Epistles.[27] A list of the less common words in Luke would in like manner include some which the doctors along with a few other writers, or sometimes the doctors alone, attest. I have called attention before to two such words, *συγκυρία* and *ἀνωτερικός*, as words of Luke found also in medical literature but "except for later writers . . . cited from no other sources."[28] *ψώχω* also appears to be attested only in Luke 6 1 and (in the middle) Nicander, *Theriaca*, 619. Hobart and his followers failed to emphasize such cases. But such illustrations are quite illusory—statistical accidents, Deissmann would call them, and they might be spoiled by a new discovery. A good chance for a further example was overlooked when no parallel to the word *ὁροθεσίας* of Acts 17 26 was known except the form *ὁροθεσίων* in Galen, *Definitiones medicae* II (xix. 349). But now the word appears on an inscription and a papyrus.[29]

I attempted before to indicate how frequently Luke's 'medical terms' occur in ordinary writings like the LXX, Josephus,

[26] *Der Atticismus*, 1887—1897, *passim*. Similar lists for Maximus of Tyre were prepared by K. Dürr in *Philologus*, Supplementband VIII (1899—1901), pp. 70 ff.

[27] *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (1921), pp. 161 ff. Other N. T. writings use words attested elsewhere only in the doctors, or well illustrated by them (see Wettstein *passim*) as Knowling, *Bibl. World*, XX. 263, grudgingly admitted for Mark. Hobart's collection of parallels to Luke and Acts may be quite useful as lexical materials if, like the similar *Observationes* from other writers, they are treated as merely illustrating Luke's meaning or his relation to current Greek idiom.

[28] *Style*, p. 62, note 76 at end. Attention may however be called to the occurrence of *συγκυρία* in Symmachus' translation of 1 Sam. 6 9. The nearest lay parallel I find to *ἀνωτερικός* is *ἀνωτέρειος* in a papyrus of ii / B. C. (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* I. 63 f., line 13).

[29] See *J. B. L.* XLIV (1925), pp. 219 f.

Plutarch and Lucian. All new evidence on Hellenistic Greek tends not to isolate Luke's diction but to connect it with contemporary writers. The forthcoming concordances to Josephus and Philo may be counted on to show that many of the so-called medical terms are used and used with frequency by these contemporary Jewish writers in Greek. I suppose objection will be taken to regarding Philo's use of such words as evidence of lay currency since his medical training has been sometimes suggested.[30] The papyri at least cannot be regarded as medically influenced in the main, and the newer conveniences for comparison of N. T. vocabulary with these writings give some excellent confutation of so-called medical examples. I quote a few illustrations of the rarer words in Luke from recent publications of these non-literary writings.

In the parable of the Good Samaritan the robbers are said to have left their victim "half dead" (*ἡμιθανής*). In spite of its obviously untechnical character this picturesque adjective has been claimed by Hobart, Harnack, Zahn and others as medical. But the frequent occurrence of this adjective in complaints of assault and battery suggests a very ordinary origin and show how fully Luke's phraseology agrees with the idiom appropriate to the occasion.[31]

In the description of the lame man at the Beautiful Gate (Acts 3 7), a passage often claimed among the irreducible minimum of medical terms, the author of Acts seems to have used for "ankles" the spelling *σφυδρά* rather than *σφυρά*. One other instance of this spelling before Hesychius is now available in a palmomantic papyrus of the third century.[32] Probably

[30] Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon*[2] (1925), pp. 286 f.

[31] Luke 10 30 *πληγὰς ἐπιθέντες ἀπῆλθον ἀφέντες ἡμιθανῆ*. Cf. P. Lips. I. 37, 21 (389 A. D.) *ἡμιθανῆ αὐτὸν ποιήσαντες*; P. Amh. II. 141, 13 (350 A. D.) *πληγαίς με κατέκτιναν . . . ἡμιθανῆ καταστήσαντες*. The adjective *ἡμιθανὴς* occurs in 4 Macc. 4 11; Dion. Hal. viii. 67, 5; Diod. Sic. xii. 62, 5; Arrian, Strabo, etc. The adjective *ἡμιθνῆς* quoted by Hobart from the doctors is also commoner in earlier and contemporary Greek, being found in Aelian, Aeschines, Aeschylus, Alciphron, Apollodorus, Aristophanes, Dio Cassius, Dion. Hal., etc.

[32] P. Flor. 391, 53 and 56.

neither the common nor the uncommon spelling is distinctively medical.

Among Luke's four words for bed or pallet the rarest is perhaps the diminutive *κλινάριον* (Acts 5 15). It occurs, to be sure, in Aristophanes, Arrian, Artemidorus, Marcus Aurelius and Pollux.[33] Its appearance in a Ptolemaic papyrus recently published[34] shows that it had been part of every day Greek in the interval between Aristophanes and the Christian evangelist.

The disease of Herod Agrippa I is described by one compound adjective *σκωληκόβρωτος*, "worm-eaten" (Acts 12 23). Previously this word was attested from Theophrastus who applies it to diseased plants, and it was inferred from this botanical use and "indirectly from the fact that non-medical writers express the disease differently" that it was a medical term. The papyri now show the word used by unscientific men.[35] In the examples cited from papyri iii / B. C. it is used of grain.

These are only four illustrations of Luke's "technical terms" among the papyri. They could be multiplied considerably. It is perhaps worth noting that not only are these words not limited to the medical writers; not one of the four words or spellings has yet been cited from the medical writers at all. Or—to take words which do occur in the doctors—would not any diligent reader of Hellenistic Greek rub his eyes to see the noun and adverb from *φιλάνθρωπος* (in Acts 27 3 *φιλανθρώπως τε ὁ Ἰούλιος τῷ Παύλῳ χρησάμενος*, and 28 2 *οἱ τε βάρβαροι παρεῖχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῖν*) claimed as medical terms by Hobart, Moffatt and Knowling.[36] Why, a single handbook of inscriptions[37] contains over 40 instances of these words, including at least three instances of the use of

[33] Cf. *Style*, p. 56 note 32.

[34] PSI VI. 616, 14 (iii / B. C.) *τὰ κλινάρια*.

[35] PSI V. 490, 14 *σκωληκόβρωτον*. Cf. P. Grad. 7, 11 *ἀσκωληκόβρωτος* where, however, some letters are not certain.

[36] Hobart, pp. 296 f.; Moffatt, p. 299 and note; Knowling, *ad loc.* and *Biblical World*, XX, p. 376.

[37] W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*[3] IV (1924), p. 611, *s. v. φιλανθρωπία, -ος*. In the recently published letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians (P. Lond. 1912) the words occur four times in less than 100 lines.

the adverb φιλανθρώπως with the verb χράομαι precisely as they are combined in Acts, and as indeed they are combined in Demosthenes, Polybius, Diodorus, Plutarch, Dio Cassius and other writers.[38] Thus it frequently turns out that instances intended to show Luke's diction as related to the doctors exhibit in striking fashion his concord with the less obvious idioms of contemporary Greek in general.[39]

The more recent claimants of medical evidence in Luke-Acts profess not to rely on mere vocabulary. They admit the exaggeration in Hobart's contention and the ineffectiveness of merely verbal examples, yet in the end they must depend on the choice of words in this author as evidence of medical training. This is particularly the case in his descriptions of diseases which, whether in parallel passages or not, are always asserted to be "in medizinisch exakterer Weise" than the other evangelists. I cannot deal with all such arguments. It will be obvious from the following quotations how subjective such judgments are bound to be. The changes Luke makes in Mark can often be otherwise explained. I quote from Robertson:

> The point to observe here is whether Luke made any changes that a physician would be likely to desire. We have already seen that in Luke 8 43 Mark's caustic comment that the poor woman 'had spent all that she had, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse' (Mark 5 26) has been softened to 'she was not able to be healed by any' (a chronic case for which physicians were not to blame). But this striking case does not stand alone . . .
>
> The healing of Simon's mother-in-law (Mark 1 30 f. = Luke 4 38 f. = Matt. 8 14 f.) has some striking touches. Luke alone notes that she 'was holden with a great fever.' Precisely this medical phrase of 'great fever' occurs in Galen and Hippocrates. Galen says that Greek physicians divided

[38] Josephus, *Contra Apion* I. 20, § 153; *Antiq.* XII, 2, 5 § 46; XIV 12. 3 § 313; Isocr. *Epist.* VII. 6; Demos. *De falsa legat.* 225; Aeschines, *Contr. Ctesiph.* 57; Diod. Sic. XX. 17; Plut. *Aemil.* 39, p. 276 B, *Alcib.* 4, p. 193 E; Dio Cass. 71, 14 and 27.

[39] Cf. Zahn on Acts 27 3: "klass. Begriffe durch deren Anwendung . . . Lc sich als einen Griechen . . . kennzeichnet."

fevers into 'great' and 'small.' Luke, like a doctor, adds also two items concerning Christ's method of treatment. 'And he stood over her,' as if in careful contemplation of the symptoms of the patient by way of diagnosis . . . Luke adds 'and rebuked the fever,' showing that Jesus spoke words of authority and cheer like the wise physician. Jesus spoke not for mere psychological effect on the patient, but also to show his instant mastery of the disease. So Luke observes that the fever left her 'immediately.' It is not a matter of vocabulary here, but we note the physician's interest and insight that give these touches to the story not present in Mark and Luke . . .

In the story of the raising of Jairus' daughter (Luke 8 55 = Mark 5 41 f. = Matt. 9 25), Luke alone gives the detail that Jesus 'commanded that something be given her to eat.' Once more the physician's interest in the child's welfare appears."[40]

Now the last item is simply a mistake. Mark also records Jesus' command that something be given her to eat.[41] As to Peter's mother-in-law, the word "rebuke" sounds magical rather than medical. The other differences are quite difficult to judge. If Luke's "stood over her" is medical, what shall we say of the parallel in Mark omitted by Luke, "approaching her he raised her up taking her hand." I find no instance of "great fever" in Hippocrates nor am I sure that the references to unsuccessful doctors in Mark and Luke indicate respectively the layman and the physician.[42] What shall we say of Matthew who leaves the comment out entirely?[43]

[40] Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff.

[41] This error had occurred in Ramsay and I had already called attention to it, *Style*, p. 61. Yet Robertson "after a careful study of Cadbury's arguments" (p. 12) repeats the error. The real motif of the eating is to prove the reality of the miraculous resuscitation as at Luke 24 43, etc.

[42] For a high fever Hippocrates and the other medical writings use other adjectives very frequently. *μέγας πυρετός* is not common in them. I refrain from collecting cases where laymen (e. g. frequently in the papyri) use *μέγας* to describe a disease. Strictly speaking Luke's *παραχρῆμα* does not go with the verb 'left her' (*ἀφῆκεν*) but with the sentence that follows, while Mark used the synonymous *εὐθύς* twice earlier in the pericope.

[43] It should be remembered that, except in *BD Syr sin Sah Arm.*, Luke 8 43 contains parallel to Mark *ἥτις ἰατροῖς προσαναλώσασα ὅλον τὸν βίον*

Even in their comparison of Luke's terms for diseases with those of doctors and laymen the medicalists' arguments need testing. Hobart (p. 43) inferred that *σκωληκόβρωτος* (Acts 12 23) may have been a medical term because non-medical writers express this disease differently. Similarly, it is argued that *παραλυτικός* in Mark must be a layman's word because the physicians do not use it, while Luke and the doctors use the familiar *παραλελυμένος*.[44] But another adjective in *-ικός*, *ὑδρωπικός*, is claimed as a good medical term simply because the doctors use it. Hobart, Harnack and Moffatt regard "*θέρμη* (Acts 28 3) for *θερμότης* the usual medical term for heat." But the known distribution of these words does not justify the inference. *παραλυτικὸς* outside the gospels is rare. But the only early occurrences that I can find claimed for it appear to be precisely in the two first century doctors, Moschion and Dioscorides.[45] There is good MS evidence for supposing that Luke

as well as *οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς θεραπευθῆναι*. And if the omission of this unfavorable reference to physicians bespeaks a professional apologetic on Luke's part how do the defenders of Luke's M. D. find evidence of the same viewpoint in Luke's introduction of the somewhat uncomplimentary challenge, "Physician, heal thyself" in Luke 4 23? They cannot have it both ways at once. In like manner they argue that "it is significant that Luke the physician should cite as almost the last words of his record a prophecy (Is. 6 9 f.) ending with *ἰάσομαι*" (Knowling on Acts 28 27, following Plummer). But they do not explain the fact that in the first speech in his record (Luke 4 18) the evangelist in quoting the same book of Isaiah (61 1 f.) omits precisely the same verb by omitting the clause *ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν* (Plummer declares the MS evidence against the clause in Luke decisive).

[44] Moffatt, *Introduction* p. 298, "evidence of his early studies and professional training may be discovered . . in the choice . . of the correct medical term *παραλελυμένος* for the popular *παραλυτικός*." Similarly Zahn, *Intro.* III, p. 161; Knowling, *Biblical World* XX, pp. 262; Robertson, *Luke the Historian*, p. 94; Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, p. 185: "*παραλελυμένος* is linguistically an improvement, but it is also the technical word of the physicians who do not use *παραλυτικός*." Of Herod's death *σκωληκόβρωτος* Harnack in 1892 had said, "Die medicinische Wissenschaft kennt eine solche Krankheit nicht" ('Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte' in *T. U.* VIII., 4, p. 95).

[45] Moschion, *De pass. mulierb.*, ed Dewez, p. 69, 25. Dioscorides, *ed.* Sprengel, i, p. 30; ii, p. 213 *al.* Contrast Harnack's assertion quoted above. The word occurs also in the apocryphal gospels (Tischendorf,

followed a habit illustrated elsewhere in his use of Mark and after changing it to *παραλελυμένος* in 5 18 actually retained it himself in 5 24 (*παραλυτικῷ* ℵ *C D* Ψ Θ etc.). If he removed it entirely its rarity in general Greek would be sufficient reason. *ὑδρωπικός* for *ὑδρώψ* is well established in both technical and untechnical writers. Teles and Plutarch, for examples, use both words.[46] On the other hand the form *δυσεντερίῳ* in Acts 28 8 is unparalleled in both medical and non-medical writings. Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary, s. v.* remark "Moeris p. 129 *δυσεντερία, θηλυκῶς, Ἀττικῶς. δυσεντέριον, Ἑλληνικῶς* settles the form in Acts 28 8, where all the uncials have the neuter. If Hobart's long list (pp. 52 f.) can be trusted for this detail "Luke's medical books all presented him with *δυσεντερία* (*-ίη* Hippocrates) and his faithfulness to the spoken Hellenistic form is the more noteworthy." Like Luke's other terms for disease it would be known to laymen without consulting medical books.[47] *θερμότης* apparently is common among the doctors as *θέρμη* is common among the laymen.

The literary problem involved in determining medical influence is a delicate one, as Professor Moffatt in his *Expositor* article realizes, and it would require more space than is available for me to attempt to meet his arguments there given. However, Moffatt produces no new evidence and rests his argument on the alleged inaccuracy and inconsistency which he finds in my earlier essay. In a footnote I hope to show that in some instances he has not understood my meaning and that in others he has fallen into misstatement.[48]

Evangelia Apocrypha[2] [1876], p. 215, 8; 436, 11 = 444, 9) and in Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 22, 6, but these occurrences referring to Jesus' cures may be due to the canonical gospels.

[46] Other writers who use *ὑδρωπικός* include Polybius and the author of the *περὶ ὕψους*. Both *hydropicus* and *paralyticus* are attested for first century Latin writers. This hardly suggests that one was technically medical and the other was not.

[47] The form *δυσεντέριον* occurs, besides the passages of the Atticists where it is condemned, in a definition of *κατάρρους* repeated in the lexicographical works of a much later date, *Λέξεις ῥητορ.* (Bekker, *Anecdota* I. 270, 13) and *Etym. Magn.* 494, 31.

[48] In his article (*Expositor*, July 1922, pp. 1 ff.) Professor Moffatt after discussing some features of the problem of medical language in

It is of course possible that while the words which Luke used are not in themselves technical, the way in which he used them

Luke-Acts and the validity of certain general considerations that I had urged (the discussion of which I may omit, leaving the reader to examine for himself my monograph and the replies of Moffatt) says (p. 7): "Without pressing such considerations, we may examine his specific pleas; it is when we pass from generalisations to definite data that we can test his theories"; and concludes (p. 14); "It would be superfluous to heap up further illustrations; what I have indicated is sufficient to show that this line of argument is far from being valid." He rests his case on the inaccuracy or inconsistency of my details. I will list the points briefly:

pp. 2f. "The next item of this kind of alteration, chronicled by Mr. Cadbury, is a mistake; he quotes Mark 14 71 (Peter began to curse and swear) and contrasts Luke 22 59 ἄλλος τις (not Peter) διισχυρίζετο; but, of course, the latter passage refers not to a disciple but to a suspicious questioner in the group gathered beside the fire." In my heading, however, I indicated that this was exactly the kind of phenomenon I was listing. Luke had apparently transferred the strong asseveration from one speaker to another.

p. 3. "On p. 102 is it quite accurate to say that" in Luke 20 40 "we are told that the scribes no longer (οὐκέτι, so Mark 12 34) dared ask him any question" [and] "the οὐκέτι has no real meaning in Luke"? But it is certainly natural to understand οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐτόλμων of Luke as a reference to the scribes (the last persons mentioned) though Mark's question by a scribe has been omitted.

Several of Professor Moffatt's criticisms are directed against my argument that Matthew and Mark are sometimes as "medical" as Luke. This was perhaps a somewhat roundabout type of confutation and not to be taken quite seriously. My examples are of course intended to be as good but no better than those which are used to prove Luke more medical than Matthew and Mark. Thus:

p. 8. He objects to my quoting as "medical" words in Matthew and Mark where Luke offers no parallel (seven in a list of nineteen). But he had without hesitation and in much greater proportion listed as medical terms of Luke words found in Acts and in passages of the gospel where Luke has no parallels.

p. 9. He objects to my examples of αἱμορρέω or πυρέσσω as medical terms in Mark because they are only exchanged for an equally medical phrase in Luke. But Moffatt a few pages later forgets the equality. He says (p. 13): "Luke, for example, describes Peter's mother-in-law as συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ instead of repeating the single term πυρέσσουσα used by Mark and Matthew. This may be fairly taken as a water-mark of his professional training."

p. 10 *note*. "Surely it is not serious criticism to argue that Luke is

shows a special likeness to the doctors. If this is so, evidence could be produced, and would certainly be easily found by any

not more 'medical' than the others because he 'does not mention (9 6) as does Mark (6 13) that the twelve in their mission of preaching and practising anointed their patients with olive oil.'" But on the preceding page Moffatt regards it serious criticism to point out that the good Samaritan (10 34) poured oil and wine on the wounds. "This was a well-known salve in Jewish medicine; it is mentioned in the Mishna (*Sabbath* 19 2) as a liniment for wounds."

pp. 10 f. "As for the description of the epileptic boy (8 37 f.) and the lunatic it is inaccurate to say that Luke omits the serious symptoms chronicled by Mark and Matthew; e. g. in 9 39 he does include 'foaming.'" It was not said (*Style*, p. 48) that all "serious" symptoms were omitted but that in both cases "Luke omits or explicitly contradicts all reference to a self-destructive tendency on the part of the patient" and that in the former case "he also omits such symptoms as deafness, dumbness, foaming, grinding the teeth, pining away, falling and rolling, deathlike coma on the ground." That statement was correct and was supported by the evidence in the footnote where it was also duly indicated that the foaming is once mentioned by Luke as well as once omitted. Lagrange, although he is desirous of retaining as much as possible of Hobart's argument, admits that here Mark indicates the symptoms more clearly than Luke. He argues, however, that Mark's detail is not due to medical causes but to other qualities of his style.

Moffatt objects to my citing omissions or changes in Luke as evidence of comparative absence of medical interest, since the same features, as I myself have often noted elsewhere, are attributable to other motives. Of course if I had been trying to prove seriously that Luke was averse to medical information or that Mark was really a doctor his objection would be well founded. But Moffatt himself does not hesitate to ascribe to medical training and knowledge changes and additions easily explained on other grounds. Thus he says of *μέγας* in *μέγας πυρετός* "it might be stylistic, and yet also medical" (p. 4). On p. 6 he thinks it inconsistent for me to deny evidence of Luke's medical knowledge and to admit Luke's habit of including in his summaries of Jesus' work the element of healings. Surely medical *knowledge* is not evidenced by an interest in Jesus' cures or by a literary tendency to intersperse incidents with summaries in which healings are mentioned. Yet Moffatt confuses the two when he says that I spoke "once and quite correctly about Luke's medical knowledge (p. 112), observing that in 9 11 'Luke quite independently has added one of his characteristic notes of healing.'"

p. 14: "The similar plea against *πλήρης λέπρας* as a 'medical' phrase in 5 12 is equally unconvincing . . indeed Mr. Cadbury later on (p. 58) admits with characteristic candour that '*πλήρης*, in this connexion peculiar

one thoroughly familiar with the doctors in a reading of Luke and Acts. Such a person must however be familiar with other Hellenistic Greek or he will cite examples which other writers use as well. It will not be sufficient to salvage Hobart's theory merely to state without explicit examples that there is in Luke such a technical use of untechnical terms, or that his books give an impression of being written by a physician. It must be shown that the semasiology and idiom do not coincide with ordinary Greek as the vocabulary does.

If this is not done the case for internal evidence of authorship by a physician remains "not proven." The other arguments, such as the author's general interest in healing, whether in his changes of Mark,[49] in the "we" passages, or elsewhere, in so far as they do not rely upon the assumption of a technical language, are so vague or so easily explained in other ways as to be quite unconvincing. A series of lexical notes is not the place to deal with them. Besides it is difficult to reply to such general arguments or to the inference that because the language is consonant with the tradition of Lucan authorship it therefore

to St. Luke, is frequently thus used in medical writers.'" Yet Moffatt has entirely overlooked the fact that the sentence he quotes as mine is really Hobart's and that I had introduced it in quotation marks and with no endorsement, thus: "The argument for πλήρης λέπρας is stated thus by Hobart (p. 5): 'πλήρης in this connexion,'" etc.

On p. 9 *note* he again fails to represent my position. He says, "Mr. Cadbury quotes (p. 64), with apparent approval, Clemen's assertion," etc. What I said in the note quoted was: "Some of Clemen's arguments are of interest." The sentence in the text to which the note refers was: "It is probably futile to try to carry the argument further, as Clemen does, and to argue from the language of Luke and Acts that a physician *could not* have written them."

As Professor Moffatt's general conclusion is based, as he says, on the definite data of my argument "after going carefully over Mr. Cadbury's pages," I think that I may now refrain from further illustration and from the rebuttal of his more complicated criticisms. Like him, I feel that "it would be superfluous to heap up further illustrations."

[49] It gives me pleasure to add one example of this sort which has not apparently been mentioned by the medicalists. Luke alone (8 2, contrast Mark 15 41. Matt. 27 55) tells that the ministering women had been healed.

supports the tradition (Moffatt), or to the complaint of Robertson that word lists do not answer the elaborate volume of Hobart. Obviously in many of the defenses of Luke's medical language there still inheres the fallacious "cumulative argument." I may perhaps appropriate to this debate the recent words of Lord Charnwood on another question: "This is not one of those many instances in which indications separately slight collectively amount to an impressive or conclusive argument. Every one of these pieces of evidence by itself must be evaluated at nothing. And nothing may be added to nothing forever and ever, but the sum will still be nothing."

Of course the other evidences concerning Luke's authorship —evidences either for it or against it—remain unaffected by this medical argument. They may be discussed and appraised without reference to "medical language." Superficially, however, the traditional view, which at first seemed so brilliantly confirmed by the medical argument, is in danger of suffering undeserved discrediting by reason of the continued effort to support it by fallacious and specious arguments.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Baba batra ("Letzte Pforte" des Civilrechts): Text, Übersetzung und Erklärung. [In *Die Mischna*, IV. Seder Neziqin, 3. Traktat.] By Walter Windfuhr. Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1925. Pp. 112. Mk. 9.—.

Die Psalmen: Textkritisch untersucht. By Franz Wutz. München: Kösel & Pustet, 1925. Pp. LXI + 472. Mk. 27.—.

Monographien zur Weltgeschichte. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1926.

No. 10. *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs.* By G. Steindorff. 2nd. edit. 193 Illust. Pp. 223. Mk. 10.—.

No. 18. *Ninive und Babylon.* By C. Bezold. 4th. edit., revised by C. Frank. 160 Illust. Pp. 178. Mk. 9.—.

Pirke Aboth. By R. Travers Herford, ed. New York: Bloch Pub. Co. 1925. Pp. 176. $ 2.—.

Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary. By Reuben Levy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1925. Pp. 286. $ 1.75.

Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann in Giessen:

Das Buch Daniel. (Aus der Welt der Religion. Forschungen und Berichte. Alttestamentliche Reihe. 1. Heft.) By Walter Baumgartner. 1926. Pp. 40. Mk. 1.—.

Hebräisches Wörterbuch zur Genesis. (Einzelwörterbücher zum Alten Testament. 1. Heft.) By F. Baumgärtel. 1926. Pp. 48. Mk. 1.20.

Konfessionskunde. (Sammlung Töpelmann. Die Theologie im Abriss. 5. Band.) By Hermann Mulert. Erste Hälfte, 1926. Pp. 208. Mk. 3.50.

Zur Septuaginta-Vorlage im Pentateuch. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 42.) By Johann Fischer. 1926. Pp. 44. Mk. 2.30.

Erklärung des Buches Koheleth. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 43.) By Gottfried Kuhn. 1926. Pp. 64. Mk. 2.60.

IMAGES OF YAHWEH

ROBERT H. PFEIFFER
BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

STUDENTS of the religion and of the records of the Israelites are practically unanimous in asserting that Yahweh was at various times represented in the form of a sacred image. The Hebrew Scriptures, with their descriptions of specific instances of image worship and with their condemnation of such practices, bear witness to the idolatry of the Israelites, but never identify, in unequivocal terms, any image with the national deity. This argument from silence carries no weight with the critics who, when they do not regard the existence of images of Yahweh as axiomatic, prove their contention by a very simple syllogism: A certain Israelite is a worshipper of Yahweh; he makes an image; therefore the image represents Yahweh. The argument is perfectly valid if we assume that no worshipper of Yahweh ever served other gods, a proposition which not only cannot be demonstrated, but which is contrary to the historical facts known to us; there is not the slightest evidence that a Jew, who never worshipped any other god than Yahweh, ever made an idol. The first and second commandments were never observed separately in Judaism, but neither of them was consistently observed in ancient Israel.

The existence of idols of Yahweh cannot be regarded as a known fact nor is it susceptible of irrefutable proof, as I hope to show; it is merely a working hypothesis. Conjecture has a legitimate place in historical investigation, when our information is fragmentary and open to various interpretations, but it should

never be mistaken for a demonstrable fact. We need not adopt the rigid principle of J. S. Mill, namely that a hypothesis, if it is "destined always to remain a hypothesis" is not "genuinely scientific"; nevertheless it is legitimate to test the validity of a conjecture by inquiring whether it rests on a sound interpretation of known facts and whether it furnishes a plausible solution of historical problems. The purpose of this article is to find out whether the physical representation of Yahweh can be inferred from a study of the sources, and whether it contributes to our understanding of the development of the religion of the Israelites. A hypothesis which fails to pass these tests is useless and misleading, and therefore deserves to be discarded.

I

An unbiased examination of the evidence produced to prove that images of Yahweh were not unknown to the Israelites must take into account all the references to idolatry contained in the Old Testament, but need not concern itself with those unrecorded cases of iconic worship that modern scholars have read between the lines of the ancient sources, lest the argument move in a circle. Thus the idols that have been discovered in the adytum of the Solomonic temple by Schneider[1] and inside the ark of Yahweh Ṣebaoth by Gressmann[2] may be regarded as irrelevant in this connection.

Equally questionable is the evidence furnished by the Pentateuchal laws prohibiting idolatry and by the prophetic polemic against images. The identification of the condemned idols with Yahweh is accomplished either by means of drastic

[1] H. Schneider, *Zwei Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte Vorderasiens*, pp. 20 ff.; cf. *Kultur und Denken der Babylonier und Juden*, p. 270. His assertion that in the days of Solomon the old serpent idol was substituted with an anthropomorphic statue of Yahweh is based on Is. 6 and 2 Ki. 16 14.

[2] *Die Schriften des A. T. in Auswahl*, 2nd. edition, II/1, p. 213: the ark contained a statue of Baal and one of Astarte-Anathjahu; cf. *Die Lade Jahwes*.

textual emendation[3] or by a mysterious divination of the unexpressed thoughts of the ancient writers.[4]

Since all general references to idols in the Old Testament can be plausibly understood as allusions to foreign gods, none of them being an unmistakable record of images of Yahweh, the evidence for the physical representation of the god of the Israelites can be sought only in specific sacred objects. As a matter of fact, the graven image of Micah, the ephod, the teraphim, the brazen serpent, and the bull images have been regarded by a number of scholars as images of Yahweh. Of these, only the bulls deserve serious consideration.

The story of Micah's graven image is related in Judg. 17 2–4. The passage was recognized to be corrupt and secondary by the commentators, until Professor Arnold (*Ephod and Ark*, p. 105) proved convincingly that it is a marginal interpolation. Any attempt to base an argument on the historicity of this narrative can be classed with the labors of Sisyphus.

If the word ephod, where it is used for a sacred object placed conspicuously in a sanctuary, signifies an idol, there is no reason to doubt that it was an image of Yahweh. Un-

[3] H. Schmidt (ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, *Studien . . . Hermann Gunkel dargebracht . . .*, 1923; vol. I, pp. 78 f.) rejects as a gloss the words of the second commandment ("any manner of likeness, of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth") that identify the "graven image" with gods other than Yahweh, because the author of the Decalogue, who has already disposed of the other gods in the first commandment, "wished obviously to prohibit a representation of Yahweh in an image."

[4] E. Kautzsch (*Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, p. 216) knows that "*elilim*" is used by Isaiah five times for images of Yahweh, although twice in this prophet the word unquestionably means heathen idols; his only evidence seems to be that those objects were found in the territory of Judah and Samaria. On the same page he regards it as possible to find an allusion to images of Yahweh in Jer. 1 16; 25 6; 32 30, although on page 277 he says that Jeremiah "zwar gegen Götzenbilder, aber allem Anschein nach nirgends gegen Jahwebilder zu eifern Anlaß fand." Against such fluctuating opinions we must emphasize the fact, obvious though it be, that the polemic against idolatry in the Old Testament (on which cf. my paper in *JBL* 43. 229 ff.) does not explicitly refer to images of Yahweh.

fortunately for this common interpretation, the word ephod means a priestly garment, worn also by laymen participating in religious ceremonies. The riddle baffled the efforts of the critics until Arnold (*Ephod and Ark*) found the solution in the Septuagint text of 1 Sam. 14 18 (where we read "ark" instead of the "ephod" of the Masoretic text). "The reading אפוד [ephod], wherever in the Old Testament it stands for a solid object, has been deliberately substituted by Jewish scribes for a more troublesome word" (p. 10), namely ארון (ark). This explanation is so simple and so plausible that one wonders at the reluctance of some critics to adopt it.[5]

That the mysterious teraphim were images of Yahweh is a mere guess; nothing is known about the meaning of the word. Even Kautzsch (*op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.), who adopts this view, admits that Gen. 31 19, 34 f. and especially Ez. 21 26 prove that this object was not necessarily an image of Yahweh, although in the other passages where the word occurs it may be such. The one fact that can be regarded as certain from the use of the word in the Old Testament is that the teraphim "did not represent Yahweh" (Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, p. 121). The conjecture of Arnold (*op. cit.*, p. 136) seems the most probable, namely that they may "represent collectively the lots employed in connection with the sacred box."

The brazen serpent that Moses made in the wilderness when poisonous snakes invaded the camp of the Israelites (Num. 21 4–9, E), if the event is historical, was not an idol but, like the five golden plague-boils and the five golden mice made by the Philistines afflicted with the plague (1 Sam. 6 4 f.),

[5] Budde (*ZAW* 1921, pp. 1 ff.) suggests, without any such documentary basis as that furnished by the LXX of 1 Sam. 14, that "ephod" (when a solid object) is a surrogate for "*abbir*" which he translates with "bull," although the word means "the strong one" (cf. Torczyner, *ZAW* 1921, pp. 296 ff.). Schmidt (*op. cit.*, p. 97) adopts this view. The very admission that "ephod" stands for another word makes it necessary to discard this object as a piece of undisputed evidence for the existence of images of Yahweh; for though the object was used in the worship of Yahweh, it is by no means evident that it was an idol.

a votive gift presented to an angered deity to obtain relief (cf. Procksch, *Elohimquelle*, p. 108). The story of the destruction of Nehushtan by order of Hezekiah (2 Ki. 18 4) is much later, even if it was contained in a source of the Deuteronomistic Book of Kings.[6] It is not inconceivable that incense was burned in the temple of Jerusalem to a serpent idol in the days of Hezekiah, although the only evidence is a single verse of doubtful authenticity; but even so, nothing indicates that the serpent was an image of Yahweh, as a few critics maintain.[7] The fact that Nehushtan was housed in the Temple is irrelevant, since Assyrian gods were worshipped in the temple in the days of Manasseh. The identification of that idol with Yahweh would have some justification if, as some suppose,[8] the serpent was the tribal god of Levi; but this conjecture rests chiefly on etymological speculations of questionable force. It may safely be said, with the majority of critics, that the serpent image did not represent Yahweh.

The small bull images set up by Jeroboam I in the old sanctuaries of Dan and Bethel are regarded as symbols of Yahweh by practically all those who have written on the subject. The story as we have it (1 Ki. 12 26–29, 30 b) is written by the Deuteronomistic editor of the Book of Kings from the point of view of a Jew who regarded Deuteronomy as the Law of Moses and the Northern Kingdom as guilty of political sedition and religious apostasy (cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*[6], pp. 280 f.). According to this biased account, Jeroboam set up the bull images to

[6] So Hölscher (*Eucharisterion* I, 210), who regards the first part of the verse as Deuteronomistic and the second old. It should be noted however that the verse is linguistically a unit and was written by a man whose vernacular was not Hebrew and who disregarded the idiomatic *consecutio temporum* in his use of the perfect. Verse 4 breaks the connection between v. 3 and v. 5, and may be a gloss; this would explain its omission by the Chronicler.

[7] Benzinger (*Die Bücher der Könige*, p. 177; *Hebräische Archäologie*[2], p. 328); Schneider (*Zwei Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte Vorderasiens*, pp. 17 ff.); cf. Baentsch, *ad* Num. 21 4–9.

[8] Meyer (*Die Israeliten*, p. 427); Skipwith (*JQR* 11, 264 f.); Meek (*AJSL* 37, 109).

prevent his subjects from going up to Jerusalem to worship in the temple, and said: "Here are thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." These words do not mean: "Here is Yahweh!"; but they suggest that *those gods*, and not Yahweh, brought up Israel from the land of Egypt (cf. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte* I, 80); such is the interpretation of the words found in later passages of the Old Testament (1 Ki. 14 9; Ps. 106 19–21; 2 Chr. 11 13–15; 13 8–11). "The sin of Jeroboam" was, in the opinion of post-exilic writers, the introduction of the worship of "other gods" and not the physical representation of Yahweh. Polemizing with the declaration placed in the mouth of Jeroboam, the Deuteronomistic redactors assert insistently and repeatedly that Yahweh led Israel out of Egypt, and Deut. 32 12 says explicitly: "Yahweh alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him." The story of Aaron's golden calf, likewise, shows that the bulls were not regarded, in the Southern kingdom at any rate, as images of Yahweh. Two entirely different stories are interwoven in Ex. 32. The oldest one (vv. 1 a, 5 b, 6, [9–14], 15–19, 25–29) relates that the children of Israel, during the absence of Moses, celebrated a festival of Yahweh with sacrifices, eating, drinking, orgiastic dances, and (according to the interpretation of 32 6 given by Luther [Meyer, *Israeliten*, p. 178]) immoral practices like those described in Hos. 4 13 f. The calf appears only in a gloss to v. 19. The other account (vv. 1 b–5 a, 7–8, 20–24, [30–34], 35), which is later than the Deuteronomistic Book of Kings, describes the making of the golden calf. In the first story Moses summons the Levites to punish the nation, in the second Yahweh himself "smote the people." We are only concerned with the second narrative; it is clearly based on the Deuteronomistic story of Jeroboam's bulls, for we read (vv. 4 and 8): "These are thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt," although Aaron had only made one image (cf. Neh. 9 18). This story is a piece of fiction written to vilify the sanctuaries of Dan and Bethel, but it is significant that its author regarded the bull images as pagan idols and not as representations of Yahweh: "Up, make us gods who shall go

before us" (vv. 1, 23). The verses in the book of Hosea denouncing the bull images (8 5 f., 10 5 f., 13 2) seem to be anti-Samaritan glosses; in any case it is unthinkable that a worshipper of Yahweh would have dared abuse a symbol of his god in such terms as these.

Our oldest source for the knowledge of Jeroboam's religious policy is dated nearly four centuries after his time and patently misunderstands his motives. Even granting that the Deuteronomistic editor of the Book of Kings used an older source (Hölscher, *Eucharisterion,* I, 183), and granting that it was substantially reliable, all we know about the matter is that Jeroboam set up a golden calf at Bethel and another one at Dan. There seems to be no reason to doubt the historicity of these royal gifts to two ancient sanctuaries; but when we attempt to read the king's mind declaring that the two bull images were intended to represent Yahweh, we simply make a guess that is at variance with our sources, for they unanimously identify those idols with other gods. This conjecture rests entirely on a questionable interpretation of the words: "These are thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." It must assume that Yahweh was conceived as a bull (which is unwarranted) or that the bull was worshipped in Canaan (for which the evidence is very scanty, cf. Wood, *JBL* 35, 240 f.) and that this Palestinian worship was adopted by the Israelites (e. g. Waterman, *AJSL* 31, 235 ff.). We know that the worship of the Baalim had a profound influence on the religion of the Israelites, but what proves that one of them was represented as a bull? We hear of no bull-image in any of the sanctuaries of Canaan, other than Dan and Bethel; the closest parallel is furnished by the twelve bulls supporting the laver in Solomon's temple. After all, the bulls of Jeroboam may have been purely ornamental. If the idea of the bulls did not come from Solomon, which seems doubtful, it is not unlikely that, as Ezekiel believed (23 8; cf. 20 7 f., 16, 18, 24), Jeroboam was influenced by the religion of Egypt; he had recently returned from that country and was probably allied with Sheshonk I (Shishak) (cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Israel,* pp. 68–72). On the whole, it seems more probable that the bulls

were of Egyptian origin rather than that they were Israelitish, Palestinian, or (according to J. Hehn, *Die Biblische und die Babylonische Gottesidee*, p. 364) Babylonian (Hadad-Rammān). That at any time the bulls of Dan and Bethel were identified with Yahweh is a hypothesis that is neither necessary nor probable.[9]

II

The current assumption that Yahweh was not infrequently represented by idols placed in the sanctuaries of the Israelites is thus shown to be a mountain hanging on a thread, a conjecture resting on the current interpretation of 1 Ki. 12 28 b. Nevertheless, a hypothesis, even unsupported by the facts, may be useful if it furnishes a plausible solution to baffling problems; is this the case? The crucial problem in the history of the religion of Israel is the transformation of the tribal god Yahweh into the sole deity of the world. Habitual iconic representation of Yahweh not only does not help us to understand this process, but renders it well nigh inconceivable; if, on the contrary, through historical circumstances Yahweh was never pictured in any physical form, the process leading to monotheism and the instinctive horror of Judaism for all idols becomes intelligible. The view that Yahweh's worship was imageless is supported not only by an argument from silence, for the sources contain not a single clear reference to an idol of this god, but by the historical development of the religion of the Israelites as we know it from the Old Testament.

The oldest shrines devoted to the worship of Yahweh of which there is record were not in Canaan, but in the region of the Sinai peninsula and of Edom (Moore, *Judges*, pp. 134, 139 f.). There is reason to believe that the Israelite tribes did not all adopt the worship of this god at the same moment, although in the days of Deborah Yahweh was already the god of a confederation comprising ten tribes. Prior to the settle-

[9] Luther and Meyer (Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, pp. 130, 282 ff.) followed by Meek (*AJSL* 37. 119 f.) assert that the tribal god of Joseph (Ephraim) was a bull-god, but their arguments are by no means convincing.

ment in Canaan there can be no question of images of Yahweh; apparently there were no idols in the ancient shrines of Sinai and Horeb, and the nomads lacked the technical skill required for their manufacture, even if they had been inclined to carry with them a likeness of their god. "Images of the gods belong to a comparatively advanced state in the history of religion" (Moore, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* II, 2155).

In Canaan the Israelites appropriated the local shrines. Most of them were open air "high places" with an altar of rude stones; a pillar of stone and a wooden post symbolized the presence of the local numen. Temples housing an image were rare; the Baalim were not, so far as we know, represented by idols.[10] The Hebrew literature earlier than 621 B. C. contains no mention of idols of the Canaanites, and it is perhaps no accident that the patriarchal stories, which are, on the whole, of Palestinian origin, never refer to idols (if the teraphim of Laban were not iconic objects). Even the Deuteronomic Code, wherein all Canaanitish sacred objects are doomed to destruction, contains but one reference to idols.[11]

It seems unlikely that a god whose worship was originally aniconic, transplanted into a country where native idols housed in temples were practically unknown, should become the object of an idolatrous cult. As a matter of fact, before the mysterious bulls of Jeroboam, there is no record of a sanctuary of the Israelites containing an image. The temple of Solomon is the only one described in detail; in the adytum, where the ancient sanctuaries had a statue of the patron god, only the ark of Yahweh Ṣebaoth stood to symbolize the presence of the deity, although Solomon could command the best talent

10 Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*[2], I, 160 f.; 560; Wood, *JBL* 35, 231.

11 Deut. 12 3 may be an interpolation from 7 5 (just as part of this verse was inserted in Ex. 34 13 [LXX]) and seems to disturb the connection between v. 2 and v. 4. It may be worth noting that when the Chronicler uses this verse (2 Chr. 14 2; 31 1: elsewhere in Chron. *ḥammanim* is used for *maṣṣeboth*) he leaves out the idols. Hos. 11 2 and Mic. 5 12 f., which contain references to the idols of Canaan, are unquestionably spurious.

of Tyre and set up twelve bulls in the court of the temple. Likewise in the sanctuaries of Ophrah, Dan, Bethel, Nob, and Shiloh, an ark, and no statue, was the visible token of the presence of Yahweh. This sacred box was "a sort of shrine or refuge within which the numen could work its mysterious spell upon the lots while shielded from the scrutiny of the human eye" (Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, p. 133). Like the pillars and posts, the ark was a domicile of the deity. It was not identified with Yahweh himself (1 Sam. 2 28) as Wellhausen (*Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*[7], p. 31) says. To see the face of Yahweh meant to approach the sacred box (1 Sam. 1 22) and not, as Kautzsch (*Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, p. 94) believes, to look at an idol, even though this may have been the original meaning of the phrase (cf. the Assyrian *amāru pan ili*).

Idolatry was never an integral part of the religion of Yahweh; among the Israelites it was sporadic in the public worship and always due to foreign influence, if we may judge from the extant Hebrew literature prior to 621 B. C. (cf. *JBL* 43, 229—233). It cannot be fortuitous that the Old Testament, with its exhaustive denunciation of the worship of foreign gods and of idols (the first two of the ten commandments being correlative), contains no condemnation of images of Yahweh. The sweeping polemic against idolatry after 621 B. C. is to be explained by two factors: a misunderstanding of the real character of the religion of the Israelites in Canaan in the pre-exilic period, and a growing horror of heathenism. The religion of Canaan was regarded, after 621, as essentially idolatrous: the "high places" are said to contain images,[12] the baalim are confused with idols,[13] the Canaanites become habitual idolaters,[14] and the *asherah* (wooden post) is conceived as a goddess represented by images (Moore, *Judges*, pp. 86 f.). Even the priestly instruments of ancient Israel, the sacred box

[12] Lev. 26 30; Num. 33 52; Deut. 7 5; 12 3; Ez. 6 4, 6, 13; 44 10, 12; Mic. 5 12 f.; Ps. 78 58; 2 Chr. 33 19; 34 3, 4, 7.

[13] Hos. 2 10c; 11 2; cf. 1 Sam. 7 3 f.; 2 Ki. 11 18 (= 2 Chr. 23 17); 2 Chr. 24 7; 28 2.

[14] Num. 23 52; Deut. 7 25; 29 16; 2 Ki. 17 12; Mic. 1 7; Ps. 106 37 f.

and, probably, the teraphim, were mistaken for idols in post-exilic days.[15] By a similar process all religious practices of foreign nations were increasingly regarded as idolatrous, to the point that foreign gods were considered nothing more than mere objects of wood and stone.[16] The Assyrian cults which were introduced into Judah in the days of Ahaz and Manasseh were in general aniconic (Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* I, 236); later, however, such innovations were regarded as downright idolatry.[17] Heathenism and idolatry became thus synonymous terms; in fact, *'abodah zarah* (foreign worship) came to mean idolatrous worship. The caricatures of idolaters in Jer. 10 1–16 and especially in Is. 44 9–20 found many imitators, and some (like the author of the Epistle of Jeremiah) with notable literary skill. If these clever satires delighted the Jews and gave them a feeling of decided superiority over the gentiles, their biting irony was not the least of the reasons for the prevailing animosity against the Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman world.

Among the Greeks, some solitary thinkers, like Xenophanes, Heraclitus, and Zeno, derided and condemned the idols, as a

[15] Although in the ancient records the ark and the teraphim are sometimes called "elohim" (Gen. 31 30, 32; Judg. 18 24; 1 Sam. 4 7), there is no evidence that the apparatus used for divination included an image. By the substitution of "ephod" for "ark" in a number of passages, which Arnold has proved in his book entitled *Ephod and Ark*, the original meaning of the context was obscured, and the solid "ephod" came to be regarded as an idol (Judg. 8 27; 18—19). This Jewish misapprehension has been sanctioned by modern critics, and Wellhausen himself (*Prolegomena*[6], p. 184) adds to the confusion when he declares that the ark of Yahweh "was in ancient times an idol." Laban's teraphim are already regarded as idols in Gen. 35 2, 4 (cf. Jubilees 31 2; Josephus, *Antiq.* I, XIX, 9-11).

[16] On the identification of heathen gods with their idols, see Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, I, 80—96.

[17] For Ahaz, see 2 Chr. 28 2; for Manasseh, 2 Ki. 21 7, 11, 21; 2 Chr. 33 7, 15, 19, 22. Although no idols were mentioned in the Deuteronomistic account of the reforms of Josiah (2 Ki. 23), they were added by the Chronicler (2 Chr. 34 3, 4, 7), to whom we are also indebted for a fictitious description of the idolatry of Jehoash (2 Chr. 24 18) and of Amaziah (25 14).

result of philosophical speculations leading them to monotheism; but they made no lasting impression on the religion of the masses: polytheism and image-worship were rooted too deeply in the beliefs and practices of their contemporaries. In Israel, conversely, when the prophets proclaimed to their nation the unlimited power and the moral character of Yahweh, their message bore fruit. Their people was wicked, prone to seek the favor of other gods, and placed excessive trust in the efficacy of ritual and sacrifices, but it was not wholly unprepared for this religion of the spirit, for its only national god had never been pictured in the image of a serpent, of a bull, or even of a man.

ON THE TEXT OF EZEKIEL 7 5–14

JULIUS A. BEWER
UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

IN this notoriously difficult chapter there are a number of passages which have baffled the ingenuity of textual critics and exegetes. Some of the most perplexing ones are in vv. 7, 10, 11, 13, 14. An attempt at a fresh solution of them will be made in the following notes.

1. Ezek. 7 7b, 11b. For the reconstruction of the text of the first part of the chapter it is important to keep in mind that vv. 3–7 and vv. 8–12a are doublets. Not only vv. 3–4 and vv. 8–9 are doublets, but also vv. 5–7 and vv. 10–12a.

8 עתה מקרוב אשפך חמתי עליך	3 עתה הקץ עליך
וכליתי אפי בך	ושלחתי אפי בך
ושפטתיך כדרכיך	ושפטתיך כדרכיך
ונתתי עליך את כל־תועבותיך	ונתתי עליך את כל־תועבותיך
9 ולא־תחוס עיני	4 ולא־תחוס עיני עליך
ולא אחמול	ולא אחמול
כדרכיך עליך אתן	כי דרכיך עליך אתן
ותועבותיך בתוכך תהיין	ותועבותיך בתוכך תהיין
וידעתם כי אני יהוה מכה	וידעתם כי אני יהוה
	5 כה אמר יהוה
	רעה אחת רעה
	הנה באה 6 קץ בא בא הקץ
	הקיץ אליך
	הנה באה 7 באה הצפירה אליך
	יושב הארץ
10 הנה היום	
הנה באה יצאה הצפרה	
צץ המטה פרח הזדון	
11 החמס קם למטה־רשע	
לא מהם ולא מהמונם ולא	בא העת קרוב היום
מהמהם ולא נה בהם	
12 בא העת הגיע היום	מהומה ולא־הד הרים

This gives us the clue for the solution of the impossible reading קָרוֹב הַיּוֹם מְהוּמָה וְלֹא־הֵד הָרִים in v. 7b, which AV translates, "the day of trouble [!] is near, and not the sounding again of the mountains;" RV, "the day is near, *a day of* tumult, and not of joyful shouting upon the mountains." The difficulties of this text need not be enumerated here. There are variant readings of it in v. 11,

לֹא־מֵהֶם וְלֹא מֵהֲמוֹנָם
וְלֹא מֵהֶמְהָם וְלֹא־נֹהַ בָּהֶם

Unfortunately, these are also corrupt. AV translates them, "none of them *shall remain,* nor of their multitude, nor of any of theirs: neither *shall there be* wailing for them"; RV, "none of them *shall remain,* nor of their multitude, nor of their wealth: neither shall there be eminency among them"; RV margin, "not from them, nor from their multitude, nor from their wealth, neither shall there be wailing for them." The parallel in v. 7 as well as 𝔊 there and here show that there was originally only one pair of negative statements, not two. We have therefore in ולא מהמונם a variant of the preceding לא מהם and in ולא נה בהם a variant of ולא מהמהם. It is true, they all look so much alike that one might think at first that they are all variants of one single phrase. But we shall see that that would be a mistake. The pity of it is that they are all corrupt. The ancient Versions were also based on corrupt Hebrew texts, but in spite of this 𝔊 and Σ point the way to the original. The context speaks of the coming of the end, "the time is come, the day is near." 𝔊 translates the continuation in v. 7 *οὐ μετὰ θορύβων οὐδὲ μετὰ ὠδίνων*, in v. 11 *οὐ μετὰ θορύβου οὐδὲ μετὰ σπουδῆς*. The second is the important reading for us, "not with tumult nor with haste." In both cases 𝔊 has the negative with "tumult" and this is sustained by MT in v. 11. *Οὐδὲ μετὰ σπουδῆς* points to וְלֹא מַהֵר as the Hebrew text instead of ולא הד הרים in v. 7 and its variants in v. 11. But that does not fit here either, surely not with the negative, because the whole stress lies on the announcement that the day is near at hand. Σ omits quite logically the negative and reads, according to the translation

of Jerome, "festinationis." But this is due to the intelligence of the translator and not to be followed. Σ suggests the solution when he proceeds, "et non recrastinationis." This gives us the clue for the original reading of מהומה in v. 7 and of its variants in v. 11. It was וְלֹא מִתְמַהְמַהּ "it does not tarry," as is at once clear from a comparison of

ולא מהמהם

and

ולא מתמהמה.

Now we perceive also that *μετὰ σπουδῆς* in 𝔊 and Σ (𝔊 + *οὐδέ*) points to an original וְלֹא מְאַחֵר "nor does it delay" for ולא הד הרים and its variant in v. 11.

בא העת קרוב היום
לא מִתְמַהְמַהּ וְלֹא מְאַחֵר

The time is come, the day is near,
it does not tarry nor delay.

This fits into the context admirably, and it has moreover a fine parallel in Hab. 2 3:

אִם יִתְמַהְמַהּ חַכֵּה־לוֹ
כִּי־בֹא יָבֹא לֹא יְאַחֵר

If it tarry, wait for it,
for it will surely come, it will not delay.

The variant of לֹא מְאַחֵר in v. 11 is לא מהם, for which ולא מהמונם is an attempted correction. It will be noted that the order differs in v. 11 from that of v. 7, but that is after all a minor matter. Σ has "festinationis et non recrastinationis" in this order in v. 7. The order of vv. 11 b–12 a α differs also from its parallel v. 7. Read therefore in v. 11 לֹא מְאַחֵר וְלֹא מִתְמַהְמַהּ.

2. Ezek. 7 5–7 a. We note again variant readings,

5 הִנֵּה בָּאָה 6 קֵץ בָּא בָּא הַקֵּץ הֵקִיץ אֵלַיִךְ
הִנֵּה בָּאָה 7 בָּאָה הַצְּפִירָה אֵלַיִךְ

In MT הנה באה in v. 5 is taken with the preceding, but it belongs most probably with v. 6 and read originally, with different separation of the consonants, הִנֵּה בָּא הַקֵּץ. The

reading קץ בא, the indeterminate noun with the verb following, is almost certainly wrong; the parallel in v. 2 is not right either. The correct reading follows, בָּא הַקֵּץ. One בא in v. 6 is due to dittography, and the text must read הנה בא הקץ הנה בא הקץ, or rather הנה בא הקץ, for the second בא הקץ appears to be merely the correction of the first.

In addition, it is significant to observe that 𝔊 has simply בא הקץ [הנה] for v. 6b and the first two words of v. 7. This fortifies the belief that

הנה בא הקץ הקיץ אליך
הנה באה באה הצפירה אליך

are variants. It appears certain, moreover, that הקיץ is a variant of הקץ, and that it was meant by the insertor not as a verb הֵקִיץ, as MT takes it = "it awaketh" RV, but as a noun הַקַּיִץ = "the summer" or "the summer harvest." We find it similarly as a parallel to הַקֵּץ in Am. 8 1, 2, which passage may have been in the mind of the annotator. If this reading הַקַּיִץ has been recognized correctly, we have gained also the key for unlocking the mystery of הצפירה. It is agreed that the various renderings, "thy doom," "the turn," "the crowning time" (RV text and margin). "morning" (AV) are untenable. Since the line הנה באה הצפירה—one באה is to be omitted as due to dittography—is parallel to הנה בא הקץ, we are led to believe that in הצפירה there was originally an expression directly parallel to הַקַּיִץ, and that can hardly have been anything else than הַבָּצִיר "the vintage," cf. Jer. 48 32; Mic. 7 1. The text should then be interpreted according to the annotator:

הנה בא הַקַּיִץ
הנה בא הַבָּצִיר

Behold, the fruit harvest comes,
behold, the vintage comes!

Of course, this is to be taken in a figurative sense for the final judgment. This is quite interesting and suggestive, but it was not the original meaning of Ezekiel. 𝔊 shows that the original text had nothing else but

הנה בא הַקֵּץ.

All the rest is secondary. And this must be maintained whether the explanation of the origin of the reading of הצפירה, which has just been given, is correct or not.

3. Ezek. 7 10, 11 a. The parallel to vv. 5–7 in v. 10 a supports, to my mind, the correctness of the explanation of הצפירה. It reads

הנה באה יצאה הצפרה.

That this is corrupt is apparent. Quite apart from הצפרה, the two unconnected verbs show it. But with the help of vv. 6, 7 we can now restore it:

הנה באה יצאה הצפרה
הִנֵּה בָּא הַקֵּץ בָּא הַבָּצִיר

The article of הקץ had wrongly been joined to בא, cf. vv. 5, 6; the ק of הקיץ had been accidentally omitted, also the ב of the following בא, and the words have then been joined as well as possible. Moreover, the article of הבציר had been written twice, once it was added to בא; and הבציר had been corrupted to הצפרה, the final ה belonged originally to the following word, as we shall see below.

Here in v. 10 𝔊 has again as in vv. 6, 7 simply הנה בא הַקֵּץ, showing that our reconstruction of באה יצאה is correct. 𝔊 does not have [בֵּ]אה הצפרה here either, which is a strong witness of its secondary character.

But 𝔊 did have the rest of v. 10 b and v. 11 a and that is very significant, for these verses are connected with the variant reading הַקִּיץ for הַקֵּץ. They speak of the blossoming, budding and growing of violence, pride and wickedness and thus naturally suggest the harvest. The text is here again not certain. For צָץ we should probably read הֵצִיץ (Jahn), since the Hiph'il is the ordinary form of the verb (Ges.-Buhl); the ה had been joined to the preceding when הבציר was corrupted to הצפרה. Since פָּרַח הַזָּדון is parallel to הֵצִיץ המטה, it is clear that המטה cannot be pointed correctly in MT as הַמַּטֶּה "the rod," for that is not a real parallel. We should probably point הַמַּטֶּה as in Ezek. 9 9. הֶחָמָס appears to be secondary from its very position in v. 11. It was originally in the margin, where it was intended to suggest the meaning (and reading) of

המטה, cf. the strict parallel of 9 9 in 7 23 where חָמָס takes the place of מַטֶּה. In קם למטה רשע the subject must be רשע, if we are to follow the analogy of the preceding, and this suggests also that the article in הרשע was probably omitted by haplography. We should therefore read: קָם לְמַטֵּה הָרֶשַׁע. This brings it into line with the rest of the passage.

Perverted justice has blossomed,
pride has budded,
wickedness has risen up into a rod.

In the parallel to vv. 10–12 a which we have in v. 7 this whole passage of the blossoming, budding and growing of iniquity is wanting. Was it really an original part of the chapter? We saw that הקיץ and הנה בא הבציר were not original parts of vv. 6, 7, as 𝔊 shows, which has them neither in vv. 6, 7 nor in v. 10. They must have come into vv. 6, 7 in MT from v. 10. V. 11 b connects directly with v. 10 a.

10 a Behold, the day! Behold, the end has come!
10 b Perverted justice has blossomed,
pride has budded,
11 a wickedness has risen up into a rod.
It does not tarry nor delay.
12 a The time has come, the day has drawn near.

It is most likely that vv. 10 b, 11 a are a later insertion which interrupts the context.[1] They are rather unusual, poetic in form and expression, and may be a quotation from somewhere.

4. Ezek. 7 12–14. The same line occurs three times in these verses,

כִּי חָרוֹן אֶל־כָּל־הֲמוֹנָהּ v. 12 b
כִּי חָזוֹן אֶל־כָּל־הֲמוֹנָהּ v. 13 b
כִּי חֲרוֹנִי אֶל־כָּל־הֲמוֹנָהּ v. 14 b

They were, of course, originally all alike, and it is obvious that חָזוֹן in v. 13 b must be changed to חָרוֹן. Strangely enough, 𝔊^{B} omits the sentence in all instances, and that makes its

[1] If the order of v. 11 b and v. 12 a were as in v. 7, this argument would not be so strong.

originality very doubtful. But we shall see below that it is a genuine part of v. 14. There it fits very well, and there even 𝔊 witnesses for it, if we see it aright. From there it was introduced later into vv. 13, 14.

In v. 13 we note two variant readings:

לֹא יָשׁוּב וְעוֹד בַּחַיִּים חַיָּתָם
לֹא יָשׁוּב וְאִישׁ בַּעֲוֹנוֹ חַיָּתוֹ

𝔊 has only the second, reading however בְּעֵינוֹ instead of בַּעֲוֹנוֹ. In this MT and 𝔊 are both wrong, for their readings do not make good sense, not even MT "and they shall strengthen themselves each in (*or* by) his iniquity with respect to his life." As the variant reading shows, בעונו or בעינו was originally בְּעוֹד, or if it was בְּעוֹדֶנּוּ it must have been followed by חַי instead of חַיָּתוֹ, = "each as long as he lives." That is also the meaning of the variant וְעוֹד בַּחַיִּים חַיָּתָם which originally must have read וְעוֹד בַּחַיִּים הֱיֹתָם (Ehrlich) "as long as they are still alive," or בחיים and חיתם must be regarded as variants. So far we have then this:

Let not the buyer rejoice,
nor the seller mourn,
for the seller shall not return to that which is sold,
not[2] one as long as he lives.

We expect now in the following some elaboration of "let not the buyer rejoice" parallel to the elaboration on the seller. Cornill saw this long ago and suggested והקונה בקנין כספו לא יחזיק "and the buyer shall not keep that which he bought for his money" as the original reading instead of ואיש בעונו חיתו לא יתחזקו. The reading לֹא יַחֲזִיק for לא יתחזקו is that of 𝔊 and is therefore well supported. But to regard והקונה בקנין כספו as the original of ואיש בעונו חיתו is very difficult for graphical reasons. And yet Cornill was on the right track, only he should have looked for the corrupt text in the following תקעו בתקוע and not in the preceding. Strangely enough, Cornill kept this as a sound text. But it seems quite clear

2 The force of the negative holds over from the preceding.

that v. 14 as it stands cannot be right, for it does not fit into the context, either in the reading of MT, "they have blown the trumpet, and have made all ready; but none goeth to the battle, for my wrath is upon all the multitude thereof" (RV) or in the reading of Cornill, "Blaset nur und rüstet nur [תִּקְעוּ תָקוּעַ וְהָכִינוּ הָכֵן]—es marschiert doch Niemand zum Gefecht, denn Grimm (lastet) auf all ihrem Gepränge." Cornill could have found here what he was looking for, because תקעו בתקוע was originally

הַקֹּנֶה בְּקִנְיָן

which together with the preceding וְלֹא יַחֲזִיק (𝔊) means, "the buyer shall not keep that which he bought."

In the rest of v. 14 we have again some variant readings. First of all

והכין הכל

and

ואין הלך.

𝔊 has only the first. The second is nothing but an attempted correction. Both readings are wrong. They were occasioned by the corrupted תקעו בתקוע which spoke of the alarm signal for war. The following למלחמה is also due to this misunderstanding. But what could possibly have been the original reading of the line? It is significant that 𝔊 does not have כי חרוני אל־כל־המונה, and yet it does not only fit here very well, but we need it in order to explain the intrusion of the clause in vv. 12, 13. Cornill's intuition was here again quite right, when he called attention to this. But he did not see that it was originally also in the Hebrew text that underlay the text of 𝔊. As one looks more closely at it, one discovers that it is the correct variant reading of the corrupt

והכין הכל למלחמה
חָרוֹן אֶל־כָּל־הֲמוֹנָהּ

𝔊 has only the one (corrupt) reading, MT has also the correct one side by side with the other.

Vv. 12–14 read therefore originally:

Let not the buyer rejoice,
nor the seller mourn,
for the seller shall not return to that which is sold,
not one as long as he lives.
Nor shall the buyer keep that which he bought,
for (my) wrath is upon all its multitude.

The suffix in הֲמוֹנָהּ refers to the land.

MESSIANIC PREDICTIONS

GEORGE R. BERRY
COLGATE UNIVERSITY

THE words Messiah and Messianic are defined in several ways, and correctly so, when the variety of usage is considered. I am using the term Messianic prediction here as meaning any prediction of the coming of a future Davidic king or line of kings. It is a possibility that the usage might be extended beyond the line of David, but there is probably only one passage in the Old Testament where that might be the meaning.

The question of authorship in the Messianic passages of the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel is one on which there is still much difference of opinion. I put all these after the exile. The most important Messianic passages in Isaiah are 9 1–6 (Eng. 2–7), and 11 1–5. Historically considered, these do not fit into any period in the life of Isaiah. In thought, they contemplate a rebuilding of the nation much more comprehensive than is found in the genuine utterances of Isaiah. Also, and this is a matter of no little importance, if spoken by Isaiah it is very strange that these predictions had no influence on the thought of later writers. The presentation of the rebuilding of the nation in the genuine utterances of Jeremiah is rather undeveloped, so that the Messianic predictions of the book of Jeremiah are not fully in accord with the thought of Jeremiah himself; they are also quite out of accord with his style. The Messianic passages in Ezekiel seem to be secondary, they are additions not fully in harmony with the immediate context.[1] This question of dating, obviously, affects

[1] This is especially urged by Hölscher, *Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch*.

very much the conclusions reached concerning the development of Messianic thought. Such views as those of Aytoun[2] rest upon a considerably different idea of the dating.

The prediction of the perpetuity of the Davidic dynasty, 2 Sam. 7 12, 14–16, which is the foundation of Messianic prediction, was probably in existence in a written form before the exile, or perhaps written during the exile. It seems best to call this the foundation of Messianic prediction, although it might be possible to use the term Messianic concerning it, although in a very broad sense.

Aside from this passage in 2 Sam., there are no Messianic predictions till after the exile. Some expressions of the prophets before the exile, in fact, are somewhat hostile to the Messianic idea. Isaiah speaks unfavorably of the house of David, 7 13, although the expression is too general to have much significance in this connection. Jeremiah's expressions are stronger and suggest the rejection of the idea of the perpetuity of the Davidic dynasty. In 13 13–14 Jeremiah specifically includes "the kings that sit upon David's throne" among those who are to be destroyed. In ch. 22 the perpetuity of the Davidic dynasty is made conditional, this being dependent upon the acts of the kings, see especially vv. 3–6, the alternative, which was evidently expected, being destruction. The pronouncement upon Jehoiachin does not necessarily mean a final end of the Davidic line, but it suggests it, 22 30: "Thus saith Yahweh, Write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days; for no more shall a man of his seed prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling in Judah." It may be a result of this teaching of Jeremiah that there are no Messianic predictions from the exile. In Deutero-Isaiah, in fact, the promise to David, if already in existence, seems to be transferred to the people, 55 3: "I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David."

Thus the earliest Messianic predictions are those of Haggai and Zechariah. It is evident that these are based on the

2 "Rise and Fall of the 'Messianic' Hope in the Sixth Century," *JBL*, xxxix (1920), pp. 24—43.

passage in 2 Sam., being doubtless also prompted by the strategic position which Zerubbabel seemed to occupy, as well as by the weakness of the Persian empire at that time. The disappointment in this case must have discouraged similar predictions, but inevitably they revived again on the basis of the passage in 2 Sam.

After the exile, there are no Messianic predictions in Malachi, Trito-Isaiah, Obadiah, Joel, the Apocalypse of Isaiah, and Daniel, as well as in other small portions. The other principal productions of the postexilic period have Messianic elements. The principal ones, in the order in which I should arrange them, are: the Messianic addition to Amos, 9 11; that to Hosea, 3 5; the Messianic passages in Jeremiah; those in Ezekiel, all these probably from the Persian period. From the Greek period, Zech. 9 9–10; Mic. 5 2–5 a; Is. 9 1–6 (Eng. 2–7); 11 1–5. The predictions of the exile and after the exile which are not Messianic are theocratic, they forecast the direct activity of Yahweh in behalf of Israel. In the aggregate, the theocratic passages are much more extensive than the Messianic.[3]

The Messianic passages themselves are ordinarily more theocratic than Messianic, the principal activity is Yahweh's, the Messianic king being a figurehead. The work of deliverance and rebuilding of the nation belongs to Yahweh; after that is accomplished the Messianic king is put on the throne and attends to the administration of affairs. Is. 9 1–6 (Eng. 2–7) and 11 1–5, which present the most fully developed picture of the Messianic king, will be discussed separately at a later point, but it is to be noted that in 9 1–6 (Eng. 2–7) the work of deliverance belongs to Yahweh, while 11 1–5 makes no mention of deliverance.

The ordinary representation in the Messianic predictions is

[3] The complete chronological arrangement of the Messianic passages which I favor is as follows. From the Persian period: Hag. 2 23; Zech. 3 8; 4 6-10; 6 9-13; Amos 9 11; Hos. 3 5; Jer. 23 5-6; 30 9; 33 14-26 (especially vv. 15, 17, 21-22, 26); 17 25; 22 4; Ez. 17 22-24; 21 27; 34 23-24; 37 24-25; Is. 16 5; 32 1. From the Greek period: Zech. 9 9-10; Mic. 5 2-5 a; Is. 9 1-6 (Eng. 2-7); 11 1-5, 10.

dynastic. It is often thought that there are two quite distinct classes of Messianic predictions, the dynastic and the individual. It seems to me, however, that with the possible exception of Is. 9 1–6 (Eng. 2–7) and 11 1–5, all these predictions should be considered dynastic. In none of them is the dynastic meaning inappropriate, and it is, of course, evident in many cases, especially from the frequent use of the term "David" as descriptive of the Messiah, doubtless to be understood as metonymy, meaning a descendant of David, and from such descriptive phrases as "for ever" in Ez. 37 25. This dynastic expectation is reflected in Ps. 89 and 132, the former probably belonging in or near the exile, and the latter considerably later.

Is. 9 1–6 (Eng. 2–7) and 11 1–5 are the most elaborate of all the Messianic representations and need somewhat more detailed consideration.

In Is. 9 5 (Eng. 6) the phrases translated "mighty god, everlasting father, prince of peace," are wanting in the Vatican manuscript of the Sept., and in other manuscripts. They are very peculiar; the last phrase שַׂר שָׁלוֹם is a combination of the Hebrew words without precedent elsewhere. Although it is denied by some, the phrases obviously describe a divine being. This is a feature which is without analogy elsewhere in the Old Testament Messianic predictions, being found first in the "Parables" of the Book of Enoch, ch. 37—71, of the probable date of 94—64 B. C. These reasons seem sufficient for denying the genuineness of the phrases and regarding them as later additions, the additions being made, perhaps, for dogmatic reasons, at about the time of the "Parables" of Enoch. With these phrases removed, the picture is still somewhat ideal, the phrase "wonderful counsellor" being similar to language used elsewhere of God, Is. 28 29 (not by Isaiah), although not in itself indicating divinity. The translation of v. 6 (Eng. 7), with an obvious correction of text, should be, with Gray (ICC): "Great is the dominion, and endless is the peace, upon the throne of David and throughout his dominion," this being dynastic rather than individual. This phraseology does not directly ascribe Davidic descent to the Messiah, neither does

it forbid it; this is, according to my view, the only Messianic passage in the Old Testament in which there is any doubt of the Davidic descent. This passage, as here interpreted, although somewhat ideal, is not materially out of harmony with the other Old Testament Messianic predictions.

In Is. 11 1–5 the picture of the Messianic king is considerably idealized. The thought centres about the figure of the king, the people being quite overshadowed by his personality. It is implied, to be sure, that the time in mind in the forecast is to be a period of general prosperity for the people, but this idea is not developed in detail. This is the only representation of the Messianic king in the Old Testament in which he is to be actually the central figure in the picture. Here also, however, the qualities of the Messianic king are to be his because he is inspired by the spirit of Yahweh. He is to be essentially a judge, exhibiting perfect justice. The people under his administration are to be righteous, inasmuch as the wicked are to be destroyed out of the kingdom. This destruction is apparently to be understood as miraculous, by the utterance of the word of power, the only miraculous act of the Messiah in the Old Testament. This passage thus suggests a measure of individual emphasis upon the figure of the Messiah, it being the only Messianic prediction in which this is the case.

The discussion may be thus summarized. The Messianic predictions all belong after the exile. They are much less numerous in that period than the theocratic predictions, the dominating thought being thus theocratic. The dominance of the theocratic element is also found, expressly or by implication, in all the Messianic passages except Is. 11 1–5. All are clearly dynastic except Is. 11 1–5, and that is not out of accord with the dynastic idea, although the personality of the Messiah as an individual is somewhat emphasized. They are thus based upon 2 Sam. 7 12, 14–16, and are principally a reaffirmation of that passage. The Messianic king is thus a figurehead, added to complete the picture of the rebuilding of the nation, regarded as a needed detail by some of the prophets, and not by others. He has thus only a subordinate importance in the presentation of the ideal of the future of Israel. The ideal with which his

figure is connected is always that of the material kingdom, the passages with a distinctly higher spiritual ideal have no Messianic references. His figure is introduced principally because of 2 Sam. 7, and also, in the later prophets, because this prophetic tradition has been formed. His figure is unreal, it is literary rather than historical, it is not related to historical conditions and does not arise from special historical circumstances. Messianic prediction, therefore, when considered from the standpoint of Old Testament interpretation, has a significance much less than that which is usually assigned to it. Is. 11 1–5 is in some measure an exception in that the Messiah is somewhat individualized and idealized. This, probably the latest Old Testament passage, thus reflects the late apocalyptic tendency and forms a transition to the Messianic elements in the non-canonical apocalyptic literature of a century and a half before Christ.

MOSLEM AND CHRISTIAN POLEMIC

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH
UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

AT the outset of the modern missionary enterprise it was thought that the missionary's work was simply to preach the Gospel in the form in which it was accepted by the Protestant churches. The method had some successes, especially with the heathen who 'bowed down to wood and stone.' In contact with the more advanced religions the problem became more difficult. Moslem thinkers were ready to debate the claims of Christianity and controversy arose. The two religions had much in common. Each affirmed the divine unity, the fact of revelation, an inspired law. Because of this agreement, however, the controversy did not become less acute. And reviewing the course of history we may say that the debate lasted through twelve centuries. To the historian of human thought it may be of interest to sketch its main features.

The beginning was made by Muhammad himself. He was convinced that his revelation was in substance the same that was given to the earlier prophets, and recorded in Law and Gospel. His knowledge of the Bible was imperfect however, and when he came into closer contact with the Jews at Medina it was easy for them to point out the irreconcilability of his claim with the book in their hands. He retorted by saying that they had corrupted the revelation. This was the first specific charge which he made, and it has passed current among the Moslems to this day. The same charge was made against the Christians, though here the chief point of attack was the doctrine of the Trinity. Much of the

Gospel story appealed to Muhammad and he adopted it. The Qur'an gives an account of the Annunciation, and affirms that Jesus was the Messiah and the Word of God, as well as a spirit from him. Muhammad had no doubt of the miracles, but denied that Jesus had been crucified, alleging that he had been taken to heaven, to live in the presence of God until the last great day. Apparently when he adopted so much of Christian teaching he had no knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity. When he discovered that the Christians affirmed three persons in the Godhead it seemed to him to be a denial of the Unity on which he laid so much stress. Against this he reacted sharply. One of the fundamental texts of the Qur'an is: "Say! He is One God; He begets not and is not begotten, and there is none equal to Him." More direct against the Christians is: "People of the Book! Do not go beyond due bounds in your religion; say of God only what is true. Jesus is the Messiah; the son of Mary, an Apostle of God and his Word which he made to descend upon Mary, and a spirit from him. Believe in God therefore and his Apostles, and do not say: *Three.* God is one; far be it from him to have a son. To him belongs what is in heaven and what is on earth and God is all-sufficient as a Guardian. The Messiah did not disdain to be a servant of God, nor do the angels who come near the throne" (Qur'an 4, 169 f.). In another passage we are told that at the judgment Jesus will be asked whether he had commanded men to take him and his mother as Gods to which he replies with an emphatic negative.

Where Muhammad got his idea that Mary was the third member of the Trinity is a separate question, which we will not attempt to answer here. What I am trying to show is that Muhammad joined issue with the Christians on the doctrine of the Trinity, which he regarded as Tritheism, and so furnished the subject of debate for the following centuries. His conception is made more clear by his declaration that if there were more than one God there would be a struggle for the supreme power, which would result in the destruction of the universe (17, 44).

The earliest Christian writer to take up the challenge so far as we know was the well-known John of Damascus. Born in what was the seat of the early Caliphate, and son of an officer of the court, he was of course well acquainted with the new religion. Apparently he did not think the foe worthy of great effort. His refutation is a chapter of his book on heresies, and that book is only a part of his treatise on Christian doctrine. Islam is one of about a hundred heresies to which he gives attention. His temper is made clear by the sentence: "Now flourishes the seducer of the people, the superstition of the Ishmaelite, forerunner of the Antichrist." The cultivated citizen of Damascus, trained in Greek philosophy, looked upon the Arab invaders as barbarians and upon their alleged prophet as an impostor. He turns the Moslem tradition of the monk Bahira against its narrator, and affirms that the false prophet got his knowledge from an Arian (therefore heretical) monk. The subject in which John was most interested was the person of Christ, for this was the point on which discussion was most active among eastern Christians. Since Muhammad admits that Jesus was the Word of God and the Spirit of God he virtually admits the doctrine of the Trinity. Word and spirit of man are part of the man—Jesus as Word and Spirit of God must be in God and therefore divine. Such is the argument.

As to the claims of Muhammad that he was a prophet, John affirms that he brings no witnesses. This means that he did no miracles. Muhammad's own confession on this point is well known. Next we have Muhammad's moral character brought under inspection. Here it was easy to show that his conduct fell short of the highest standard. The instance quoted is his treatment of his adopted son Zeid—taking his wife, and then justifying himself by a special revelation. To the accusation that the Christians are idolaters because of the reverence they pay to the cross, John replies by a *Tu quoque*, meaning that the devotion to the sacred stone at Mecca is at least no better.

Among the works attributed to John is a dialogue between a Saracen and a Christian. It repeats the argument about

word and spirit. Its chief interest is the testimony it gives that theological questions were debated between adherents of the different faiths—in this period that is. Later the lines were more strictly drawn. The only other topic discussed in this document is the perennial question of predestination and free will. But into this we need not go.

Neither this essay nor John's discussion can have made much impression on Moslems. John's argument was in fact not intended to convert Moslems. Its purpose was to strengthen the faith of Christians. Certainly his attack on the character of Muhammad would arouse anger rather than produce conviction. The career of the Prophet seemed to his professed followers to show evident marks of the divine approval. How else could a poor unfriended preacher, obliged to flee his native city to escape assassination, have come to be the virtual ruler of all Arabia? And how else could his doctrine have spread so rapidly over some of the fairest regions of the earth? Such palpable arguments needed no training in metaphysics for their comprehension, and such arguments no doubt prevailed over many Jews and Christians and led them to embrace the new religion. If Muhammad's polygamy was held up to reprobation the ready answer was that David and Solomon—both of them saints according to Christian as well as Jewish authorities—had set the example. The assertion that Muhammad had received instruction from a Christian monk was met by the statement that the Christian monk had simply recognized in him the one for whom Christians were hoping. And the assaults on the character of their leader was met by the Moslems with a mass of traditions magnifying not only his moral qualities but ascribing to him more miracles than Moses or Jesus had performed.

If this part of the attack was effectively met, the same may be said of the objections urged against the Qur'an. We must remember the place which the alleged book of God has in the minds of believers. From the first it has been a book of the people. To recite some part of it in the five daily prayers is the duty of every Moslem; to read it through once a month and to have it recited on special

holidays is a meritorious act dear to the heart of the devout; it is the text-book of the schools from the primary grade up to the university. It is not only a classic for the literary man; it is sacred history, a book of devotion, a code of ethics and etiquette, the supreme law of the land in every Moslem community. In the view of the orthodox Moslem a learned man is one learned in this book. If the caviller points out its inconsistencies with the older revelations the answer is ready, alleging that as the Gospel abrogated the Torah so the revelation given to Muhammad superseded some parts of the Bible. Moreover Muhammad had declared that Jews and Christians had corrupted their sacred book and it was safer to assume that he knew.

If I may say so, the untrained observer would find it easier to discover the marks of divinity in the Qur'an than in the Bible. For one thing the Qur'an is all of a piece. The very monotony of the book which makes it so wearisome to us argues for its unity, whereas the Bible is made up of a great variety of documents, evidently by different authors. To this must be added that throughout the Qur'an Allah is *ex professo* the speaker, whereas he rarely takes the word himself in either Hebrew or Greek Scripture. To the unlearned reader the book commends itself by these obvious features, and the learned class by their whole training are the apologists for it. Muhammad himself claimed that the book was a miracle, and boldly challenged men and demons to produce a single verse that could be placed on a parallel with it. In the opinion of the orthodox this challenge has never been met. To allege that the language or the content is faulty simply provokes indignation at the bold blasphemer.

It was not the attack of the Christian theologians which caused discussion among Moslem inquirers, but the speculations of Greek philosophers. Their works translated into Arabic started the inquiry whether the Moslem doctrines were consistent with reason. The resulting discussion belongs in the history of Arabic thought. Suffice it to say that the rise of a school of free-thinkers only provoked a more rigid orthodoxy in the common people. The question most violently

debated concerned the Qur'an. The orthodox maintained that the original had existed from all eternity in the presence of Allah, written on a tablet of gold. The culmination was reached in the third century of the Moslem era, when the Caliph Al-Ma'mun took the liberal side, and decreed that no one should affirm the Qur'an to be uncreated. It is said that this Caliph presided at discussions between adherents of the different faiths, and that the participants agreed not to appeal to their sacred books but to argue on the ground of reason alone.

Ostensibly in this period is dated the so-called 'Apology of Al-Kindi,' translated by Sir William Muir under the title *The Beacon of Truth*. Whether the author hoped to give his work éclat by ascribing it to the philosopher Al-Kindi or whether there was a Christian of that name does not especially concern us. The work gives the Christian argument, and is in form a letter from a Christian to a Moslem friend who has invited him to change his faith. The author claims to be acquainted with the doctrines of the different Christian sects, having visited their convents and held discussions with their priests. Although he recognizes some good in them, especially in the Nestorians, he is convinced of the superiority of Islam. He therefore urges his friend to renounce the errors of his creed and embrace the faith of Abraham, their common ancestor. After describing the obligations imposed by the Muhammadan religion he promises the joys of heaven to the one who assumes those obligations, while the refusal will be punished by the pains of hell. Nor are the rewards wholly of the other world. In this life the believer will have the privilege of marrying four wives and of divorcing any that do not please him. Moreover, conversion will open the way to the court of the Caliph who has already formed a good opinion of the person addressed, and who will doubtless give him promotion.

The reply of the Christian is courteous in tone since he does not wish to give offence. In answer to the invitation to adopt the faith of Abraham he affirms that Abraham's first faith was idolatry, and that when he received the revel-

ation of the divine unity the promise was made not to Ishmael but to Isaac. The argument for the Trinity is in the conventional form and need not be quoted. New however is the particularity with which the life of Muhammad is treated. The alleged Prophet is held up as a freebooter who did not stop even at assassination when it suited his purpose. Examples of his weakness and hesitation are contrasted with the courage of Joshua and the divine help which rewarded it, as also with Moses' leadership at the Red Sea. The scandals of Muhammad's life are not spared, and the stories of his miracles are held up to ridicule. Criticism of the Qur'an follows, bolder than any we have yet met. The claim that it is unapproached in its perfection is denied. The story of a Nestorian monk who became the counselor of Muhammad and therefore the virtual author of the book, except such parts as were inserted by the Jews, is made much of. The Moslem's argument that conversion to Islam would bring worldly pleasure, honor, and emolument is turned against him, in that it is held to explain the success of the new religion. The Christian has never known a man turn from Christianity except from selfish motives. Here he might have quoted the testimony of Al-Ma'mun, who had openly declared that the converts in his own day were hypocrites, as were many in the time of Muhammad. As to the ceremonies obligatory in Islam the author finds them irrational and even idolatrous, and he quotes the saying attributed to Omar concerning the two sacred stones at Mecca: "I know that these stones can neither help nor harm; but I have seen the Prophet kiss them and so I do the same." The other rites of the pilgrimage are affirmed to be senseless, though defended by some as acts of worship. But the worship of God should be conducted not by foolish practices but by observances consonant with reason. Finally, as to the day of Judgment, our author looks forward to it with confidence, knowing that the judge will be the Lord Jesus, and that no one will need the intercession of Muhammad.

This work is a literary exercise rather than a copy of a letter really sent to a Moslem—at least one is inclined to

suspect so. But in any case it gives the arguments which have been used against Islam throughout the course of history. A similar work of about the same date is entitled: 'The Debate on Religion held before Abdur Rahman, Governor of Jerusalem.' We have already noted that such a debate was actually held before the Caliph, and it seems to be true that there was an Abdur Rahman governor of Jerusalem in this period. The persons who take part in the debate are the Governor himself, a Christian monk, a Jew, and a Moslem scholar. The Jew plays a very subordinate part, being introduced only to certify the genuineness of the Jewish Scriptures. The leading part is taken by the monk who has the testimony of the governor that he is a thorough master of the Arabic language. The verisimilitude of the scene is helped by the submissive language of the monk, who evidently fears the power of the governor. It takes repeated assurances of safe-conduct to induce him to enter on the argument. When at last he does this he shows thorough acquaintance, not only with his own Scriptures, but also with the Qur'an and with Muhammadan customs. The date of the document, which I know only from Vollers' translation (*Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschichte,* vol. 29) is thought to be the ninth century of our era — not far therefore from its ostensible date. The argument follows the lines now familiar to us. The Moslem accuses the Christian of worshipping three gods, and the Christian replies with a detailed argument for the Trinity and the Incarnation. The Moslem asserts and the Christian denies the authority of the Qur'an. He even attacks its integrity, intimating that it was interpolated after Muhammad's death by Othman and the notorious Haggag. Instead of Muhammad having brought about unity of religion he had made confusion, as is shown by the divisions among his followers. The Moslem brings up Muhammad's claim that he had been predicted by Jesus under the name of Ahmad. This gives occasion for the Christian to explain the work of the Holy Spirit (the Paraclete of the gospel passage). The Qur'an declaration that the Jews did not crucify Jesus is refuted, and the meaning of the death of Christ is explained.

The anthropomorphisms of the Bible are admitted, and paralleled by similar expressions in the Qur'an, and on the ground of declarations in his own book, the Moslem is forced to confess that Jesus is the only being that has been taken into the immediate presence of God, there to abide until the last day. Further, Jesus alone is sinless and the Moslem claim that this is true also of Muhammad is refuted by his own confession, that he was in need of forgiveness.

Evidence that this discussion is a work of the imagination is given by its concluding section. This tells that the monk when accused of worshipping the cross explains that the Christian reverence for the sacred symbol is parallel to the Moslem's devotion to the sacred stone at Mecca. The difference is that the Christian talisman is effective in defending those who depend upon it, whereas the Kaaba is powerless. To prove this a practical experiment is made. Learning that the governor has in prison a man condemned to death the monk asks to have him brought. He then takes a cup of poison and makes the sign of the cross over it, after which he drinks it and receives no harm. A similar cup has the name of the Moslem sacred object called over it and is handed to the criminal. No sooner does he drink it than he falls dead. To this demonstration another is added. The governor has a maid possessed by an evil spirit. The monk makes the sign of the cross on her forehead whereupon the demon cries out in pain, and when commanded in the name of Jesus he comes out of the woman, making his exit in the form of smoke from her toe. Similar stories are familiar to every reader of church history.

The examples I have given show the form which the Christian polemic took at a comparatively early date. And this form reappears down the whole course of history. Most of the treatises objurgate Muhammad and his book in the most violent manner. Fables about him were industriously circulated and apparently believed, whereas no terms were too bad to describe his 'filthy and obscene book.' It is unnecessary to quote these diatribes or to repeat the extravagant panegyrics which the Moslems opposed to them. The

most elaborate of the serious treatises on the Christian side is the *Refutatio Al-corani* published by Marracci in 1698, one which in the author's language 'lays the axe at the root of the Mohammedan superstition.' The work, which is one of genuine learning, is in two folio volumes, one containing the Qur'an in Arabic with a translation and quotations from Moslem authors, the other giving the refutation. It follows the general line which we have set forth in describing earlier treatises, but it is distinguished by more thorough discussion of Moslem theologians, among whom Ghazzali is chief. Ghazzali is the ablest defender of the doctrine, now thoroughly established among Moslems, that the Qur'an is eternal and uncreated. Marracci's reply is that if this were true it would destroy the divine unity on which Islam lays so much stress. To the Moslem statement that Christians base their doctrine of the Trinity on a single passage of Scripture Marracci opposes a large number of passages both from the Old Testament and the New. He naturally urges Apostolic tradition unanimously held by Christians. Taking the offensive he attacks the Moslem theory of abrogation. This theory, formulated by Muhammadan scholars, attempts to explain the discrepancies between various texts of the Qur'an. The book itself says: "Whatever verse We abrogate or cause thee to forget We will replace by another as good or better." The exigency which gave rise to this verse is easily imagined. The Prophet gave out his oracles at intervals through a period of more than twenty years. Since he trusted to memory, he did not always recall accurately what he had said on a particular occasion. The resulting discrepancies lie on the surface of the book, and give trouble to the commentators. Their inconsistency with the theory that the Book of Allah had existed from all eternity in a fixed text is lamely smoothed over by the theory of abrogation. The Moslem attempts to justify it by the abrogation of the Mosaic Law by Jesus. Marracci's reply is that while it is not unreasonable to suppose parts of an early revelation to be replaced by regulations issued some centuries later, the belief that abrogation took place within the limits of a single

volume, promulgated by the same man, is nothing less than absurd.

That there are mysteries in Christianity the author does not deny. The chief of these is the Trinity, to which he now returns. The Moslem has argued that Christians hypostatize the attributes of wisdom and life, and that to be consistent they should treat the other divine attributes in like manner. The question of the divine attributes had been warmly debated in the Moslem schools, and the danger of infringing on the divine unity by positing any attributes whatever had been emphasized. The Christian's reply is that we believe in the Unity just as firmly as do the Moslems. But we must see (he says) that as a man reflecting on himself forms an image of himself, so God in his knowledge of Himself forms an image of Himself which is the Word, the same that we call the Son. In like manner the Father and the Son by their mutual love produce the Holy Spirit which is the "*propensio seu inclinatio vitalis in essentiam amatam.*" As to the incarnation, it is not in itself absurd, since many Moslems have no difficulty in supposing that it took place in the case of Ali. The charge that Christians have mutilated the sacred text is thrown back upon those who make it, for some Moslems have gone so far as to change the reading of the verse: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee", making it read: "Thou art my Prophet, this day art thou begotten."

This sketch has not nearly exhausted the subject, but it shows what I had in mind. The interest of the writers in all these cases is not to convert the adversaries but to confirm the faith of believers. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Muhammadan danger was a real one. The Turks were threatening central Europe and wherever they went they made converts either by persuasion or by force. Hence the desire on the part of theologians both Catholic and Protestant to confirm the faith of Christians—Luther is an outstanding example. Without going into their essays we may notice one publication which brought both sides of the debate to the attention of the English reader. This is the

book entitled: 'Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism, by the Reverend Henry Martyn, and some of the most eminent Writers of Persia, Cambridge, 1824.' The documents in Persian were brought to England by the well-known missionary, and published (with English translations) after his death by S. Lee.

The editor in a long preface gives some account of the earlier stages of the controversy. Of most interest in this part is the work of Guadagnoli, which is said to be in every large library. This may be true of Europe but hardly so of this country. The outline given by Lee shows that the topics of discussion are the same which were treated in earlier days. As given by Guadagnoli they are: The divinity of Christ; The Incarnation; The authority of Sacred Scripture, and Muhammad's Legislation in the Qur'an. Naturally the Christian writer begins with the authority of Holy Scripture which he compares with the Qur'an to the disadvantage of the latter. The arguments for the genuineness and authority of the Bible are the ones current at the time.

Coming now to Henry Martyn we discover that he had asked a Moslem scholar to give the reasons which led him to believe in Muhammad as a prophet. The reply affirms (what the missionary also believed) that a prophet should be attested by a miracle. After the definition of a miracle comes the statement that the miracle vouchsafed to the Prophet was, as he himself declared, the Qur'an. How he came to this conclusion is plain to the historical inquirer. Challenged by his hearers to give proofs of his commission, and puzzled by the fact that he could work no marvels such as tradition ascribed to the older prophets, convinced also that his revelations came from above, he thought it was self-evidencing. And this is the ground taken by his defender. According to him the superiority of Muhammad's miracle was just its self-evidencing power. The fact that no one had ever produced a single line that can be brought into comparison with the sacred book would always be attestation of this miracle, whereas the witnesses of the ordinary wonders of the saints have all passed away, and the question might

be raised whether they were truthful and competent. Not that the Moslem accepts Muhammad's confession that he was not allowed to present other proofs of his mission. Far from it! Tradition credits him with from one thousand to over four thousand. But on this we need not dwell.

It is easy to see what the missionary has to reply to this argument. He must attack the character of the Qur'an. But such an attack upon a book which has a unique position in the heart of the believer is not likely to produce conviction. And the same may be said of criticism of Muhammad's actions, from the point of view of Christian ethics. The fact is that the popular view fixes the affections of the believer on his great leader and exemplar. A recent observer says that such a verse as the following: "My heart inclines to thee, O Apostle of Allah, but my back is heavy-laden with sins," brings tears to the eyes of the hearer. Another scholar, familiar with the popular literature of the Moslem community, tells us that in it Muhammad is endowed with the purity of Adam, the benevolence of Noah, the fidelity of Abraham, the eloquence of Ishmael, the patience of Jacob, the beauty of Joseph, the musical voice of David, the frugality of John the Baptist, and the nobility of Jesus. It is clear that where the affections are engaged by the picture drawn along these lines, mere rational argument will have little effect; that the learned whose whole study has been fixed upon Qur'an and Tradition are not likely to be convinced is equally plain.

ISAIAH 6 1–11

MORDECAI M. KAPLAN
JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA

ALL commentators both ancient and modern, without a dissenting voice, interpret the sixth chapter of Isaiah as a description of Isaiah's call to prophesy. That chapter is, accordingly, taken to be an autobiographical account of an experience which constituted Isaiah's inauguration as prophet. Despite such unanimity, however, I venture to suggest that, instead of being a description of Isaiah's call to prophesy, that chapter merely pictures the sense of despair which came over Isaiah in the course of his career.

Ḳimḥi suggests that the basis for regarding this vision as inaugural is verse 8, which reads: "And I heard the voice of the Lord, saying: 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' Then I said: 'Here am I; send me.'" On the assumption that 'to be sent' means to be appointed as prophet, the Tannaitic interpreters concluded that the sixth chapter was an account of Isaiah's call, and should therefore have been placed at the opening of the book (cf. *Mekilta,* Exod. 15 9). This is one of the many instances, they say, which prove that there is no chronological order in the arrangement of Scriptures. However true that principle is in the abstract, we cannot always follow the rabbinic exegetes in their application of it. For example, they maintain that the book of Leviticus should have opened with chapter 9, and that the book of Deuteronomy should have opened with chapter 29. Hence, we cannot accept any particular application of the principle as to the absence of chronological

arrangement without carefully examining the contents of the chapter in question. If we were to follow the suggestion of the Rabbis, we ought to treat Isaiah 50 4-7 as part of the 'call' to Isaiah to assume the task of prophecy (cf. *Wayyikra Rabba 10*).

The fact is that the passage which deals with the 'sending' of the prophet is in this instance not to be taken as having the significance of a 'call.' If it had that significance, the circumstances of the vision would have been altogether different. Isaiah would have been told directly by YHWH to go and prophesy. What we find is that YHWH calls for someone to volunteer, and that Isaiah says "Here am I, send me." That is hardly compatible with the conception of prophecy. Moses had to be urged to accept his mission. From the nature of Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's inaugural visions we gather that they too had to be urged to be prophets against their will. It seems that the prophet is usually conceived as undertaking his mission because God has chosen him and has commanded him to carry out a certain task, not because of his having undertaken that task of his own free will.

But the main reason for our finding the accepted interpretation of the sixth chapter untenable is that it does not read like a consecration oracle. From the inaugural visions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel we can tell what a consecration oracle should be like. Both of them are represented as being sent by God to warn Israel concerning the impending doom in the hope that some would repent, while others would, no doubt, continue in their rebellion against God. The former were to be encouraged, the latter to be fearlessly denounced. But no such message is given to Isaiah. Instead of a warning, he is commanded to go and harden the hearts of the people. That fact has given no small amount of trouble to the commentators. They have tried to overcome it in one of two ways: (1) Some of the medieval commentators interpret the message as commanding not that Isaiah should harden the people's hearts but that he should denounce them for being hardhearted. The verbs in vss. 9 and 10 which have

the form of an imperative are rendered as though they were in the imperfect tense, and thus made to have an indicative instead of a hortatory significance (*Targ. Jonath.*, Rashi and partly Ḳimḥi). (2) On the other hand, the modern commentators take the imperative force of those verbs literally. Hence, the meaning according to them is not merely that the people are deaf and hardhearted, but that the prophet should make them deaf and hardhearted. The prophet, realizing that YHWH, by issuing that command to him, makes of him an instrument of Israel's complete destruction, cries out: "How long, O Lord?" And the only answer which he receives is to the effect that he will have to keep on doing that until his people will be completely exterminated. In my opinion, such unqualified and irredeemable destruction could not have constituted the burden of an inaugural message.

The entire vision will assume an intelligible meaning if we will treat it as one that was experienced by Isaiah after he had been active as a prophet for some time. We can understand how, as a result of the failure of the people to heed the repeated call to repentance, the prophet would become convinced that they were doomed. Thus we find that Amos, in the course of his career, experienced a vision very similar to that recorded in Isaiah 6 1–11. "I saw the Lord standing beside the altar; and He said 'Smite the capitals, that the posts may shake; and break them in pieces on the head of all of them: and I will slay the residue of them with the sword . . . And I will set Mine eyes upon them for evil, and not for good" (Amos 9 1–4). The concluding phrase indicates the irrevocable character of the divine determination to destroy Israel.

Such prophecies of gloom could only have been uttered after repeated calls to repentance. The older conception of the prophet's function as that of urging the people to repent and obey the law of YHWH is undoubtedly correct. Though the recorded prophecies of Amos deal almost entirely with two themes, the sins of Israel and the impending doom, we cannot but surmise that Amos must have done much more

pleading in a constructive vein than is contained in the few verses in chapter 5. He certainly must have exhorted his contemporaries to repentance again and again as is evident from the refrain in Amos 4: "Yet ye have not returned unto Me, saith the Lord." There can be no question that the mission of both Jeremiah and Ezekiel was essentially to move Israel to repentance. This is borne out by their reiterated call to "return." That a prophet like Amos should be obsessed with the idea that Israel is beyond all possibility of redemption can be explained in one of two ways. Either all his efforts to get his people to repent proved to be futile, or he hated his people so intensely that the wish was father to the thought. The latter possibility is certainly out of the question. For we know that Amos loved his people with every fibre of his being. More than once does he cry out: "How shall Jacob stand! For he is small." Hence we must fall back upon the alternative that the futility of his reproofs was the cause of his obsession that Israel was doomed.

Isaiah's experience is analogous. He must have repeatedly called upon Israel to give up its evil ways. Appeals of the kind we read in chapter 1 no doubt preceded the vision recorded in chapter 6. Certainly such pleas as: "Wash you, wash you, make you clean, put away your evil doings from before mine eyes, etc.", or, "Come, now, let us reason together, saith the Lord. Tho your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow", are incompatible with the command that he prevent Israel from returning and being healed. Only to an occasional commentator does it occur that there is a violent incongruity between an inaugural mission of the kind we find in chapter 6 and the numerous calls to repentance. To explain away that incongruity, those commentators resort to a most ingenious but very far-fetched suggestion, namely, that Isaiah wrote down the contents of the sixth chapter many years after he became prophet. He accordingly put into his inaugural vision not what he had originally been told, but what he had come to experience as a result of his disappointment over Israel's callousness. But why all these *ad hoc* explanations to bolster up an untenable theory? All

difficulties disappear as soon as we learn to take the chapter in question not as an account of an inaugural vision, but of a heartbreaking experience that could have come only after many years of seemingly hopeless effort.

I venture to suggest that the phrase "In the year that king Uzziah died" is an editor's superscription for the purpose of giving to the entire chapter the significance of an inaugural vision. He too was, probably, misled by the eighth verse.

Fortunately, there is a vision recorded in another part of Scripture which is parallel in many essential respects to the one described in the sixth chapter of Isaiah, and which proves the interpretation we have suggested to be the correct one. That parallel is found in 1 K. 22. Let us study carefully that passage. At the suggestion of Jehoshaphat, Ahab consulted the prophets of YHWH to know the outcome of the battle of Ramoth Gilead. He gathered four hundred of the prophets and put the question to them. They replied: "Go up; for the Lord will deliver it unto the hand of the king." Jehoshaphat was not satisfied with that stereotyped reply. He wanted that the prophet to be consulted might be not one of the professional hirelings. He had heard of Micaiah, the son of Imlah, and he recommended him to Ahab. "But I hate him," added Ahab, "for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil." At Jehoshaphat's suggestion, Micaiah is called. At first Micaiah, to escape annoyance, takes up the conventional tune of "success to the expedition." Ahab, wishing to prove to Jehoshaphat that he had been right, succeeds in drawing out from Micaiah an evil prophecy. When Ahab exclaims: "Did I not tell thee that he would not prophesy good concerning me, but evil", Micaiah recounts a vision which presents so many points in common with the vision of Isaiah that there can be no question that both visions belong to the same type of prophetic thinking.

Thus, like Isaiah, Micaiah sees YHWH sitting on a throne. He also beholds YHWH surrounded by the host of heaven who stand near the throne after the manner of

courtiers of an earthly king. A second point of resemblance is that YHWH calls for someone to volunteer to carry out a work of destruction. There the one to be destroyed is Ahab. A third point of resemblance is the fact that the destruction is to be encompassed by putting a misleading idea into the mind of the guilty one. Ahab has to be led astray in order that he may meet the fate which YHWH has marked out for him.

The main point of difference is that in the vision of Micaiah one of the spirits undertakes to deceive Ahab by acting as a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets, whereas, in the case of Isaiah, Isaiah himself volunteers to carry out the task that YHWH may set before him. When Isaiah volunteers, he does not know the nature of the task with which he is to be entrusted. He is overwhelmed when he learns what he has to do, and he cries out: "How long?" He no doubt would have preferred to withdraw his promise to do the bidding of YHWH, but it is too late.

It is this point of difference that probably prevented the commentators from noting the fundamental resemblances between the two visions. In the light of those resemblances, the difference is merely one of situation. The essential character of the vision remains the same in both. The underlying motif in both visions is the despair of the prophet. This refusal to heed the prophet's words leads the prophet in both instances to one conclusion, namely, that YHWH Himself must have so hardened the hearts of those they appealed to that it is hopeless to try to get them to listen and take warning. This conclusion takes the form of a vision, in which YHWH actually asks some one to undertake the task of bringing about the ruin of those who had so long disregarded His words that they deserved no better fate. In the story of Ahab it is one of the spirits in the heavenly courts. In the account of Isaiah, it is Isaiah himself who is employed as an instrument of destruction. Far from being an inaugural vision, this oracle implies that Isaiah had long been active as a prophet. But in the course of his career he must have been overcome by a sense of futility of all his

efforts to wean Israel away from idolatry, entangling alliances, unrighteousness and impurity. It appeared to him as tho his very efforts only provoked Israel into sinning still more (cf. 1 5). What could be the meaning of this failure of Israel to respond to his pleadings? Can it be that YHWH would permit Israel to go on defying Him and flouting His will? No. There was but one explanation. YHWH Himself, seeing how irredeemably corrupt Israel had become, must have determined to destroy them and he, Isaiah, by being appointed as prophet, was in reality being employed by YHWH to provoke them into still more determined rebellion.

The suggested interpretation puts out of court the usual question, whether Isaiah really beheld such a scene as is described in the sixth chapter, or whether he really heard angels singing the "trisagion." Factually, the matter is to be conceived as follows: Whenever the prophet became possessed of an overpowering sentiment or belief with regard to Israel, he naturally ascribed that sentiment or belief to an external source, namely, God. Afflatus as merely a subjective or psychological condition was inconceivable to the ancient mind. Any striking idea, whether it dealt with some immediate personal concern or with some social problem, was always regarded by the ancients as inspired by some deity. Throughout the Bible, we find that the skill of the artisan and the wisdom of the sage were treated as emanating directly from God. It is to be expected, therefore, that any idea dealing with God's relation to Israel would naturally be assumed as emanating from God. Hence, when in a highly sensitized mind like that of Isaiah's, pessimism takes the form of a vision in which YHWH tells him to render his people even more callous, incorrigible, than they are, there was no doubt in either the prophet's mind or in the mind of any of his hearers that this was a divine communication.

That explanation is borne out even more fully by the case of Micaiah. Why did not Micaiah narrate his vision as soon as the question with regard to the fate of Ramoth Gilead was put to him by Ahab? The fact probably is that Micaiah, having anticipated Ahab's repudiation, brooded long

and intensely upon the obduracy of Ahab. It is of the nature of the imaginative mind to think in images. The activity of the false prophets took on, in his mind, the character of a divinely purposed means to Ahab's downfall. That notion became embodied in the concrete form of one of the spirits offering itself to delude the prophets. Accordingly, when Micaiah came before Ahab, he at first adopted the conventional attitude of wishing the king well. But when he was pressed for a genuine expression of what he considered to be the will of YHWH, he recalled his vision of despair. Thus the very fact of Micaiah having withheld the account of his vision until he was pressed to speak the truth proves its subjective and psychological character. It is inconceivable that he would have withheld it at first, had the vision had for him the same reality as any ordinarily objective experience. It is noteworthy that when Isaiah alludes to the false prophets he depicts them in terms which correspond with the general tenor of the command that he is given in the vision recorded in the sixth chapter. "Stupefy yourself, and be stupid! Blind yourselves and be blind! Ye that are drunken but not with wine, that stagger but not with strong drink. For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes, the prophets, and your heads, the seers, hath He covered" (Isaiah 29 9, 10).

The representation of YHWH both in Micaiah's and in Isaiah's vision as intentionally misleading and corrupting his victims is built upon a theological conception that antedated both prophets, and that may have functioned in their day more as a literary survival than as living belief. According to that theological conception, whenever a human being persists for some time in defying YHWH's will, YHWH purposely maneuvers that human being into a position where he must be destroyed. That is the theological conception underlying the account in Exodus of the way YHWH continually kept on "hardening the heart of Pharaoh", i. e., rendering him ever more stubborn. Similarly, we are told that YHWH made the sons of Eli refuse to heed their father's reproof, „because YHWH wished to slay them" (1 Sam. 2 25; cf. also

Ps. 18 27 b.) It is not likely that Isaiah accepted literally such a conception of YHWH. His sense of justice may even have rebelled against it. Yet in the heat of anger and disappointment, he would naturally fall into what was still the conventional mode of thought. Augmented by a powerful imagination, that conventional mode of thought was transformed into a vivid metaphor, so vivid as to become a genuine psychological experience.

THE NUMEN OF PENUEL

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

GEN. 32 23–33 has long been a *crux interpretum*. There are problems concerning the integrity of the text, the meaning of certain words, and the possible literary sources. But the chief difficulty has always been the character of the story. How is it to be understood? Many exegetes have regarded it as the record of an historic occurrence. Once a man by the name of Jacob wrestled with a god or angel, or dreamed that he struggled with such a being, or prayed so intensely that it seemed to him as if he were fighting, or described an inner moral conflict in terms of physical combat. A nomad chief called Jacob may indeed have lived in Palestine at some time during the Hyksos period (c. 1700—1580 B. C.). His longer name, Jacob-el, may have attached itself to a tribe or its habitat, since it occurs as *Y'qb'ar(l)a* in the list of localities, apparently in Central Palestine, conquered by Thutmosis III (1479—1447 B. C.).[1] He may have become deified after death, seeing that one of the later Hyksos kings, Jacob-her, 'Jacob is satisfied(?),' probably bears a name compounded with his, though the spelling is not quite the same on different scarabs.[2] Recent discoveries have again emphasized the fact

[1] W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 1893, 162 f. Cp. יפתח־אל, the name of a valley forming the boundary between Zebulon and Asher.

[2] S₃R'wśr R'Y'ḳb-hr, but also Y'bḳ-hr, Y'ḳp-hr, Yḳb-hr. Müller doubts that *hr* comes from *hri*, 'be contented.' W. F. Albright, *JBL*, XXXVII. 1918, 137, suggests that it is הר 'mountain.' The name of another Hyksos king, *'nt hrty*, makes this questionable. The meaning is

that Euhemerus was only guilty of a defective generalization. His pretended discovery of the island of Panchaea, where the Olympian gods once reigned as kings, is, of course, a fiction; and his theory is not capable of universal application. But it contains an important element of truth. Men have become gods, as gods have become men. The process of deification is as natural as the process of humanization. Kings of Egypt were worshipped as 'mighty gods' and 'good gods,' and Zoser's architect and grand vizier Imhotep was accorded divine honors after death. But cosmic powers like Re and Osiris were also thought of as kings once ruling over Egypt. In the lists of longlived rulers filling up the spaces of unrecorded history there may have been men as well as gods. In such lists from Babylonia, A. T. Clay[3] thought he found a group of actual kings of Erech, including Nimrod (EN MARDA), Gilgamesh and Tammuz. It would be rash to deny the possibility that a hero like Gilgamesh (Aelian's Gilgamos), in spite of the incredible regnal years, once ruled in Erech, even if Tammuz should prove to have been from the beginning a solar god especially worshipped there, whose name for some reason was introduced to eke out the list; and features borrowed from a solar myth cannot banish from history a Sargon of Agade or a Cyrus of Anshan. Emil Forrer[4] deems it probable that

uncertain. Albright regards Jacob as originally a weather and fertility god; and it would not be inappropriate to designate a storm-god as an El who pursues, follows on one's heels, overreaches. Hugo Gressmann, *ZATW*, 1910, 6, quotes a letter from Hermann Ranke in which this scholar mentions numerous South Arabian and Akkadian (or Amoritish) names consisting either of an Impf. and el, as Yaḥzar-el, or only of an Impf. with the mimation, as Yaḥzirum, concludes that the full names were יעקב־אל, יצחק־אל, and יוסף־אל, and stresses the circumstance that in the West Semitic names of the Hammurapi period the Impf. never designates a god. But Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 249 ff., has called attention to such divine names as Yaghuth and Yaʿūk, and יהוה obviously belongs to the same category. The valley of יפתח־אל was so called after the El who was supposed to have opened it. Jephthah is an abbreviated form of יפתח־אל, the El who opens (the womb).

[3] *JAOS*, XLI, 251 ff.

[4] *MDOG*, 63[7]; *OLZ*, XXXVII, 3, 1924, col. 113 ff.

Tawagalawas, king of *Aḫḫiyawa* (elsewhere *Aḫḫaiyawa*), who is also designated as king of *Ayawalas* in the inscriptions of the Hittite king Mursilis II (c. 1337—1312), is none else than Eteocles, the Aeolian; and that *Attarissiyas*, who fought with Maduwattas of Zippasla in Caria in the time of Tudḫaliyas III (c. 1263—1225) and Arnuwanda (c. 1225—1200), is Atreus, the father of Agamemnon. In spite of the worship of Zeus Agamemnon and the tomb at Amyclae,[5] Agamemnon may therefore have been the historical ruler of Mycenae who led the Achaeans against Priam of Troy. So far as the supposed original forms of the Achaean names are concerned, Wilhelm Schulze[6] finds nothing objectionable in these identifications, and Paul Haupt[7] has presented further reasons in support of them. Contemporary testimony may bring back to us once more the heroes of the Trojan War and some of their predecessors as the fascinating human personalities they long were supposed to be. The researches of Herbert J. Spinden[8] of the Peabody Museum, Harvard, have made it probable that the great Mexican god Quetzalcoatl was a Toltec king who conquered the Mayas of Chichen Itza c. 1191 A. D. But even if it were less hazardous than it still is to infer from the Egyptian allusions to Jacob that a Canaanitish or Aramaean chief by that name lived in Palestine in the 17th century B. C., a wrestling bout between this person and a god becomes not a whit more plausible, unless indeed this god can also be shown to have been at the time a human being. So far as the record goes, it is evident that, though he appears in the form of a man, he belongs to a different category.

Josephus speaks of Jacob as having had to do with a φάντασμα, an apparition, which made use of a voice and words (*Ant.* I, 331 ff., ed. Niese); and employs the same term in describing the divine beings encountered at Mahanaim (*ib.* I,

[5] Pausanias, III, 19, 6.

[6] Cp. Forrer, *OLZ*, col. 114.

[7] *American Journal of Philology*, XLV, 3, 1924, 252 ff.

[8] Paper read before the Anthropological Section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Washington, Jan. 2, 1925; reported in the *New York Times*, Jan. 3, 1925.

325). In view of the later reference to "a divine angel," θεῖον ἄγγελον, it looks as if he had purposely introduced the peculiar term to suggest a vision or a dream. For φάντασμα means 'ghost' (Mt. 14 26; Mk. 6 49); 'phantom' (Wisdom of Solomon, 17 4, 15); 'vision' (Job 20 8 חזיון). "A phantasma, or a hideous dream" says Brutus in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar (II, i, 73). In a very remarkable study of the psycho-physical basis of the nightmare (*der Alpentraum*), W. H. Roscher[9] interprets Jacob's experience as a case of incubation, induced by the obstruction of the organs of respiration, producing a vivid dream of a struggle like that of mortals with Pan Ephialtes in antiquity or of women with demons in the witchcraft period. There is no reason to doubt that such may be the origin of the nightmare, or that this explanation, upheld by eminent physicians, may throw light upon many obscure phenomena. But the assumption that something of this kind actually happened to Jacob, that he who alone knew what he had dreamed related the strange experience, and that thus the story found its way into one of the literary sources of Genesis is difficult to maintain.

Some students have thought that Jacob only engaged in a long and earnest prayer, as Jerome already supposed. This differs from the theory of a phantasma or violent disturbance in the condition of sleep; yet may be psychologically akin to it. It is not necessary to assume as wide a divergence as Umbreit,[10] following suggestions by earlier interpreters, did. In his reaction against the idea of a physical conflict with Almighty God, he was led to think of a prayer, like that of a modern Christian, involving meditation in the divine presence, confession of sin, desire for pardon and regeneration, and yearning for spiritual communion. Importunate prayer has not always had this character; the methods of prevailing in prayer have not always been the same. It is pertinent to remember the physical and mental excitement, the accompanying gestures

9 'Ephialtes' in *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Classe d. k. sächsischen Ges. d. Wissenschaften*, XX, no. 2, 1906.

10 *Studien und Kritiken*, 1848, 113 ff.

and violent acts. the objects, spirit, and procedure in some familiar instances. Hannah's behavior leads Eli to think that she is intoxicated; she is a woman of bitter soul, pleading for a child (1 Sam. 1 13 ff.). The prophets of Baal pray from morning till noon, dancing (פסחו) about the altar, cutting themselves after their fashion with swords and lances (1 Kings 18 26 ff.). Moses prays for the privilege of seeing Yahwe's face, and is allowed to see his back (Ex. 33 12 ff.); he rails against his god and begs Yahwe to kill him (Num. 11 11 ff.). Jacob pledges himself to worship the El of Bethel, if he will give him bread to eat and raiment to put on (Gen. 28 29). Appeals to the *amour propre* of the god, clamor for special favors, victory over enemies and material prosperity, threats and cajolery, fasting, weeping, dancing, repetition of formulas, imitative magic, beating of the image and self-mutilation are well-known methods and accessories of prayer. But there is no intimation in the text that Jacob remained behind to pray, that he sought to be heard for his much speaking, or that his limping was perchance due to a self-inflicted injury, any more than that he wrestled in prayer for spiritual blessings.

If it is supposed that Jacob, in telling the story, did not intend to describe an experience on his part involving physical activities and sufferings, but rather to relate a purely spiritual conflict in terms borrowed from the palestra or the pagan shrine, the element of supplication can be dropped and resort be had throughout to figurative language. This was done by Philo who interpreted the tale as an allegory, representing "not a struggle of the body but that in which the soul engages with its antagonists, fighting against the passions and the vices" (*Leg. alleg.* III, 190 ed. Cohn). Jacob's combatant was the Logos, ἄγγελος ὑπηρέτης τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος. (*De mut. nominum*, 87 ed. Wendland); his name Israel meant ὁρῶν τὸν θεὸν (*ib.* 81); it was his virtue, dwelling in a mortal body, that for a while became lame (*ib.* 187). Justin also thought that Jacob fought with the Logos (*Dial. c. Thryph.* 125 ed. Otto), though he understood Israel to mean: ἄνθρωπος νικῶν δύναμιν (*ib.* 121); and Clement of Alexandria held that the angel was the Logos, which had not yet appeared in the flesh, and therefore was

unknown by name (*Paed.* I, 7, 57, ed. Migne). There are indeed allegories in the Jewish scriptures, such as e. g. Ps. 80 9 ff., but the context clearly reveals their nature. Here the etymology, an important feature of allegoresis, is obviously impossible. Israel cannot be derived from איש ראה אל. The blow on the thigh and the tabu remain unexplained. To credit Jacob himself or an early narrator with knowledge of the Logos doctrine is an anachronism. A struggle between reason and the appetites may well be the most solemn and significant fact in human experience; but it can only be arbitrarily read into the text.

In view of these difficulties scholars generally recognize today that, whether Jacob is an historic person or not, the story is a piece of fiction. Even from this standpoint it would be possible to think of it as a dream or a prayer ascribed to Jacob. But dreams seem always to be labeled as such, and while the accounts of a prayer often have a setting that suggests an actual dialogue, there appears to be no analogy for a prayer described in this manner. Nor is there any allegory that even remotely resembles it. It is, therefore, natural that many interpreters look upon it as an aetiological myth. The purpose of such a myth is to explain the origin of a name, an institution, a ceremony, a custom, a condition, or a group of these that arouse the historic interest. The more it can account for, the better. In the present case, the questions to which answers were sought are clearly these: Why is Jacob called Israel? What is the origin of Penuel? How has Jabbok come to have this name? For what reason do the Israelites abstain from eating the 'sinew of the hip'? On these points the tale itself was sufficient to meet the immediate demands for knowledge. In the minds of those who have had the story before them other queries have arisen: Who was the mysterious stranger fighting with Jacob and what was the origin of his name? Why did he fall upon Jacob and why was he unable to defeat him? Why was he afraid of the dawn? Why did he strike Jacob's thigh? What did he mean by calling him Israel? Why did he refuse to give his own name? What was the blessing he conferred? What

was the actual origin of the name Penuel? What was the real reason for the peculiar tabu? What is the age of the myth and when was it committed to writing?

In the main the text appears to have been well preserved. Read ההוא for הוא in 23 (Kenn. 129, 152, 190; Sam.) and היבק for יבק (Sam.). We should probably also read אל for את. The two are often confused; in Hos. 12 5 אל should be corrected to את (Nowack, in Kittel, *Bib. Heb.*). Even without the אל it might have the same meaning, as in Jer. 2 10; Amos 5 5. Translate: "He arose that night . . . and passed on to the ford of the Jabbok." This restores order. In 24 add כל (Kenn. 173; Sam. G. L. Syr. Ar. Trg. 419 de Rossi). In 29 ועם אנשים should probably be omitted, and אל read for אלהים, and the text should read: שרית עם אל ותוכל, "thou hast fought with an El and prevailed." G has before him the present text, but looks for a parallelism and a promise: *ἐνίσχυας μετὰ θεοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατός.*[11] In 31 read פנואל, as in 32 (Kenn. 95, 129; Sam.). It was probably pronounced Phanuel. Josephus has *φανούηλος*; cp. also 1 Chron. 4 4; 8 25 G.; Luke 2 26; Par. En. 40 9; 71 8, 9. Early Semitic speech does not seem to have had the p-sound, as is still the case in Arabic; for Syriac, cp. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik,* pp. 9 f.; Greek transliterations suggest the same for Assyrian. In פנואל the old nominative ending has been preserved, as in שמואל, אבוגיל, מתושלח, עזרובעל; in פניאל, the genitive ending, as in אביהוד, אביגיל, מלכיצדק, חניבעל.

To those who have sought to discover the literary sources of Genesis the story has offered peculiar difficulties. Astruc ascribed it to his Memoir A. In this he was followed by Eichhorn, though he doubted that 23 and 24 came from the same author; Ilgen (to *Eliel harishon*), who assigned 23 to his *Elijah harishon;* and Tuch (*Grundschrift*). Knobel, Dillmann, Delitzsch, and Roscher assigned it to E. J has been preferred by Gramberg, De Wette, Hupfeld, Kuenen, Studer, Well-

[11] Jacob's cleverness in dealing with Laban and his prospects in dealing with Esau do not concern the numen of Penuel. אל in ישראל suggests שרית עם אל, just as פנואל suggests אל. Aquila renders this אל, *ἰσχυρός*; Justin, *δύναμις.*

hausen, Riehm, Westphal, Reuss, Moore, Bacon, Bissell, Driver, Wildeboer, Ball, Baudissin, Skinner, Kautzsch, Smend, Steuernagel, Procksch, Cornill, Sellin, and Eichrodt, though some of these scholars have given 24 and 30 to E and 33 to an editor or glossator. The usual criteria fail. Yahwe does not occur at all, not even on the lips of the renamed hero. Elohim is found everywhere, but in a way that would not be impossible even to a writer usually employing the name Yahwe. The words and phrases generally depended on by the analysts are not decisive.

A suggestion by W. Max Müller[12] has led to fresh efforts. He remarked in a footnote that "the main feature of the struggle, the dishonest wrestling trick of the Canaanitish Odysseus, to which his name is due, has been disguised, and the dislocation of the hip of the god foully brought to a fall has been transferred to Jacob." In the hands of Holzinger,[13] Luther,[14] Eduard Meyer,[15] Bennett,[16] Gunkel,[17] and Kittel,[18] this theory has served as a means for dividing the text between J and E. It is not always certain who the subject is when it is implied in a verbal form, or the object when expressed by a pronoun or pronominal suffix. So far as the language is concerned it would therefore be possible to understand 26 a as meaning: "He (Jacob) saw that he could not prevail over him (the man), and he (Jacob) touched the hollow of his (the man's) thigh."

In favor of this construction it is argued by Luther and Eduard Meyer that the wrestler's trick is in harmony with Jacob's character, that Jacob could not be said to have prevailed if he was the one disabled by his antagonist, that this is suggested by Hosea 12 5 where the angel weeps and begs for mercy, and that there is an analogy in Yahwe's falling

12 *Asien und Europa*, 1893, 163.
13 *Genesis*, 1898, 209 f.
14 *ZATW*, XXI, 65 ff.
15 *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 1906, 57.
16 *Genesis*, 1903, *ad loc.*
17 *Genesis*[3], 1910, 359 ff.
18 *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, 1912, 352.

upon Moses and the escape of Moses only through Zippora's touching certain parts of Yahwe with the foreskin of her son. But the wrestler of Penuel, when his probable character is considered, is more likely than Jacob to have resorted to this trick. Jacob may have held his ground even though he was injured. Whether the haggadist to whom we owe the interpolation in Hosea 12 5–7 referred to the angel or to Jacob as weeping is doubtful, and so is the value of his interpretation. Eduard Meyer's understanding of the Zippora incident may be correct, but there is no hint that the god who falls upon Jacob is Yahwe, and Zippora does not strike Yahwe. Gunkel cites these evidences of two recensions: According to 26 a the hip is dislocated by a blow, while according to 26 b it happened accidentally in the wrestling; in 28 f. the giving of the new name is already a kind of blessing, while in 30 it is said that "he blessed him there;" according to 29 Jacob is victorious, while according to 31 he only escapes with his life. Furthermore, 25 and 27 as well as 28 and 30 seem to him to be variants. Yet 26 a only refers to the blow, and 26 b naturally continues by indicating the effect of this blow; the new name is not represented as a blessing, and the blessing is likely to be something quite different; Jacob prevails indeed, but in view of the injury he had sustained and the tactics of his adversary he may well be pleased to have escaped alive. "Let me go, for the day breaketh" certainly does not prevent the narrator from observing that the fight lasted until the break of day; nor does the El's question: "What is thy name?" preclude Jacob from making the same inquiry in his turn. There does not appear to be any valid ground for doubting the unity of the story. The tendency to break up even the shortest passages into smaller fragments, to make the Elohist a mere supplementer, and to confront the Yahwist himself with imaginary earlier sources wrongly interpreted by him, does not inspire the greatest confidence in the current analysis.

There is no suggestion in the text that the numen of Penuel is Yahwe.[19] That Yahwe falls upon Moses and seeks to kill

[19] Ed. Meyer himself recognizes this: "Der Gegner, den Jakob niederzwingt, ist ursprünglich ein ganz anderer als Jahwe," *l. c.*, 277.

him (Ex. 4 24) is no evidence that another god may not have fallen upon another hero; and that the Mal'ak Yahwe refuses to divulge his name to Manoah (Jud. 13 18) does not prove that another divine being may not have declined to reveal his. 1 Kings 18 31 does not refer to this passage, but to Gen. 35 10. Hosea (12 4) speaks of him as a god (אלהים, θεός G.). The interpolator (Hos. 12 5–7) calls him an angel (מלאך, ἄγγελος). This was in harmony with the growing tendency to transfer to intermediate beings activities it was not felt proper to ascribe to Yahwe or Elohim.

In Gen. 48 16 המלך (Sam.) seems to have been changed to המלאך. Later this angel was identified as Michael (*Yalkut Shimeoni,* I, 39, 2. ed., Amsterdam, 1659; *Yalkut ḥodeš,* fol. 91, col. 4, no. 171; *ib.,* fol. 119, col. 4, no. 101; *Targum Jon.* to Gen. 32 24).[20] Philo and Christian exegetes like Justin, Clement of Alexandria and Origen saw in him the Logos. But it also became common among Jewish interpreters to consider him as the angel of Esau שָׂרוֹ שֶׁל עֵשָׂו (Rashi, *al.*) who contends with Jacob for the validation of his birthright. As Jacob meets Esau at Penuel and beholds his face כראת פני אלהים (Gen. 33 10), it is conceivable that Esau himself was once regarded as the numen appearing at Penuel. Baal haturim finds the same numerical value in איש עם and עשו אדם. It would be possible to think of Penuel as the name of the El. It became a personal name (1 Chron. 4 4; 8 25; Luke 2 36). In the Parables of Enoch (40 9; 71 8, 9), Phanuel takes the place of Uriel among the four archangels. Phanuel, like Uriel, seems to represent Nergal-Mars. But Phanuel as the name of an archangel seems to be derived from מלאך פניו (Isa. 63 9; Ex. 33 14). Originally Phanuel was a place-name. G. Studer[21] regarded the numen of Penuel as the god of Canaan, "der Gott des Landes Canaan," defending his territory. There were many gods in Canaan; but no god of Canaan *par excellence,* like Chemosh of Moab or Yahwe of Israel, is known to us. It has been recognized by Frazer, Bennett, Gunkel and Kittel that the combatant was the river-god. If so, the conclusion

20 Cp. W. Lueken, *Michael,* 1898, 16 f.

21 *JPTh,* I, 1875, 541.

should be drawn that his name was Jabbok and that Penuel was his shrine.

The reason why Jabbok attacked Jacob was clearly that he wished to protect his territory. In so far Studer was quite right. His was a defensive war by well-timed offensive tactics. He fell upon the invader when the latter had sent his family across the river and was left behind alone on the northern bank. For Jacob he deemed his strength sufficient. But he was unable to defeat Jacob, as an El's power is, after all, limited and he had underrated the ability of his opponent. He did not at first realize with what kind of being he was fighting; and as the wrestling continued and he was not able to throw his adversary, he became afraid of another foe. This danger was great. It is not enough to refer to the fear of the dawn by various night-spectres, as Frazer and Bennett do, or even to Jupiter's plea to Hercules in Plautus' *Amphitryo,* I, 3, 35: "Why dost thou keep me? It is time; I want to leave the city before it becomes light." A river-god has a special enemy in the sun-god whose rays diminish his power, and in the summer threaten to destroy him. When Shemesh rises with healing in his wings, it is on behalf of Jacob (לו), to make his victory complete by curing the injury he has incidentally suffered, as later Jewish interpreters maintained. How such a conflict could be conceived of becomes intelligible in the same degree as it is realized that the *el* belongs to a category of beings who, in popular thought, were quite limited in their powers and that, on the other hand. Jacob himself, whatever his origin, was also looked upon as possessing powers beyond those of ordinary men. While the figure of Jacob is gradually stripped of other supernal elements and becomes purely human, the consciousness that the numen of Penuel is not to be forthwith identified with the supreme deity of a more advanced faith finds expression in the later exegesis which sees in him an angel, a phantom, or an intermediate being like the Logos. Numerous analogies of struggles between gods and heroes have been cited from classical and Oriental lore by commentators. Zeus and Herakles are the first wrestlers at Olympia, Nonnius, *Dionysiaca,* X, 376. Lycophron, *Alexandra,* 41, alludes to

this struggle, and Isaac Tzetzes in a gloss observes that when Zeus saw that he could not prevail, he finally made himself known to his opponent. Reference has already been made to Plautus' version of the struggle between Jupiter and Hercules. One of the most famous victories won by Herakles as a wrestler was that over Achelous, the river-god, in Boeotia, Pausanias, VI, 19, 12. Athena threw a stone at Amphitryon, Pausanias, IX, 11, 3. In the Iliad, it is natural that the Achaean heroes should fight with those of Troy and her allies in single combat. Paris with Menelaus, III, 396 ff., Diomedes with Aeneas, V, 280 ff., Euphoebus and Hector with Patroclus, XVI, 791 ff., and Achilles with Hector, XXII, 326; and that, in the funeral plays, Ajax, Telamon's son, should wrestle with Odysseus, XXIII, 725 ff. Diomedes hurls an enormous stone at Aeneas, strikes the hip (ἰσχίον) where the part turns in the joint which is called κοτύλη and breaks it, and besides crushes the two sinews or nerves (ἄμφω τένοντε), V, 305 ff. But he also attacks Aphrodite and wounds her in the hand so that the divine blood flows which, to be sure, is a peculiar liquid, V, 330 ff. It is Apollo who first strikes Patroclus, on the stomach and the shoulders, XVI, 791 ff. Achilles has to fight with the river-gods, Xanthos, Simois and Scamander, who are defending their territory against the invaders, XXI, 236 ff. Ares and Pallas Athena, XXI, 391 ff., Aphrodite and Athena, XXI, 424 f., Artemis and Hera, XXI, 490 ff. engage in physical conflict with each other. Von Bohlen[22] referred to nightly combats with higher powers in Ramayana, I, 28, 21, where the Rakhas are most powerful just before the break of day.

[22] *Die Genesis*, 1835, 318; *Das alte Indien*, I, 1830, 225, where *Hidimba*, 4, 46, is quoted. Cp. also Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 14, ed. Jacobitz, 201: "When the cocks began to crow, away flew the moon, Hecate disappeared, and the apparitions (φάσματα) vanished;" and Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, IV, 16: "Achilles vanished . . . for the cocks were already beginning their chant." Particularly interesting is the parallel cited by Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, II, 1918, 424 f., from Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, 1723, II, 578: "if a man grappling with Tezcatlipoca in the night should succeed in holding him till day was just about to break he would be granted any boon which he might ask for, provided he let him go before the dawn."

In the course of the struggle Jabbok struck the hollow of Jacob's thigh. Jabbok was a wrestler, and he knew his métier with all its legitimate and illegitimate tricks. One of his practices was to strike at the groins. The hollow of the thigh (כף הירך), like that of the hand and the foot, is the concave side. This would be reached by a frontal attack. Rashi suggests that Esau's angel touched this part to see whether he was a man. In all probability Jabbok himself was supposed to have suffered in that part of the body and, therefore, had a preference for assailing it. When he saw that even such a blow did not effectively disable Jacob, he realized that his combatant was no ordinary human being, and asked for his name. But the name, 'the pursuer,' 'the one who follows on the heel and overtakes,' did not hint at his power as a wrestler. The numen of Penuel had not been overcome by a puny mortal, however clever and sly, but by a being like himself, and he gave him the title 'Israel,' 'the El who fights,' for 'he had fought with an El and overcome.' Though mistaken in his etymology, Jerome shows remarkable insight when, in his *Quaestiones in Genesin*, *ad locum*, he explains: "Quomodo enim princeps ego sum, sic et tu, qui mecum luctari potuisti, princeps vocaberis." If 'a fighting El' is substituted for 'princeps,' that is precisely the sense of the words.

Jabbok was not willing, however, to reveal his name. Jacob, though injured, had only had the sciatic nerve strained, which caused him to limp. He had not been conquered; he had indeed prevailed sufficiently to secure the blessing he demanded. But the name of the El of Penuel was still his secret which he was able to preserve. To know the name of a god may be desirable, as it can be used to advantage. When it is the name of a god who cannot prevail, even though he resort to disgraceful tactics, it may well be asked what purpose this knowledge would serve. Let the stranger refuse to divulge his secret; it is irrelevant. From the standpoint of the story-teller it is enough to hint at the name. He is fond of such allusions. When the local gods of Mahanaim fall upon Jacob (32 2, 3), he says: 'This is a camp (מחנה) of gods,' calls the place Mahanaim, and proceeds (32 8) to divide his men into two camps (לשתי מחנות). As he sends

them to his brother southwards in the direction of the land of Seir (ארצה שעיר), he speaks as if the name of Penuel was already in his mind; פניו and פני are fairly crowded into his message: אכפרה פניו במנחה ההלכת לפני ואחרי כן אראה פניו כראת פני אלהים אולי ישא פני (32 21), and when he sees him at Penuel it is (33 10). It is no accident that a man is said to wrestle with him; it is a play upon, an explanation of, his name. Whether Jabbok was so called as 'the gusher' from בקק or as 'the embracer' from חבק = אבק, to folk-etymology he was 'the wrestler.' It accepted the latter derivation: יַאֲבֹק, contracted יָבֹק; the doubling of the ב is masoretic; G has Ἰάβοχ, Josephus Ἰάβοχος or Ἰόβακος. Hence יֶחֱבַק, יַאֲבֵק in many Sam. MSS is not original, but correct interpretation. Especially around the probable site of Penuel, *Tulul al dhahab*,[23] Nahr el Zarka winds its tortuous way, circling about like a wrestler. The impressive ruins should be thoroughly explored and excavated. Some of the Syrian river-gods had local shrines. Whether this was true of Arnon 'the roarer,' from רנן,[24] Jarmuk 'the persistent one,' from *ramaka* 'last,' 'continue,' often wrongly identified with Jabbok,[25] and the Belus or בעל of Nahr Na'aman, S. of Akka,[26] it is certain that Renan[27] discovered the sanctuary of Adonis with an inscription to the river-god a distance up Nahr Ibrahim. There was also a sanctuary to Pan near one of the sources of the Jordan. It is possible that the Greeks found a Penuel (or φανουηλ) there and a god reminding them of Pan to whom the territory, Πανεῖον = Baneas, belonged. This instance shows that Roscher was wrong in supposing that the Arcadian forest-god never appears as a river-god. Like him Jabbok is likely to have limped and shared with him some other characteristics. The name of Penuel has been compared with the πρόσωπον

[23] Cp. Selah Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 1883, 391 f.

[24] Cp. Nathaniel Schmidt, 'The River Arnon,' *JBL*, XXIV, 1906, 212 ff. In a letter from De Goeje, this scholar gave his approval to the explanation there given of the name and to the suggestion that Mojib, from *wajaba*, 'fall with a great noise,' is a translation of ארנון.

[25] Cp. R. Smend, *ZATW*, XXII, 1902, 137 ff.

[26] Cp. Ernest Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 1864, 283, 515, 752.

[27] *L. c.*, 298 ff.

θεοῦ in Phoenicia, mentioned by Strabo.[28] It has been suggested that the form of a face was seen in the promontory. This is not improbable. Lieut. W. F. Lynch brought back a famous sketch of Lot's wife,[29] and Arabs have often pointed out in various places around the Dead Sea a *bint Lut*. The Garden of the Gods in Colorado is full of strange formations in which imagination has found πρόσωπα θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων. There may have been at *Tulul al dhahab*, if that is the site of Penuel, some such figure. It is also possible that in the shrine of the river-god there was an image of Jabbok in human form. The local divinity was not always represented as a man. In Bethel and Dan Yahwe was worshipped under the form of a golden calf (1 Kings 2 28 ff.). That the god appears in this story as a man may be due to the fact that worshippers had from time immemorial gone to Penuel to see the face of the god, פנים לפנים.

The blessing reluctantly given to Jacob was not a parting salutation, a friendly greeting like Laban's (32 1), as Ilgen thought, nor a name or honorary title, as has often been held. When Isaac blessed Jacob (Gen. 27 27), the blessing was a grant of power and prosperity, automatically producing its results and irreversible, though secured by fraud. The blessing Jacob forced from the god of Penuel was no doubt a substantial gift, more valuable than the ברכה that Jacob sent to Esau (Gen. 33 11), or David forwarded to the elders of Judah (1 Sam. 30 26), or Naaman offered to Elisha (2 Kings 5 15). It was more like the blessing Achsa received from Caleb, consisting of *Gulloth illith* and *Gulloth taḥtith* (Jud 1 15), or 'the treaty of peace' which Rab-shakeh advised the Jews to make with Sennacherib (Isa. 36 16; 2 Kings 18 31). The numen yielded to Jacob Penuel and its territory.

In all probability, the real reason why the Israelites of this district and later, under the influence of the story, all Israelites abstained from eating the sciatic nerve was that the former inhabitants ate it. Both the custom and the protest against it

[28] XVI, ii, 15, 16.

[29] *Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*,[6] 1849, opposite p. 308.

find a natural explanation in veneration of the seat of life and procreative power, similar to that which led Eliezer to put his hand under Abraham's thigh in making an oath (Gen. 24 2). To eat certain parts of the body of an animal (and originally of a man as well) was supposed to impart to the eater the strength especially inherent in them.[30] To make them tabu or avoid eating them was either another manifestation of regard or a reaction against the underlying conception. As the custom of using the *membra genitalia* for food gradually disappeared, it is possible that the power assumed to attach to them was transferred, first to the pudic nerve, and then to the sciatic, because of its white color and exceptional thickness, and because injury to it caused lameness and possibly was regarded, in view of its connection with the pudic nerve, as effecting impotence.

This explanation is not subject to the objection raised by Ibn Ezra, and alluded to by Fagius,[31] against a current identification of גיד הנשה with the *membrum virile*. Yet there may be a basis in original usage for this identification. גיד הנשה does not mean sinew of the hip; גיד is not limited to 'sinew,' and נשה does not mean 'hip.' Edmund Castle suggested that נשה has the same meaning as the Arabic نسا. In this he was followed by Le Clerc, Gesenius and most modern scholars. Gesenius, in his *Thesaurus*, *s. v.*, quotes Ibn Sina who clearly designates by it the sciatic

30 According to Herodotus, II, 39, the heads were thrown into the Nile; according to Origen, *Contra Celsum*, V, 35, both heads and shoulders. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* 2, 1897, 168, mentions the prohibition against eating the heart among the Ju'fi and against eating the tail of the sheep among the Bali, and calls attention to a trace of the holiness of the גיד הנשה in *Kamil* 552 13. Cp. also W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 1894, 379 f. J. G. Frazer, in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, 1907, 142 f., *Golden Bough*, II 2, 1900, 419, and *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, II, 1918, 423 f., refers to the custom of certain North American Indians to cut out and throw away the hamstrings of the deer they kill.

My colleague, Professor Walter L. Williams, an eminent authority on the genital diseases of animals, calls my attention to the fact that the testicles of sheep are still eaten and sometimes served as 'lamb fry,' and that modern science, in experimenting with various glands of the body, seems to recognize an element of validity in the ancient conception.

31 In *Critici Sacri* 2, 1698, I, 750.

nerve. When Ibn Sina uses the dual, he refers to the two branches of this great nerve, and not to the two parts of the thigh, as Gesenius thought. Saadia and Abu Said both translate عرق النسا גיד הנשה. عرق ordinarily means vein (including artery), but must have been used to indicate nerve, as these Jewish translators knew well enough what should be removed. We do not know how نسا was employed by Arabs in earlier times. It is possible that it has a Jewish origin. G translates תקע *ἐνάρκασεν*, and also נשה ὃ *ἐνάρκασεν*. Of the daughter-versions Eth. simply calls it *herum*, 'the forbidden'; and Pesh. translates it in v. 33 a גיד ארג דנשיא and in v. 33 b only גנשיא. גנשיא is an abbreviation of גידנשיא which has become so much one single word and a technical term that it has before it in v. 33 a another גיד. In Mishna (Ḥullin VII) and Bab. Talmud (Ḥullin 100 b) הנשה is manifestly understood as a participle, גיד הנשה = *nervus luxatus*. All these Jewish translators and later scholars knew what they meant. They had in mind the sciatic nerve which, according to custom stamped as law, was to be removed; but they referred to it as the nerve which shrank in Jacob's body and caused his lameness, as the story indicated. There is no evidence that they used it as a technical term based on some characteristic it had in the body of the animal. In this connection גיד could only be understood as 'nerve.' But it also had a wider meaning. The distinction made in modern anatomy between 'nerve,' 'tendon' or 'sinew,' and 'muscle' cannot be projected into earlier times. جدل is 'neck,' because it is long and stout; גיד is a 'tendon' as well as a 'nerve,' because it is long and strong. The consciousness survived, and could never be quite suppressed, that הנשה or גיד הנשה originally referred to the *membrum virile* (אבר, Rashi, *al.*). The two peculiar characteristics of this member in functioning, elongation and shrinkage, are indeed expressed in the root נשה. It means both '*se prolongare*' and '*defici*.' This points the way to an understanding of the phrase. There was a transfer from the *membrum virile* to the pudic nerve, and from this to the sciatic nerve.

As to the age of the story a definite dating is impossible. "Jeroboam built Shechem and dwelt therein, and he went from

there and built Penuel" (1 Kings 12 25). Both were old cities rebuilt and no doubt fortified by him. There is no ground for questioning the statement (Jud. 8 9, 17) that Gideon broke down the tower (מגדל) of Penuel to take vengeance on this city for not participating in the war with Midian. When this war took place is uncertain. It is likely, however, to be earlier than the Philistine invasion (c. 1200 B. C.). In the battle against Sisera "Gilead remained beyond Jordan" (Jud. 5 17). Yahwe had a claim on Gilead, but fortified towns like Penuel were indifferent to his call. What were the religious practices in such a sanctuary in the 13th century B. C.? If local gods and goddesses were worshipped by the Israelites west of the Jordan, as is abundantly evident from the Book of Judges, the same was certainly true of Gilead. Heathen customs prevailed, among them probably the halting dance of the devotees before the numen of Penuel; and the eating of certain parts of the animal for reasons connected with the cult. Some Gileadites may have justified the dance by the story that Jacob, struck in the hollow of his thigh by the local god, had limped as the hierodules did in imitation of his condition, and they may have fallen in with the custom of eating what their neighbors ate, at any rate when these had learned to substitute the sciatic nerve for the original object. Other Gileadites may have maintained that it should not be so done in Israel. Israel had taken the place of Jacob. The El who fights, honorably and squarely, had overcome the tricky wrestling god of Penuel who had been obliged to yield his territory. To local pride Penuel was the birth-place of Israel, though Bethel claimed the same honor (Gen. 35 11). Jabbok's name was of no use, nor his ordinances. Even the sciatic nerve must be pulled out and thrown away. In the spread of this tabu the higher morality registered a notable gain. The victory of one god over another was a step toward a greater spiritual conquest. The primitive features of the myth bespeak an early origin. But it may not have become widely known until Penuel was again made an important city by Jeroboam I (c. 953—932 B. C.). The fact that this prohibition did not find a place in either the Ritual Decalogue or the Covenant Code may be another indication of its date. It bears a marked similarity

to the injunction: "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk," which is found in both of these documents (Ex. 34 26; 23 19). This is also a protest against a practice originally associated with the cult of some local god. Just as the offering of a kid had for its object the increase of the flock, so the offering of its mother's milk had for its object the increase of the milk supply. It would be strange if Israel, entering a land 'flowing with milk and honey' (Ex. 3 8, *al.*), should not to some extent have followed the custom of the land in offering of these blessings to one divinity or another. Nor would it appear to be in itself more improper than the offering of wine and meal, which were presented to Yahwe. Yet there is no provision in any Jewish law for a libation of milk, and Lev. 2 11 distinctly prohibits the sacrifice of honey. The chief reason for this exclusion from the Yahwe cult is likely to have been the commandment: "Take heed that thou inquire not after their gods, saying: 'How used these nations to serve their gods? even so will I do likewise'" (Deut. 12 30).[32] If the authors of the Ritual Decalogue and the Covenant Code had been acquainted with any prohibition against

[32] Such advice, in one form or another, was no doubt given more than once before the appearance of the Deuteronomic Code, introduced in 621 B. C., and probably written not long before this date.

It is altogether possible that, already in the nomadic state, some of the Israelitish tribes avoided the use of a she-goat's milk immediately she had cast a kid, or of boiled milk, in order to prevent by sympathetic magic injury to the mother and a consequent decrease of the milk-supply, as Frazer thinks (*Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, III, 1918, 118 ff.). But the insistence upon the tabu as late as in Deut. 14 21 apparently points to a pagan sacrificial custom having for its object the increase of the milk-supply as well as of the flock, against which a strong protest was needed. The statement by a Karaite Jew that "there was a custom among the ancient heathen who, when they had gathered all the crops, used to boil a kid in its mother's milk and then, as a magical rite, sprinkle the milk on trees, fields, gardens and orchards, believing that in this way they would render them more fruitful the following year (J. Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus*, I. 272 ff.) may not be sufficient evidence; but, barring the use of the milk, it may rest upon the essentially correct tradition that there is an allusion to a rite connected with the fertility-cult. In the wealth of material collected by Frazer there is no exact parallel to the boiling of a kid in its mother's milk, although it throws much light on the underlying ideas.

eating the sciatic nerve in the hollow of the thigh, they would almost certainly have found a place for it. In their original form both of these compends of law may very well go back to the period of the Judges, as Adalbert Merx[33] has shown, though there unquestionably are later additions. It therefore seems probable that the custom did not begin to spread until after the rebuilding of Penuel by Jeroboam I, and that it did not become general and binding until reflection on the concluding statement in this particular Jacob story invested it with hoary antiquity and the authority of patriarchal precedent, assumed to rest on divine commandment.

"Wer den Dichter will verstehn, muß in Dichters Lande gehn." He must be willing to go far from home, betake himself to strange realms, tread unfamiliar paths, seek treasures hidden in foreign soil. If he declines, from fear or prejudice, he will not gain the key to understanding and dooms himself to move within the circle of his accustomed thought. The exegete who counts the operations of the human mind in rites and myths as something alien and the attempt to grasp their original meaning as a descent to what is common and unclean, seeking his refuge in allegoresis, will only discover his own philosophy which he has trained himself to seek in the sacred text. The allegorical method of a Philo, a Dio Chrysostomus, or an Origen in dealing with ancient myths may remove some intellectual and ethical difficulties; but it involves the bankruptcy of rational exegesis, as by it anything may mean anything. Without resorting to such fanciful interpretations, it may be pointed out that the custom which this Jacob myth would explain is a significant evidence of moral growth, and that the myth itself suggests a struggle between divine beings who, in the last analysis, are conceptions created by and living in the mind of man, by which his ideal of the highest has been gradually clarified and refined.

[33] *Die Bücher Moses und Josua*, 1907, 38 ff.

ZU TEXT UND AUSLEGUNG DES BUCHES HOSEA

KARL BUDDE
UNIVERSITÄT MARBURG

1. HOSEA'S STRAFREDE GEGEN DIE PRIESTER KAP. 4 1–10

ALS Ausleger des Alten Testaments kenne ich keinen höheren Ehrgeiz, als einen Abschnitt, einen Streifen des Buches Hosea zu retten, ihn aus der argen Verderbnis, der dieses Buch, eins der schönsten und tiefsten des Alten Testaments, verfallen ist, zu klarem, einheitlichem Sinn und einleuchtendem, dem ursprünglichen sich näherndem Wortlaut zu zwingen und zu gewinnen. Immer wieder verzweifelt man an der Möglichkeit; um so größer dann die Freude, wenn es einmal eine Strecke weit zu gelingen scheint. Ich glaube, das darf ich von dem ersten Stück der Redenfolge hinter dem Eingangsabschnitt Kap. 1—3, von der Rede 4 1–10, für mich in Anspruch nehmen und möchte das hier darlegen. Habe ich auch nicht eben viel ganz Neues zu bieten, so geht doch gerade in unsren Tagen das Verständnis dieses Abschnitts so weit auseinander und meist so handgreiflich in die Irre, daß eine neue Behandlung nicht überflüssig sein wird.

Solch bösen Texten gegenüber einen Erfolg zu erzielen, gilt es vor allem, nicht am einzelnen Worte haften zu bleiben und von jedem zum nächsten sich mühsam weiter zu raten, sondern einen gewissen Umfang im großen zu überblicken und beherrschende Gesichtspunkte für ihn zu gewinnen. Die erste Frage muß sein die nach dem Gegenstand des Abschnitts; die zweite nach seinem Umfang und Abschluß; eine dritte

etwa nach der Person des Redenden. Nur bei Guthe und Sellin unter den neuesten Auslegern finde ich klar erkannt, daß es sich im Anfang von Kap. 4 um eine Strafrede bloß gegen die Priester handelt. Ganz deutlich zeigt das V. 6 b–9, wo Anklage und Strafansage nur den Priester trifft und von ihm allein gilt, vgl. vor allem 6 b und 9. Es ist das Verkehrteste, was man tun kann, wenn Marti, Duhm, Nowack in V. 4 und 9 den Propheten vollends noch hineinverbessern wollen, etwa gar zur Befriedigung vermeintlicher metrischer Bedürfnisse. Er muß vielmehr aus 5 a hinaus und dem Priester allein das Feld räumen. Und ebenso übel getan ist es, daß dieselben Ausleger durch viele willkürliche Änderungen die kräftige Anrede des Priesters, die V. 4–6 beherrscht, beiseite schaffen.[1] Es ist eben bezeichnend für Hosea, daß er es bei der Feststellung der allgemeinen sündlichen Verderbnis nicht bewenden läßt, auch nicht, wie Amos meistens tut, Anklagen nur gegen eine Schicht des Volkes, die obere, schleudert, sondern fragt und feststellt, wer an dieser allgemeinen Verderbnis die Schuld trägt, durch Versäumnis, böses Beispiel, Verführung. Das gilt gerade von Kap. 4 und 5 in besonderem Maße, vgl. hinter unserem Abschnitt gleich wieder V. 14 und 5 1 f. — Mit dieser Erkenntnis ergibt sich die Beantwortung der zweiten Frage, nach der Grenze des Stücks, von selbst. Mit V. 10 geht Anklage und Strafansage gegen den Priester zu Ende; mit V. 11 setzt eine neue Anklage gegen das ganze Volk ein, und wieder hebt sich bald eine neue Schicht von Verantwortlichen heraus, die Hausväter und Familienhäupter. Mit V. 10 schließt also die erste Rede. — Redner ist in V. 1 der Prophet, indem er ein Wort Jahwes und seine Anklage ankündigt; damit ist gegeben, daß die Rede weiterhin an Jahwe übergehn muß, und in der Tat begegnen wir dem Ich Jahwes in V. 5 b–9 durchgängig. Da ein כה אמר יהוה zur Einführung seiner Rede hinter V. 1 fehlt, so wird zu untersuchen sein, wo sie einsetzt. Wir werden

[1] Als Gegenstück nach der andren Seite mag Rießler genannt werden, der es fertig bringt, durch Ausscheidung von 1 b–5, 6 b, 9 a und Umdeutung von V. 8 den Priester völlig zu beseitigen und, was übrig bleibt, auf das ganze Volk zu beziehen.

sehen, daß das Ich Jahwes in V. 4 hergestellt werden muß, und da seine Rede mit dem Einwand אך וגו nicht beginnen kann, so bleibt nichts andres übrig, als schon V. 2 von Jahwe sprechen zu lassen. Der ausdrücklichen Einführung bedarf es nicht.

Eine vierte Feststellung, die heute gäng und gäbe ist, schicke ich nicht voraus, die eines regelmäßigen, in Zeilen und Strophen wiederkehrenden Metrum. Man kennt meine Stellungnahme zu dieser Forderung. Der Prophet ist Dichter, aber nicht Liedersänger — wo er das nicht ausdrücklich ankündigt, wie etwa beim Klageliede — er spricht selber nicht in Liedweisen und führt Jahwe nicht in solchen ein, sondern bewegt sich unvergleichlich freier. Und wäre diese meine Anschauung irrig, so kommt ihr immer noch das *argumentum ex tuto* zugute: das Suchen eines festen, nach dem persönlichen Eindruck willkürlich bestimmten Metrum droht dem Texte weit größere Gefahr als seine Herstellung ohne solche Voraussetzung.[2]

V. 1. בני ישראל zu streichen ist eine Verschlechterung (vgl. auch 5 1), לו statt ליהוה zu lesen kein Anlaß; eher könnte man an בָּהּ für בארץ denken, doch bedarf es auch dessen nicht. — הארץ natürlich „das Land", nicht „die Erde", vgl. die grundlegende Stelle 1 2. — Echt hoseanisch ist דעת אלהים, das die Aufzählung wie in 2 22 abschließt, die eigentliche Vorbereitung für die folgende Anklage, vgl. V. 6, weiter 5 4; 6 3; der Sache nach auch 7 11.

V. 2. Hier muß, wie oben festgestellt wurde und bei V. 4 zu beweisen ist, Jahwes Rede einsetzen. Die große rednerische Kraft, mit der die gehäuften Inff. abss. dreinfahren, stimmt dazu besonders gut. — Für פרצו bietet LXX κέχυται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς = פָּרְצוּ בָאָרֶץ „haben überhand genommen im Lande", genau wie Hi. 1 10, vgl. ferner Gen. 28 14; 30 30; Ex. 1 12; Jes. 54 3. Das ist unbedingt richtig, und alle Inff. abss. sind dazu das Subjekt. Hinter פרצו kann בארץ leicht übersehen

[2] Vgl. meine allgemeinen Bemerkungen Journal of Biblical Literature XLIII, I/II, 1924, p. 46 f. und das Einzelbeispiel zu Am. 3 12 ebendort p. 87 f.

sein; fast möchte man das בארץ am Ende von V. 1 als vom Rande her falsch eingerückten Nachtrag ansehen. — Sehr erwägenswert ist, ob den beiden Paaren אלה וכחש und ורצח וגנב nicht ursprünglich ein drittes וזנה ונאף entsprochen hat, so daß וזנה übersehen wäre; man vergleiche, wie diese beiden Sünden bei Hosea in 2 4 und 4 14 nebeneinander stehn. — „Und Blutschuld reiht sich an Blutschuld", nicht „reihen sie" (so z. B. Sellin).

V. 3. Ich kann hier nur Marti zustimmen; der ganze Vers ist ein Fremdkörper, der mit dem Zusammenhang unsres Stücks nichts zu schaffen hat. Als Einschub innerhalb des Verses hebt sich a β heraus, mit dem spezifizierenden בְּ, kraft dessen der Mensch ganz außer Betracht gelassen wird. Die beiden Zeilen von a α hält man gern fest — zur Not könnte man auch b noch mitgehn lassen — es wäre dann damit der gegenwärtige üble Zustand ausgesprochen, in dem man Folge und Strafe der in V. 1 f. festgestellten sittlichen Verderbnis zu erkennen hätte. Aber offenbar ist darin das הארץ von V. 1 f. mißverstanden, als „die Erde" statt „das Land". Ferner setzt unser Stück die Strafe nicht als bereits eingetroffen voraus, sondern bringt erst von V. 5 an deren Ansage. Ebenso spricht V. 4 nicht von der Strafe, sondern von der Schuld, und knüpft damit unmittelbar an V. 2 an. Endlich redet seit V. 2 Jahwe; der aber kann nicht, wie der Prophet es könnte, den Leidenszustand von Land und Bewohnern einfach als Tatsache schildern, sondern er müßte sich als den einführen, der die Strafe verhängt hätte oder zu verhängen willens wäre. Vergleichen wir nun vollends die Fülle von Parallelstellen mit vielfach wörtlicher Übereinstimmung, die Marti beibringt (Am. 8 8; Jer. 12 4; 4 28; 23 10; weiter Jes. 33 9; 24 4–6), so verstehn wir, wie der Interpolator dazu kam, hier einem beliebten Gedankengang eine Stelle zu geben.

V. 4. Die Verderbnis des zweiten Halbverses ist mit Händen zu greifen; aus der Anklage gegen den Priester ist in MT ein Satz geworden, der eine solche als ein Majestätsverbrechen, als etwas kaum Denkbares, erscheinen läßt; ob bloß durch blinden Zufall, oder mit bewußter Nachhilfe, müssen wir dahingestellt sein lassen. Nur die Eröffnung der Anklage ist hier am

Platze, und daher kann man von der Unzahl mehr oder minder geistreicher Vorschläge zur Textherstellung, die hier zu Gebote stehn, einzig und allein die von Oort und Guthe billigen: וְעִמְּךָ רִיבִי כֹּהֵן; oder הַכֹּהֵן (Guthe), was ich nicht für nötig halte. Die beiden gestrichenen Buchstaben כמ lassen sich leicht als zugestutzte Wiederholung der beiden vorhergehenden מכ erklären. Freilich ergeben sie auch mit dem folgenden ר das Wort כְּמֹר „Götzenpriester" (10 5; 2 Kön. 23 5; Zeph. 1 14): sieht man darin mehr als Zufall, so muß man das ר verdoppeln und dann entweder in כמר eine dysphemistische Glosse zu כהן oder in diesem eine euphemistische zu כמר sehen. Die letztere Entscheidung trifft Sellin, liest den Halbvers also וְעִמְּךָ כְּמֹר רִיבִי. Ich kann das nicht für richtig halten; der Ausspruch ist zu knapp, um das Schimpfwort zuzulassen, und auch V. 9 spricht dagegen. — „Gegen dich geht meine Anklage, Priester!" ist natürlich Rede Jahwes, wie vor allem das עַמִּי in V. 5, das מִכַּהֵן לִי in V. 6 beweist. Da aber das אַךְ, das den Vers einleitet, ein Mißverständnis des Vorhergehenden oder eine falsche Folgerung daraus verhüten will, so muß Jahwes Rede schon vorher beginnen, also, da V. 1 die Einführung durch den Propheten darstellt, mit V. 2. Das wurde schon oben vorausgesetzt. — Auch die erste Vershälfte ist von der Überlieferung nicht richtig verstanden, und der Irrtum hat sich bis auf den heutigen Tag fortgeerbt. Hieße der Satz „Nur verklage keiner und rüge keiner!", so könnte das nur bedeuten „kein andrer als ich, Jahwe", und die Fortsetzung müßte dann lauten: „nur ich (oder „aber ich") habe zu klagen." Statt dieses וְאָנֹכִי oder וְלִי aber finden wir hier ein וְעִמְּךָ, und damit wird bewiesen, daß es sich in dem Gegensatz der beiden Halbverse, in Verneinung und Bejahung, nicht um den Ankläger handelt, sondern um den Verklagten. Die beiden Tatwörter sind also passivisch zu lesen, יָרֵב und יוּכַח; daß das Passivum von ריב sonst im AT nicht vorkommt, steht dem nicht im Wege. Also: „Nur verklage man keinen und rüge man keinen; aber gegen dich geht meine Anklage, Priester!"

V. 5. Hier gipfelt die Verderbnis des Textes, und volle Sicherheit der Herstellung wird nicht zu erreichen sein. Ganz zweifellos fallen die Worte גם נביא עמך aus, und ihr Eindringen läßt

sich unschwer erklären. Seitdem וכשל dastand, als וְכָשַׁל gesprochen, schien ein zweites Subjekt für das Straucheln zu fehlen, und da ergänzte sich neben dem Priester leicht der Prophet (vgl. Jes. 28 7). Für וכשל hatte ich mir längst vermerkt כָּשׁוֹל (vgl. Jes. 40 30), und so liest jetzt Sellin. Auch וְכָשַׁל wäre möglich; aber dann müßte das היום. das vorhergeht, aus einem ersten Inf. abs. verderbt sein, und den weiß ich nicht zu finden, da neben כשל nur נפל vorkommt, und dann an zweiter Stelle. Für היום nach LXX *ἡμέρας* יוֹמָם zu lesen (nach Wellhausen die Meisten), empfahl sich nur solange, als man in לילה den ergänzenden Gegensatz dazu erblicken konnte, was doch nicht angeht. Vielmehr ist „heute“ für „sofort, unverzüglich“ ganz annehmbar; vielleicht wäre כַּיּוֹם noch vorzuziehen. — לילה gehört schon nach der Wortzahl zu b, wird auch von LXX dazu gezogen. Nach LXX ist das ו vor דמיתי zu streichen. Der Sinn dieses vieldeutigen Tatworts an unsrer Stelle wird durch das nachfolgende נדמו (vgl. 10 7, 15) über jeden Zweifel hinaus festgelegt; dem muß das דמיתי ebenso entsprechen, wie die beiden Formen von מאס und שכח in V. 6 und 7 sich gegenseitig aufnehmen: „was du an dem Volke und mir getan hast, das vergelte ich dir durch gleiches Tun.“ Das דָּמִיתִי oder דִּמִּיתִי muss also heißen „ich vernichte, lasse untergehn“, לילה, wofür man kaum nach LXX *νυκτί* לָלַיְלָה zu lesen braucht, „in Nacht.“ — Was aber ist für das unmögliche אמך einzusetzen? Jedenfalls etwas, was in schnurgeradem Gegensatz zu לילה steht. Dem würde die leichte Änderung ימך = יוֹמֵךְ entsprechen (so z. B. Winckler, Sellin), und das müßte dann heißen: dein bisheriges Glück. Aber Mi. 3 6, wo für die Propheten dem לילה gegenübersteht מֵחָזוֹן, ebenso die nächste Gegenüberstellung hier in V. 6, rät doch, womöglich etwas einzusetzen, was unmittelbar auf den Beruf des Priesters und seine Amtsführung geht. Dem entspricht sachlich das von Ruben vorgeschlagene, graphisch ebenso leichte תָּמִיךְ im Sinne von אוּרִיךְ וְתֻמִּיךְ „dein Losorakel“; aber es fehlt der begriffliche Gegensatz zu לילה. Allem genügt, bei gleicher Leichtigkeit, אָרִיךְ, dem auch das noch zur Seite steht, daß אורים allein Num. 27 21, 1. Sam. 28 6 für das Losorakel vorkommt, תֻּמִּים nicht. Die Volksetymologie von אורים, „Lichter“, ist dann zu dem Wortspiel benutzt.

V. 6. Den ersten Halbvers pflegt man zu streichen oder zu versetzen (Marti, Guthe, Sellin), weil die Zeile allein zu stehn scheint. Aber bloß die Versabteilung ist falsch; die Zeile bietet die notwendige Begründung zur vorhergehenden, genau wie noch drei solche Paare, nur in umgekehrter Anordnung, die Verschuldung vorauf, folgen. Durch die Loslösung der Zeile von ihrem Partner scheint das begründende כִּי vor ihr verloren gegangen zu sein; es ist wahrscheinlich mit Absicht umgestellt, vor b, wo es nur stört; man suchte eben die Verbindung zwischen 6a und b, statt zwischen 5b und 6a. Also: „In Nacht laß ich untergehn deine Lichter; denn mein Volk geht unter aus Mangel an Erkenntnis." הדעת κατ' ἐξοχήν ist natürlich die דעת אלהים von V. 1; sie zu lehren und zu fördern ist des Priesters Sache, vgl. bα und תורת אלהיך in bβ. Zu a vgl. auch Jes. 5 13a, wo man gut tun wird, כָּלָה für גלה zu lesen. — „Du selbst hast die Erkenntnis verworfen"; die Stelle von הדעת rechtfertigt sich durch den gegensätzlichen Nachdruck, der darauf liegt. — Der ganze zweite Halbvers, aus zwei zweigliedrigen Versen bestehend, bereitet keinerlei Schwierigkeit; der Schreibfehler der *recepta* ואמאסאך fehlt in bei weitem den meisten Handschriften. — Die Söhne des Priesters sind, die zur Priesterzunft gehören. Damit vollzieht sich der Übergang zur Mehrzahl der Schuldigen und zur dritten Person für sie, ohne einen sachlichen Wechsel.

V. 7. Die letzte der vier kurzen Gegenüberstellungen: hier die schuldigen Priester, dort der vergeltende Gott. Damit widerlegt sich die Behauptung eines *Tiḳḳûn sopherîm* für ursprüngliches כְּבוֹדִי und הֲמִירוּ, weil eben nicht zwei Aussagen über das Tun der Angeklagten zu erwarten sind, sondern eine über das ihre, die andre über das Jahwes. Auch überstiege es menschliche Kraft, die Ehre Jahwes — oder gar seine Herrlichkeit! — gegen Schande auszutauschen. Besseren Sinn ergibt die Lesart von Syr. und Targ., bloß הֲמִירוּ statt אמיר unter Beibehaltung von כבודם (so Geiger, Marti, Duhm, Nowack, Guthe, Sellin usw., in seiner Übersetzung auch Wellhausen); es würde heißen, daß sie Jahwe gegen Götzen ausgetauscht hätten, vgl. Jer. 2 11. Ob Hosea diese Anklage gegen die Jahwepriester seiner Zeit gerichtet haben würde, mag dahingestellt bleiben; jedenfalls muß diese Änderung abgelehnt werden, weil ein Handeln Jahwes

dem der Priester gegenübertreten muß. Es handelt sich um die Ehre, die dem Priester sein Amt verleiht. — Es scheint, daß כרבם und כבודם aneinander anklingen sollen.

V. 8. Für חַטַּאת mag man mit LXX τὰς ἁμαρτίας und vier Handschriften חַטֹּאת sprechen; doch ist die kollektive Einzahl neben עונם vorzuziehen. Für das fehlerhafte נפשו bieten LXX und sehr viele Handschriften das richtige נַפְשָׁם. Die Verschreibung erklärt sich leichter, wenn man das ו als Dittographie streicht und bloß נפש liest; aber נפשם ist besseres Hebräisch. — Was das Verständnis des Verses angeht, so kann ich mich nur Wellhausen (zur Stelle und Prolegomena[5] S. 73 f.) anschließen. Statt das Volk wahre Jahweerkenntnis zu lehren, lassen sie es bei dem Glauben und bestärken es noch darin, daß man durch eifrigen Besuch der Heiligtümer und reiche Opferspenden sich Jahwes Gnade sichern könne; so nähren sie, die den Vorteil davon haben, sich von des Volkes Sünde (vgl. Am. 4 4, Hos. 8 11; 6 6; 8 13; 10 1). Die Imperfecta für die Gewohnheit.

V. 9. Durch die Gleichung כעם ככהן wird noch einmal der kollektive Singular für die Schuldigen eingeführt; in V. 10 tritt zwanglos der Plural von V. 7 f. wieder in sein Recht. — Die Drohung von a, daß es dem Priester ebenso gehn werde wie dem Volke, ist verhältnismäßig milde, weil er nach des Propheten Ausführungen bei weitem größere Schuld trägt. Dennoch wird man sie gelten lassen müssen; a einfach zu streichen (Guthe, Rießler), geht schon darum nicht an, weil dann den singularischen Suffixen das Beziehungswort fehlt.

V. 10. Bedeutet das Hiph'il von זנה bei Hosea „Hurerei treiben", was trotz V. 18 und 5 3 fraglich bleibt, so ist, da das Perfektum unbedingt falsch ist, unter Annahme von Haplographie וְהזנו zu lesen; muß das Ḳal hergestellt werden, so bleibt die Wahl zwischen וְזָנוּ und יִזְנוּ. — ולא יפרצו könnte nur nach dem פרצו von V. 2 verstanden werden und ist deshalb neben זנה unmöglich. Daß LXX ein יתרצו zu lesen glaubte, wird man kaum bezweifeln können; ob das als יִתְרְצוּ gesprochen heißen kann „sie sollen kein Vergnügen daran haben" (Wellhausen), mag unsicher bleiben. Aber warum nicht einfach יִרְצוּ in diesem hier zu erwartenden Sinne? — את־יהוה habe ich längst für irrige Ausschreibung von אֹתִי angesehen; so jetzt Sellin. — Das

unmögliche עזבו לשמר läßt sich nicht dadurch berichtigen, daß man לשמר streicht (Oettli), oder עזבו, als Wahllesart zu einem richtigen לֹא שָׁמְרוּ (Wellhausen), weil das vorausstehende אתי statt eines einfachen עֲזָבוּנִי sich nur aus nachdrücklichem Gegensatz gegen ein andres Objekt begreift. Man wird also mit LXX das זנות vom Anfang des nächsten Verses zu V. 10 zurückziehen müssen (so Oettli und Sellin); es ist dort ohnehin nicht am Platze. Aber nicht זְנוּת ist dann zu sprechen — Hosea braucht זְנוּנִים (1 2; 2 4, 6; 4 12; 5 4), das einzige זְנוּת 6 10 ist recht unsicher — sondern זנות, Konkretum neben Konkretum: „denn mich haben sie verlassen, um Huren zu behalten!“ Das wird unmittelbar auf die Kedeschen-Wirtschaft gehn, wie sie 4 14 und Am. 2 7 bezeugt ist. Diese Zuspitzung ist vollkommen begreiflich, weil in Gestalt der heiligen Dirnen und nur in ihnen lebendige Personen an die Stelle des Gottes treten und seine Eifersucht erregen. Das ist so echt hoseanisch, wie nur möglich. — Der Vers hat in seinen beiden ersten Zeilen viele Seitenstücke und wäre hinter V. 9 zur Vollständigkeit nicht eben nötig; aber seine Fassung ist doch zu eigenartig, als daß man auf ihn verzichten könnte. — Zwei Dreizeiler schließen Jahwes Rede ab, wie in V. 2 ein Dreizeiler sie eröffnet. Metrische Absichten sind dahinter schwerlich zu suchen.

Und nun lohnt es wohl, den so gewonnenen Wortlaut zusammenhängend folgen zu lassen. Ich sehe dabei von genauer Bezeichnung der Änderungen ab; jeder Leser hat ja MT vor sich liegen. Nur werde ich alle abweichenden Lesungen punktieren. Wo verschiedene offen gelassen sind, nehme ich die einfachste auf. Den Anfang eines neuen parallelen Verses bezeichnet leichtes Einrücken.

1 שמעו דבר יהוה בני ישראל
כי ריב ליהוה עם ישבי הארץ
כי אין אמת ואין חסד
ואין דעת אלהים בארץ

2 אלה וכחש ורצח וגנב
וְזָנֹה ונאף פָּרְצוּ בָאָרֶץ
ודמים בדמים נגעו

4 אך איש אל יָרֵב
ואל יוכח איש
וְעַמְּךָ רִיבֵי כהן
5 וכשלת היום כָּשׁוֹל
לילה דָּמִיתִי אִמֶּךָ
6 כִּי נדמו עמי מִבְּלִי הדעת
אתה הדעת מאסת
ואמאסך מכהן לי

ותשכח תורה אלהיך
אשכח בניך גם אני
כרבם כן חטאו לי 7
כבודם בקלון אמיר
חטאת עמי יאכלו 8
ואל עונם ישאו נַפְשָׁם

והיה כעם ככהן 9
ופקדתי עליו דרכיו
ומעלליו אשיב לו
ואכלו ולא ישבעו 10
וזָנוּ ולא יִרְצוּ
כי אתי עזבו לשמר 11 זנות

2. HOSEA 4 11–19.

Gegenüber der zweiten Hälfte des vierten Kapitels V. 11–19 muß die erste Frage sein, ob wir es mit nur einer Rede oder mit zwei verschiedenen zu tun haben; eine weitere Teilung kann nicht in Betracht kommen. Wir werden sehen, daß V. 15, mindestens zum größten Teil, das hoseanische Gut in zwei Gruppen aus einander sperrt. In beiden handelt es sich wesentlich um den gleichen Gegenstand, Anklage des Volkes in seiner Masse auf Völlerei, Unzucht und Götzendienst in innigem Verein. Man kann daraufhin die beiden Gruppen zu einer einzigen Rede zu verbinden suchen, zumal die Strafe nur am Schluß des Kapitels ihre Stelle findet. Daneben die andere Möglichkeit, daß sie hinter V. 15 durch Sperrgut verdrängt wäre, oder daß Hosea es einmal bei der bloßen Schilderung der Verderbnis hätte bewenden lassen, so daß es sich doch um zwei Reden handelte. — Uneingeführt redet in der ersten Hälfte Jahwe, vgl. V. 12, 14. In der zweiten fehlt sein Ich und tritt in V. 16 seine Nennung in der dritten Person an dessen Stelle; soweit wir sehen können, fallen damit V. 16–19 dem Propheten als Redner zu, wodurch die Entscheidung für zwei Reden begünstigt wird, wenn auch bloßer Wechsel des Redners möglich bleibt und die Wiederholung der gleichen Anklagen in anderen Wendungen dadurch sich erklären würde. — Sichere Ergebnisse macht der traurige Zustand des Textes von V. 15 an unmöglich; es wird gelten, mit möglichst geringen Änderungen einen möglichst einleuchtenden Wortlaut zu gewinnen. Die Vorschläge Anderer werde ich in der Regel nur da erwähnen, wo ich an sie anknüpfen kann, ohne mich zu verpflichten, daß ich jedem Vorgänger gewissenhaft nachspüre.

V. 11, 12. Das erste Wort זנות ist meines Einsehens, als זנות

gesprochen, zum Abschluß von V. 10 nicht zu entbehren. Wäre es auch für V. 11 nötig, so müßte man eben Haplographie annehmen. Aber das Gegenteil ist der Fall. Sollte der Gedanke ausgesprochen sein, daß beides, Unzucht und Rausch vereint, den Verstand verlieren mache, so würde es bei זְנוּת וְיַיִן sein Bewenden haben und nicht die Hinzufügung von תִּירוֹשׁ das Gleichgewicht stören. Auch das Fehlen des „und" vor יַיִן spricht für neuen Anfang. Dazu kommt, daß in V. 12 Hurerei für Götzendienst gebraucht wird — זְנוּנִים wie 1 2; 2 4, 6; 5 4, während das einzige זְנוּת 6 10 recht unsicher ist — deshalb nicht dicht vorher im eigentlichen Sinne vorkommen wird. Erst als Folge des Rausches stellt sich vielmehr in V. 13 f. auch die geschlechtliche Ausschweifung ein. — Auffallend ist das יִקַּח, Imperfektum und Singular; man sollte לָקְחוּ erwarten. Indessen mag, nachdem זנות fortgefallen, das Paar „Wein und Most" als Einheit gelten können und das Imperfektum für den andauernden Dämmerzustand der Gewohnheitstrinker am Platze sein. Ich wage deshalb nicht zu ändern. — Der Satz, ein Vers von nur einem Gliede, steht wie ein blasser Gemeinplatz da; seit Marti pflegt man ihm deshalb eine andre Stelle anzuweisen. Schon LXX wußte besseren Rat, indem sie עַמִּי von V. 12 als *τοῦ λαοῦ μου* herüberzog: „Wein und Most nehmen meinem Volk den Verstand." Der Rest von 12 a bildet dazu nach einem Doppelpunkt das herrliche parallele Glied von gleicher Länge: „Sein Holz befragts, und sein Stock soll es bescheiden!" Nur ein Blödsinniger kann doch auf solchen Einfall kommen! — Es bleibt in 12 b ein paralleler Vers: das sinnlose Orakelsuchen ist nur eine Seite ihres allgemeinen Abfalls zum Götzendienste. Für התעה stellt man ziemlich allgemein התעם — Marti und Duhm weniger gut הִתְעָהוּ — her; das den Wert hervorhebende אלהיהם streitet nicht mit dem Ich Jahwes. Vgl. zu dem Halbverse 1 2; 9 1.

V. 13. Die erste Hälfte bringt die seit Hosea gewohnte Anklage gegen den Höhendienst auf den hohen Bergen und unter den grünen Bäumen in zwei tadellosen parallelen Versen, von denen der zweite sich hinter ולבנה teilt. Die Wohltat des Schattens deutet die Behaglichkeit und Üppigkeit der Opfermahle in jeder Beziehung an, wie wir sie besonders Am. 2 7 f.;

4 4f. weiter ausgeführt finden. — b führt in zwei knappen parallelen Gliedern den unzüchtigen Wandel der weiblichen Jugend mit einem עַל־כֵּן auf den Götzendienst der Väter zurück. Das greift sehr ungeschickt V. 14 aβ vor, wo ihr Verhalten viel anschaulicher mit dem bösen Beispiel der Väter gerade in dieser Richtung entschuldigt wird. Auch die Anrede ist nicht am Platze, da die dritte Person nicht nur vorher herrscht, sondern auch in 14 aβ mit הֵם wieder eintritt. V. 13 b ist deshalb sicher Glosse, wohl hinzugefügt, um den bösen Wandel der Töchter und Schwiegertöchter, der in 14 aα weit kräftiger einfach vorausgesetzt wird, ausdrücklich vorher einzuführen.[3] Er ist lediglich aus 14 aα entnommen und hat dann mit der Anrede auf diesen ursprünglichen Vers abgefärbt.

V. 14. Für בנותיכם und כלותיכם ist also בְּנוֹתָם und כַּלּוֹתָם zu lesen: so jetzt Sellin, auch in 13 b, während Wellhausen umgekehrt für das הֵם in 14 b „ihr" setzt, womit natürlich auch die beiden Verbalformen verändert werden müßten — beides stillschweigend, nur in der Übersetzung. — aβ „Denn sie selbst". Für יִפָּרְדוּ ist mit Stade und Oettli יִפְרְדוּ zu sprechen, zur Sache Am. 2 7 zu vergleichen. — b. „Das unverständige Volk" wird hier durch die jungen Weiber vertreten, braucht sich aber nicht auf sie zu beschränken. Die bei den Opfermahlen so auftreten, wie 13 a und 14 aβ es schildern, das sind die vornehmen und wohlhabenden Leute; durch ihr schlechtes Beispiel verführen sie die Geringen und Unreifen und entlasten sie damit von ihrer Schuld. Der Halbvers ist vorläufig als drittes Glied eines Dreizeilers zu buchen, der als solcher gar keine Schwierigkeit bereitet, vielmehr eben vorher in V. 2, 9, 10 seine ungezwungenen Seitenstücke hatte. Daß die Ergänzung durch V. 11 — Marti versetzt ihn hinter 14 b, Duhm hinter 14 a, Sellin 14 b hinter V. 11 — gründlich fehlgeht, haben wir oben gesehen; Wellhausen fordert in der Übersetzung durch Punkte allem Anschein nach eine parallele Zeile. Nötig ist diese weder für den Sinn, noch für das Metrum; doch wird Ausschau zu halten sein, ob sich eine noch darbietet.

[3] Wellhausen hielt den Halbvers und setzte vor ihm wegen des jetzt unlogischen עַל־כֵּן eine Lücke voraus.

V. 15. Daß der Vers mindestens größtenteils judäische Glosse ist, hat man längst erkannt, und man sollte nicht versuchen, seine Herkunft von Hosea, etwa von andrer Stelle her, zu verteidigen. Die Frage ist vielmehr, was zu dieser Glosse den Anlaß mag gegeben haben. Sofort muß die wunderliche Einführung in dem Bedingungssatz 15 a auffallen; mit Recht sagt Wellhausen, der den ganzen Vers in der Übersetzung stillschweigend ausläßt, es müßte Juda angeredet sein und nicht Israel, also „Wenn Israel hurt, so verschulde [doch] du, Juda, dich nicht!“ Aus der überlieferten unlogischen Fassung ist daher zu schließen, daß der Vordersatz אם זנה אתה ישראל vorlag, so daß man an dessen Fassung nicht zu rütteln wagte. Eben dieser offene Vordersatz forderte den Nachsatz, das Zugeständnis für Israel den Gegensatz Juda, und für dieses die warnende Abwehr. So erklärt sich 15 a β leicht genug. Dazu ist dann b die erläuternde Ausführung, vielleicht erst später hinzugefügt: Juda soll sich nicht durch den Götzendienst Israels anstecken lassen, d. h. die götzendienerischen Heiligtümer jenseits der Grenze — in Juda werden solche nicht vorausgesetzt — nicht aufsuchen. Die aber werden von Am. 5 5; 8 14 dargeboten und nun die Warnung vor ihnen in freier Erinnerung aus jenen Stellen hier eingefügt. Sicher hat Wellhausen recht, daß an dritter Stelle Beēršēbaʿ gemeint ist, oder doch war, vielleicht mit einem חי אֵל בְּאֵר שָׁבַע. Daß dies dann, sei es sofort, sei es später, verwischt wurde, begreift sich daraus, daß B. judäisch und nicht nordisraelitisch war, so daß mit seiner Nennung die Ansteckung von Juda bereits zugegeben wäre. Danach fällt der Text von a β (אַל) an ohne weiteres fort; fragen kann man, ob außer dem in der Luft hängenden Vordersatz a α etwa auch noch ein freier Raum in der betreffenden Handschrift Anlaß zur Glossierung gab. — Was bedeutet aber nun dieser offene Vordersatz? Statt eine, natürlich nicht herstellbare, Ergänzung zu fordern, also Ausfall von echtem Hosea-Text, lohnt es wohl LXX zu beachten. Sie zieht die beiden ersten Worte zurück zu ילבט in V. 14, *συνεπλέκετο μετὰ πόρνης*, und hilft sich dann mühsam weiter. Das ergibt עם statt אם, und das läßt sich ebensogut עַם wie עִם sprechen: עַם זֹנֶה אַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל, „ein hurerisches Volk bist du, Israel, [einmal].“ Das wäre ein durchaus brauchbares

Parallelglied zu 14 b, umschrieben: „Und so kommt das unverständige Volk zu Fall, da die allgemeine hurerische Anlage Israels einmal vorhanden ist.“ Sein voll entsprechendes Seitenstück findet der so hergestellte Satz 15 a α an 12 b. Daß zum Abschluß des Stücks die Anrede eintritt, kann nicht auffallen, sondern hebt nur die Lebhaftigkeit der Rede. Auch dieser selbständige Satz, einmal von V. 14 abgelöst, konnte zur gegensätzlichen Fortführung mit Juda Anlaß geben. — Die andere Möglichkeit, daß 15 a α über den Einschub a β b hinaus sich mit 16 a zusammenschlösse, kann ich nicht für wahrscheinlich halten, obgleich dadurch auch dort ein Dreizeiler überwunden würde. Denn der Anrede in 15 a α steht dort die dritte Person gegenüber, der schlichten Aussage der Vergleich, der den Rest des Verses beherrscht und durch diese Koppelung sehr an Anschaulichkeit verlieren würde; außerdem stieße ישראל auf ישראל, so daß man erst אֶפְרַיִם für das zweite einsetzen müßte.[4] Ich möchte deshalb mit einiger Zuversicht den Abschluß von V. 11–14 durch 15 a α vertreten.

Es wird nicht überflüssig sein, den so gewonnenen schönen Wortlaut hebräisch folgen zu lassen. Ich verzichte dabei wieder auf genauen Vermerk aller Änderungen und werde mich darauf beschränken, überall, wo geändert ist, zu punktieren.

11 יין ותירוש יקח לב 12 עמי
בעצו ישאל ומקלו יגיד לו
כי רוח זנונים התעם
ויזנו מתחת אלהיהם
13 a על ראשי ההרים יזבחו
ועל הגבעות יקטרו
תחת אלון ולבנה
ואלה כי טוב צלה

14 לא אפקוד על בְּנוֹתֵם כי
תזנינה
ועל כַּלּוֹתֵם כי תנאפנה
כי הם עם הזנות יִפָּרֵדוּ
ועם הקדשות יזבחו
ועם לא יבין ילבט
15 a α עם זנה אתה ישראל

Von V. 16–19 eine überzeugende Herstellung zu bieten, wäre ein hoffnungsloses Unterfangen. „Von הנח לו (V. 17) an“, sagt Wellhausen, „versteht man nichts mehr, bis auf einzelne Brocken“, und seine Übersetzung bricht ohne Begründung schon

[4] Daß das einleitende כי gestrichen werden müßte, fällt nicht ins Gewicht, weil das je nach Bedarf eingefügt sein kann.

mit V. 14 ab. Versuchen kann man, einen verständlichen Wortlaut in möglichster Annäherung an den überlieferten Bestand zu gewinnen; mehrfach ist darin schon recht Brauchbares geleistet, und vielleicht glückt es hie und da, darüber noch etwas hinauszukommen. Nur so möchte ich meinen Beitrag aufgefaßt wissen. Das Meiste kann dabei ganz kurz behandelt werden.

V. 16 gibt noch einen annehmbaren Sinn; das יהוה in b zeigt, daß wir es mit Rede des Propheten zu tun haben. Das כי zu Anfang fordert den Anschluß nach rückwärts, hier also, wenn wir richtig entschieden haben, an 15aα. Der Wechsel des Redners macht das keineswegs unmöglich; recht wohl kann der Prophet die Rede Jahwes aufnehmen und fortführen. Dafür könnte auch sprechen, daß von der Strafe in V. 11–15 nicht die Rede ist, sondern nur in V. 19. Entscheidet man anders, so muß das כי als später hinzugefügtes Flickwerk fallen. — סרר habe ich längst als Dittographie vermerkt, weil der Nominalsatz besser ist als das Perfektum, wie denn von סרר nur das part. סֹרֵר, nirgends sonst eine Form des verbum finitum vorkommt. So entscheidet jetzt auch Sellin m. c. — Zwei Zeilen aus a zu machen (Duhm ohne כי 3+2), ist auch mit סרר recht schwer; es bleibt daher ein Dreizeiler, und so muß für Sellin der entscheidende Satz עתה ירעם יהוה hinaus. An dem Dreizeiler ist vielmehr hier so wenig Anstoß zu nehmen wie in V. 2, 9 und 10. — Ob man b mit Hitzig und Wellhausen als Frage auffaßt, oder als verwunderten Ausruf, ist leidlich einerlei; jedenfalls sagt der Halbvers, daß Jahwe an dergleichen gar nicht denken kann. — Wie aα für Duhm, so muß bβ für Sellin dreihebig sein, ebenfalls ohne Änderung. Obgleich kein Metriker, habe ich mir doch längst als wahrscheinlich vermerkt, daß vor ככבש ein zweites Tatwort, Seitenstück zu ירעם, möchte übersehen sein, also etwa ein יְנַהֲלֵם (Ps. 23 2). Fragen kann man, ob das Pluralsuffix ursprünglich ist, es paßt gar schlecht zu dem Bilde. Dürfte man יְרֶעָהּ herstellen, so könnte ינהלה hinter יהוה sehr leicht übersehen sein.

V. 17. Für חֲבוּר עֲצַבִּים muß ich mich Duhm anschließen und חֲבֵר עֹגְבִים „Genosse von Buhlen“ für das Wahrscheinlichste halten, „da man Götzenbilder nicht zu Genossen haben kann“. Man vergleiche Jes. 1 23 und 44 11, wo חָבֵר auch keineswegs

„Anbeter“ heißt. — Das הנח־לו hinter dem ersten Gliede reicht jedenfalls für das zweite nicht aus, und da es auch keinen irgend verwendbaren Sinn hergibt, wird man gut tun, mit dem Lösungsversuch zu warten, bis der Blick etwas weiter reicht.

V. 18. Der Vers zerfällt in zwei sehr ungleiche Teile; die beiden ersten Worte reden vom Saufen, der Rest von Unzucht. Für סר סבאם hat Houtsma die überzeugende Herstellung סד סִבְאָם gefunden. „Eine Rotte von Säufern“; das ist sicherlich eine Aussage über Israel, zu der nur das Subjekt, eine neue Bezeichnung für das Volk, fehlt. Sie muß in dem rätselhaften Rest von V. 17 gesucht werden, und ich meine dafür נַחֲלָתוֹ „sein Erbe“ vorschlagen zu dürfen. Das deckt sich mit הִנְחָלוֹ, wenn man das ה als ת hinter das ל versetzt, deckt sich noch besser damit als Guthes הַנָּח בְּסַד, das dem Sinne nach keineswegs befriedigt. Das Suffix geht natürlich auf יהוה, der wenige Zeilen vorher genannt ist; der Gebrauch von נחלת יהוה für Israel läßt sich freilich vor dem Deuteronomium (4 20; 9 26, 29) nicht nachweisen; aber das Deuteronomium knüpft auch so eng an Hosea an, daß das vollkommen genügen dürfte. Als steigernde Parallele zu אפרים scheint es mir durchaus am Platze zu sein. — In b scheint mir das Sicherste zu sein das מְגֹאָנָה der LXX für מגניה, woraus dann schon Houbigant und Schleusner gemäß der sonst in diesen Versen herrschenden Person מְגֹאָנָם herstellten. Mit einem אָהֲבוּ statt des sinnlosen הבו gewinnt dann Houtsma den Satz „sie lieben die Schande mehr als ihren Stolz“, was ich nicht wie Wellhausen für unmöglich halten kann. Der Stolz Israels ist natürlich Jahwe, Schande das ganze unsaubere Treiben, das mit dem kanaanitischen Dienst verbunden (vgl. V. 14) und eben vorher gekennzeichnet ist. — Aus den drei vorhergehenden Worten gewinnt sich am leichtesten ein הַזְּנֵה הִזְנוּם אֹהֲבִים, „völlig verhurten sie die Liebhaber“; vielleicht bedarf es nicht eines אֹהֲבֵיהֶם. Daß dann das Objekt dieses Satzes im letzten Gliede zum Subjekt wird, macht keine Schwierigkeit. — So mit der 3. masc. plur., die durch הבו und durch ויבשו und מזבחותם in V. 19 an die Hand gegeben wird. Statt ihrer bieten מגניה und in V. 19 אותה die 3. fem. sing., und man kann sich nicht verhehlen, daß die zu den „Buhlen“ und dem „zur Hure machen“ besser paßt, wie sie denn der Allegorie in Kap. 1—3

durchaus entspricht. Das weibliche Beziehungswort dafür ist bei unsrem Herstellungsversuch in נַחֲלָתוֹ gegeben, wie freilich auch das in der 3. masc. plur. in dem Prädikat dazu, סַד סַבְאָם. So ergäbe sich הַזְּנוּהָ אֹהֲבֶיהָ אָהֲבָה קָלוֹן מְגֹאָנָה, woraus sich in graphischer Hinsicht der überlieferte Konsonantenbestand wohl noch etwas leichter erklärt. Immerhin ist es schwer, nach der einen oder andren Seite mit Zuversicht zu entscheiden.

V. 19. Für a weiß ich keine bessere Lösung als die Oettlis צָרָתַם רוּחַ נְשָׂאָתַם בִּכְנָפֶיהָ, oder dasselbe nach dem zuletzt Besprochenen mit צָרָתָהּ und נְשָׂאָתָהּ, was der Überlieferung um einen Buchstaben näher bleibt. Die Strafe in Gestalt einer Windsbraut, so sicher, als wäre sie schon eingetreten; schmerzlich vermißt man davor ein לָכֵן „darum", dessen Ausfall doch graphisch nicht leicht zu erklären wäre. — b darf wohl in jedem Falle mit der 3. masc. plur. der Wirklichkeit abschließen. — Sicher verderbt ist מזבחותם, und zwar nicht nur der Form nach, mit der falschen Endung fem. plur., so daß Wellhausens מִמִּזְבְּחוֹתָם nach LXX die Heilung brächte, sondern auch der Sache nach, da der Zusammenhang vorher weder von Opfern noch von Altären redet. Natürlich ist auch Ehrlichs מִמּוֹעֲצוֹתָם lahm und nicht hergehörig. Sachlich und graphisch gut und leicht ist Duhms מִזְּנוּתָם; ein Bedenken dagegen, daß „Hurerei" sonst bei Hosea — 4 11 ist זנות zu sprechen — זְנוּנִים heißt. Aber da der Gegenstand des Gerichts hier, nachdem es eingetreten, kaum mehr vorhanden ist, seine Empfindungen jedenfalls kaum mehr von Bedeutung, wäre doch wohl für בוש hier erwünschter als die Bedeutung „sich seiner Handlungen schämen", wie sie z. B. Hes. 36 32; Zeph. 3 11; Sach. 13 4 sicher vorliegt, die andre „enttäuscht werden in dem, worauf man sich verlassen hat", z. B. Bundesgenossen (Jes. 20 5; Jer. 2 36) oder Götzen (Hos. 10 6, wo demgemäß zu lesen ist, und Jer. 48 13). Ich möchte anheimgeben, ob man nicht מֵאֹהֲבֵיהֶם „in ihren Liebhabern" lesen sollte, oder gar, besonders leicht, מֵאַהֲבָתָם „in [dem Gegenstand] ihrer Liebe".

Ich lasse auch hier den versuchsweise hergestellten Wortlaut folgen, freilich mit allen denkbaren Vorbehalten.

כפרה סררה ישׂראל 16
עתה יִרְעֵהָ יהוה
[וְנַהֲלָהָ] ככבשׂ במרחב
חֲבֵר עֻבִּים אפרים 17
נַחַלְתָּז 18 סַר סִבְאָם
הזנה הִזְנּוּהָ אֹהֲבֶיהָ
אָהֲבָה קלון מְגִנָּתָהּ
צָרְרַתָּהּ רוח נְשָׂאָתַהּ בכנפיה 19
ויבשׁו מִזִּבְחֹתָם

V. 19 läßt sich auch als Dreizeiler lesen.

DIE ERSTE SELIGPREISUNG

JULIUS BOEHMER
MAGDEBURG-CRACAU

ES ist von jeher aufgefallen, daß der Wortlaut der ersten Seligpreisung ein anderer bei Matthäus, ein anderer bei Lukas ist. Mt. 5 3 heißt es: Selig sind, die geistlich arm sind, denn ihrer ist das Himmelreich. Dagegen Lk. 6 20: Selig seid ihr Armen, denn euer ist das Reich Gottes. Der einzige Unterschied, der zu Gedanken und Bedenken Anlaß gibt (denn ob Aussageform oder Anredeform, ob Himmelreich oder Reich Gottes, darauf kommt nichts an) ist die Bezeichnung der Seliggepriesenen als „geistlich arm" oder „arm" schlechthin.

Die „geistlich Armen" oder „Armen" haben eine Fülle von Erklärungen gefunden, die in der Regel mehr auf die Gegenwart und eine Sprache der Gegenwart eingestellt sind als auf das biblische Zeitalter und die biblischen Grundsprachen. Denn die Armen der Bibel, wenigstens des Alten Testaments, haben meist mit dem Mangel an irdischen Gütern nichts zu tun. Sie bilden vielmehr eine bestimmte, festumrissene Gruppe, nämlich die fromme Gemeinde Israels, wie sie in der babylonischen Verbannung und nach derselben sich darstellte. Diese war oder fühlte sich innerhalb der Welt und gegenüber den Gewalthabern der Welt als die Unterdrückten, Vergewaltigten, Not- und Unrechtleidenden. Und zwar waren sie dies um ihrer Frömmigkeit und Rechtschaffenheit willen. Sie werden mit dem Gottesvolk gleichgestellt, geradezu vereinerleit, so Jes. 49 13; 54 11; Ps. 72 2; 149 4. Daraus folgt nicht, was man so oft gefolgert und als Meinung der Bibel und Jesu, des Christentums und der Kirche hingestellt hat, als ob der Arme als solcher fromm, rechtschaffen (der Reiche dagegen gottlos,

ungerecht) sei. Sondern umgekehrt: der Fromme, Gerechte wird als arm bezeichnet, weil er geplagt, übel daran, rechtlos ist, kurz: erfahrungsgemäß sich stets in ungünstiger Lage gegenüber der Welt und ihren Mächten befindet. Er widerstrebt diesem Zustand nicht, wehrt sich nicht dagegen, kämpft nicht dawider an, sondern er hält sich ausschließlich an Gott. Außer ihm hat er keinen, braucht er keinen, sucht er keinen, der sich sein annimmt, der ihm hilft, ihn schützt.

Diese Armen im Sinne: Gottesvolk treten im Alten Testament unter verschiedenen Namen auf, die einfach als Wechselbegriffe zu gelten haben. Sie heißen auch die Leidtragenden Mt. 5 4, die Dulder 5 5, die hungern und dürsten nach der Gerechtigkeit 5 6, nach ihrem von Gott zu erwartenden und zu empfangenden Recht, nach seinem Beistand, seiner Hilfe, seinem Heil. Nicht anders ist auch Lk. 6 21 gemeint. Alle diese Bezeichnungen bringen je in ihrer Weise zum Ausdruck, daß es sich um heilsempfängliche Seelen handelt, die aus ihrer persönlichen Lage heraus sehnlich nach dem Heil Gottes verlangen.

Darnach liegt auf der Hand, so scheint es und so wird es zumeist gefaßt, daß die hier gemeinten und gekennzeichneten Armen sich eben dieser ihrer Armut vollauf bewußt sind, daß sie ihre Armut fühlen. Dies ist selbstverständlich und ihrem Armutzustand sogar wesentlich. Man kann sagen: wenn sie ihre Armut nicht fühlten, wären sie nicht arm. Und dies Gefühl für ihre Armut, das Bewußtsein um ihre Armut werde durch das „geistliche“ ausgedrückt. Es handelt sich bei diesem so „geistlich“ klingenden Wort auch so keineswegs um den heiligen Geist, um religiöse und sittliche Verhältnisse, um Gottbezogenheit u. dgl., sondern lediglich um den allgemeinsten, einfachsten, untergeordnetsten Begriff von Geist, der Gefühl, Bewußtsein u. dgl. meint. Geist bildet so den Gegensatz zu Leib, Fleisch u. dgl. und wird hier im selben Sinne gebraucht wie etwa Mk. 2 8; Lk. 1 80; 2 40; Apg. 19 21; 1 Kor. 5 3, 5 usw. Und wenn von hier aus der Zusatz „geistlich“ zu arm einfach selbstverständlich ist, wäre darum zwischen der Fassung der ersten Seligpreisung bei Matthäus und bei Lukas nicht der kleinste sachliche Unterschied.

Allein das alles gilt doch nur, falls im Neuen Testament die Armen wirklich (wie im Alten Testament) jene gekennzeichnete Gruppe bedeuteten. Ist dem so? Das läßt sich keineswegs dartun. Im Gegenteil: alles, was spricht, spricht dagegen. Das Wort arm nämlich kommt im (angeblich) (rein) religiösen Sinn (= fromm) im ganzen Neuen Testament außer Mt. 5 und Lk. 6 nur noch Mt. 11 5; Lk. 4 18; 7 22 vor. Und überall sind hier Zitate aus Jes. 61 1 gemeint. An dieser Jesaja-Stelle aber zeigt der Zusammenhang deutlich, da dort den Armen die zerbrochenen Herzen, die Gefangenen und die Gefesselten parallel stehen, daß die Armen unmöglich als Fromme gemeint sein können. Dann aber gilt für die neutestamentlichen Stellen ohne weiteres dasselbe. Wie aber ist dann „arm" zu verstehen?

Bei der Einzigartigkeit der Wendung „geistlich arm" nimmt es geradezu Wunder, daß man sich bisher die einzige wirkliche neutestamentliche Parallele 1 Kor. 14 20 „Kinderen am Verstand", „im Verstand vollkommen" hat entgehen lassen, vermutlich weil „der Verstand", zumal im Vergleich mit „Geist" zu abgelegen, zu ungeeignet schien. Mit Unrecht. Und auch im Alten Testament ist wenigstens eine, aber auch nur diese genaue Parallele in Ps. 34 19, wo von den „Zerschlagenen im Geist" die Rede ist, vorhanden: daneben steht der Ausdruck, der selbe wie Jes. 61 1, „die gebrochenen Herzen". Dagegen ist eben hier der Ausdruck arm gemäß einer anderen Lesart (die Sanftmütigen) nicht zur Anwendung gekommen. Und eben darum tritt auch die enge Beziehung von Mt. 11 5; Lk. 4 18; 7 22 zu Jes. 61 1 im Blick auf „die Armen" nicht deutlich hervor. Gleichviel aber, alle diese Erwägungen und ihrer noch mehr führen darauf, daß „geistlich arm" Mt. 5 3 seine alttestamentliche Vorlage in einem Ausdruck hat, der im Buch der Sprüche geläufig ist und hier „unverständig" 6 32; 7 7; 9 4, 16; 10 13; 11 12; 12 11; 15 21; 17 18; 24 30 wiedergegeben ist. Der Ausdruck meint wörtlich den „der des Verstandes (der Einsicht) ermangelt", anders gesagt: „der des Geistes ermangelt," „an Geist arm" ist. Denn Geist, Herz, Seele meinen im Alten Testament, wie aus zahlreichen Beispielen zu ersehen ist, die gesamte Innerlichkeit des Menschen,

je nachdem: Empfindungen und Gemütsbewegungen, Verstand und Erkenntnis und Weisheit, Wille und Entschluß, endlich Gesinnung und Charakter. In den Sprüchen heißt der Ausdruck genau: „ermangelnd des Herzens", und es ist nur Zufall, wenn statt dessen nicht „ermangelnd des Geistes" gesagt wird. Demnach stimmt das „unverständig" in den Sprüchen sinngemäß mit „geistlich arm" Mt. 5 3 völlig zusammen. „Herz = Verstand" ist weiter zu „Weisheit" geworden: ein festgeprägter Begriff, zu dessen Erfassung das ganze Buch der Sprüche und die Gesamtwelt der Weisheit den Hintergrund bildet.

Ursprünglich ist Weisheit allgemein Lebensklugheit und nicht auf Israel beschränkt. Ein Mann in hoher Lebensstellung, überhaupt der vielerfahrene Vater, pflegte seinem Sohne, zumal wenn der sein Nachfolger war oder werden sollte, seine „Weisheit", d. h. Lebenserfahrung und Menschenkunde und Weltkenntnis mitzugeben, sei es, daß er sie mündlich einprägte oder der Behaltbarkeit wegen schriftlich niederlegte. Das ist schon seit rund 2000 v. Chr. z. B. in Ägypten nachweisbar. Davon ist die Anrede des Weisheitslehrers an seinen Schüler „mein Sohn" üblich geblieben. Aber nur in Israel und erst seit dem Exil wird diese Weisheit mit der Religion, mit Gesetz und Propheten in wesentlichen, organischen Zusammenhang gebracht. Sie sucht die Frage zu beantworten: Wie muß einer leben und handeln, um glücklich, d. h. von Gott gesegnet zu sein? In diesem Sinn werden Gesetz und Propheten, die sich von Haus aus an die Gesamtheit, das Volk, die Gemeinde richteten, auf den einzelnen Israeliten und seine Lebensverhältnisse angewandt. „Weise" nannte man in Israel nach dem Exil die Männer, die Gesetz und Propheten verstanden und gemäß vorhandener Auslegung wie eigenem Verständnis sprachlich wie sachlich erklärten. Mitunter waren sie zugleich Priester, so (gemäß der Überlieferung) bis hin zu Simon dem Gerechten (um 300 oder 200 v. Chr.). Es sind die Schriftgelehrten vom alten Schlage, wie etwa Jesus Sirach einer war, noch bevor in der Makkabäerzeit die Gesetzlichkeit (der Legalismus) im genaueren Sinn des Worts mit all ihren Engherzigkeiten und Spitzfindigkeiten aufkam und „die Weisen" zu Rabbinen und Apokalyptikern wurden. Noch befinden wir

uns im vierten und dritten und in der ersten Hälfte des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts, wo das Buch der Sprüche entstanden und gesammelt zu denken ist; in der Zeit zwischen Esra und Sirach, wo die Weisen mit den Priestern Hand in Hand gingen, allmählich aber diese an Bedeutung zu überragen anfingen. Waren sie doch Lehrer nicht für Religion und Sittlichkeit allein, sondern für alles Wissenswerte überhaupt, für alles weltliche Wissen zugleich. Sie waren, um es im einzelnen auseinanderzulegen: Jugendlehrer, Synagogenredner, Straßenprediger, persönliche und öffentliche Seelenberater („Seelsorger" wäre zu viel gesagt). In allem waltete erzieherische Absicht, und diese erzieherische Absicht zielte auf das „Herz" des Zöglings, d. h. auf Wissen und Verstand, auf Erkenntnis und Weisheit, auf Wille und Gemüt, auf Gesinnung und Charakter, kurz auf den ganzen inwendigen Menschen; und zwar gemäß ihrem eigenen und eigensten menschlich-sittlichen, diesseitig-optimistischen, gegenwartmäßig-durchschnittlichen, selbstisch-unsozialen, negativ-äußerlichen, rein praktischen und streng praktischen Ideal.

Immer wieder, das geht durch das ganze Buch der Sprüche, wird auf „das Herz" gezielt. „Wenn du dein Herz zur Einsicht neigst" 2 2. „Wenn Weisheit in dein Herz kommt" 2 10. „Dein Herz bewahre meine Gebote" 3 1. Ähnlich 3 3; 4 4, 21; 7 7; 10 8; 14 33; 15 7; 16 23. Das Herz ist dazu da, Weisheit und Weisungen und Weise des Lehrers aufzunehmen. Ein Herz, das dies aufgenommen hat, ist das Herz, wie es sein soll und muß. Solch ein Herz ist in dem Ausdruck „unverständig" = „ermangelnd des Herzens" (s. o.) gemeint. Dies Herz hat rechten Verstand, wahre Weisheit. In diesem Sinn gibt es „Männer von Herz" = „Männer von Verstand, Weisheit" Hi. 34 10, 34; vgl. 12 3; 36 5; Spr. 15 32; 1 Kön. 5 9; das Gegenteil: Menschen „ohne Herz" = „ohne Verstand, Weisheit" Jer. 5 21; Spr. 17 16. Daher kann „Herz" geradezu für „Weisheit" eintreten Spr. 8 5.

Allein die „Weisheit", die schon Jes. 29 14 von Gott mit verdammenden Worten abgetan erscheint, gewann ein anderes Gesicht, seitdem sie mit Beginn der Makkabäerzeit und zunehmend in den folgenden Jahrhunderten zur knöchernen

Gesetzlichkeit wurde und im Pharisäismus den Weg zu Gott zu verbauen anfing, mit einem Wort: irreligiös wurde. Im Zeitalter der Sprüche waren „die Weisen und Verständigen" 16 21 die Frommen, und an sie Hi. 34 10, 34 wandte sich, wer Gedanken der Frömmigkeit Eingang verschaffen wollte. Noch standen „Weisheit" und „herzlos" Spr. 17 16, „weise und töricht" Sir. 21 18; 5 Mos. 32 6 in althergebrachtem Sinne des Worts einander gegenüber. Daneben aber bahnte sich gemäß dem angedeuteten Verlauf der Dinge eine Umwertung an: es kam der Unweise, der Tor, der Einfältige zu Ehren: er muß weise werden Ps. 19 8. Ähnlich 119 130^a; Spr. 1 4, 32; 7 7; 8 5; 9 4, 6, 16; 14 15, 18; 19 25; 21 11; 22 3; 27 12 (Hes. 45 20 gehört nicht hierher). Es erscheint neben und als Wechselbegriff von „Jüngling" 1 4, von „Tor" 1 32; 8 5, von „unverständig" („ermangelnd des Herzens") 7 7; 9 4, 16; als Gegensatz von „klug" 14 15 u. ö. Ja, in einem der anerkannt spätesten, stark aramäisch gefärbten Psalmen 116 6 wird „einfältig" (hier steht im Grundtext das selbe Wort wie für „Tor") zum Wechselbegriff von „fromm": die Einen erklären es als „einer, der sich selbst nicht schützen kann" (was freilich als sprachliche Vergewaltigung gelten muß); andere weisen zum Verständnis geradezu auf Mt. 5 3.

Diese umwertende Entwicklung erscheint im Neuen Testament abgeschlossen. Hier steht „Tor" = „unmündig" („töricht" 1 Kor. 1 27; „unwissend" Röm. 2 20) im Gegensatz zu „den Weisen und Verständigen" Mt. 11 25; Lk. 10 21; Röm. 2 20; 1 Kor. 1 19, 26f. „Tor" und „unmündig" ist im griechischen Grundtext des Alten und des Neuen Testaments das selbe Wort. Die Weisen aber oder Gelehrten (Theologen, Philosophen, Lehrer, Redner) sind die berufsmäßigen und tatsächlich unfrommen Vertreter der Frömmigkeit. Dagegen die Unmündigen, Kindischen, Törichten (dies ist die allgemein griechische, schon bei Homer entwickelte Bedeutung des fraglichen Worts) sind die Frommen oder Einfältigen, als solche von Jesus und im Urchristentum überhaupt gepriesen. Hier ist „Tor-unmündig" (griechisch: nēpios) zum religiösen Begriff geworden. „Der Tor" meint den Frommen in dem Sinn, daß, wer sich von der Welt wie ihrer Weisheit oder ihrem Wissen entblößt hat, eben darum sich ganz an

Gott zu halten veranlaßt, ja genötigt wird, sich selber nötigt. „Tor-unmündig-töricht-unwissend“ sieht nach allem einem Wechselbegriff von „geistlich arm“ nicht unähnlich.

Beide Worte meinen den „der das Gesetz nicht kennt“ Joh. 7 49. Die erste Seligpreisung meint: Selig, denen der Geist = das Herz = die (theologische, gesetzliche, pharisäische) Weisheit (die rabbinische Schulgelehrsamkeit) mangelt. Weil sie ihnen mangelt, eben darum sind sie dem Himmelreich und das Himmelreich ihnen zugänglich.

Entsprechende Ausdrücke wie „geistlich arm“ fehlen in der urchristlichen Literatur nicht ganz. Jak. 2 5 liest man „die Armen dieser Welt“, was genau heißen sollte „die der Welt ermangeln, von der Welt nichts besitzen“. Nicht: Arme der Welt, auch nicht: arm im Urteil der Welt. Zu übersetzen ist: Hat nicht Gott, die an Welt (weltlichem Besitz) arm sind, zu solchen erwählt, die reich am Glauben (nicht: im Glauben) und Erben seines Reiches sind? — Auch eine Stelle aus dem (nicht im Neuen Testament stehenden) Barnabasbrief gehört hierher. Wenn hier 19 2 an den Christen das Gebot gerichtet wird: Du sollst einfältig im Herzen (= einfältigen Sinnes) und reich am Geiste sein, so stimmen hier wieder, wie so oft, Herz und Geist überein. Ferner ist wieder mit Geist die Erkenntnis, freilich christliche Erkenntnis bezeichnet und darum Reichtum an ihr (statt Armut an pharisäisch-rabbinischer Schulgelehrsamkeit) vorgesehen.

Kurz: das Wort „arm“ in den Evangelien richtig zu fassen, dafür ist der Zusammenhang oder ein Zusatz entscheidend. In der Regel der Zusammenhang: sei es die Beziehung auf Jes. 61 1, sei es die Umgebung Lk. 6 20-21 (hier ist auch „die jetzt hungern“ und „die jetzt weinen“ im Anschluß an alttestamentliche Vorbilder geschaffen). Matthäus hat den Zusatz „geistlich“ vorgezogen und erst damit dem Worte „arm“ den Sinn gegeben, den es haben mußte, und so im Anschluß an wie als Wiedergabe von „unverständig“ einen Wechselbegriff von „nēpios“ (= Tor-unmündig) geschaffen.

LEXICAL NOTES ON LUKE-ACTS

III. LUKE'S INTEREST IN LODGING

HENRY J. CADBURY
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

THE object of this paper is to call attention to a minor personal interest of the third evangelist and to its possible bearing on the understanding of a few obscure words in his writings. Study of the individuality of the authors of Scripture is not popular in modern criticism. Between *Quellenkritik* on one hand and *religionsgeschichtliche* and *formgeschichtliche* emphasis upon social and environmental influences on the other hand, the distinctive personality of the author as a factor in the origin of Biblical writings tends to be overlooked. Certainly it is not easy to distinguish between the traits of the editor and the traits of his material—the subject before us will illustrate the difficulty—but the general character of an author's interest has some value for the interpretation of specific passages.

Luke's interest in lodging is most obvious in the second half of Acts and has already been noticed by others.[1] When Paul is journeying up to Jerusalem for the last time we read (21 16): "There went with us also certain of the disciples from Caesarea bringing one Mnason of Cyprus, an early disciple, with whom we should lodge."[2] This is altogether enigmatic.

[1] A. von Harnack, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1908, p. 95 *note* [Eng. Trans., 1909, p. 109 *note*]. I may refer to my discussion of this and cognate interests of Luke in a forthcoming book on *The Making of Luke-Acts*, Chapter XVII.

[2] ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνί τινι Κυπρίῳ ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῇ. The paraphrase of Codex Bezae places Mnason's hospitality at a certain village

Its only point appears to be to indicate Paul's host. As Blass says: "*ex more scriptoris indicandum erat ubi pernoctavissent.*"[3] Just before, at Caesarea, we have a similar notice (21 8 f.): "Entering into the house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven, we abode with him. Now this man had four virgin daughters, who prophesied." Though we may conjecture why Luke mentions these persons, whether as his sources for the past history or as predictors of the future, the fact remains that we hear nothing further of them than that they were Paul's hosts and hostesses.

Paul's lodging at Rome is mentioned probably more than once (28 16, 23, 30, see below). Here of course there is an additional interest in his comparative liberty and privacy. Other references to his hosts occur elsewhere. At Damascus we have a full address given (9 11):

Saul of Tarsus,
Care of Judas,
Straight St.,
Damascus,

just as a little later we have Peter's address (10 5 f.):[4]

Simon surnamed Peter,
Care of Simon the Tanner,
Whose house is by the sea,
Joppa.

In these two cases the details are intended in part to

(between Caesarea and Jerusalem) but is not less enigmatic. As restored from collations made before it was mutilated (see J. H. Ropes, *Harvard Theological Review*, xvi, 1923, pp. 162—168; R. P. Casey, *ibid.*, pp. 392—394 and xix, 1926, pp. 213—214), it read οὗτοι δὲ ἤγαγον ἡμᾶς πρὸς οὓς ξενισθῶμεν. καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἴς τινα κώμην ἐγενόμεθα παρὰ Νάσωνί τινι Κυπρίῳ μαθητῇ ἀρχαίῳ. With this d and the "Western" margin of the Harclean Syriac is almost identical (Th. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, Part IX, 1916, pp. 372 f.; J. H. Ropes, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. III, pp. 204 f.). W. M. Ramsay, *The Expositor*, March, 1895, pp. 213 ff., regards this as a correct gloss though not the original.

[3] Fr. Blass, *Acta apostolorum, editio philologica*, 1895, p. 227.

[4] Commentators ancient and modern find further significance in this address. The "tanner" is thought to be added to distinguish him from

show how explicitly directions are conveyed in supernatural visions, so as to give the most definite guidance. But they are again references to hosts who take no further part in the narrative. This can hardly be said of Aquila and Priscilla, Paul's hosts at Corinth. They were important in their own right in the Christian church, as both Acts and the epistles indicate, yet their first introduction in Acts is not as Christian leaders but as hosts of Paul (18 2 f.): "He came unto them and because he was of the same trade he abode with them and they wrought; for by their trade they were tent-makers." We have at Corinth also mention of another house: "The house of a certain man named Titus Justus, one that worshipped God, whose house was next door to the synagogue" (18 7). Perhaps this was not where Paul lived, but where he taught, like the lecture-hall of Tyrannus in Ephesus. Other hosts to Paul and his companions are however named, viz., at Philippi, Lydia, a purple-seller from Thyatira (16 14 f.); at Malta Publius the *primus* of the island (28 7); at Thessalonica Jason (17 5–9).[5]

Additional instances less striking occur elsewhere in Acts. We may with Harnack note "the upper room where they were staying in Jerusalem (1 13); the upper room in Lydda (9 37, 39); the house of Mary the mother of Mark in Jerusalem (12 12) [where not merely the hostess but even the maid Rhoda is known by name]; the house of the jailor in Philippi (16 34);

Simon Peter, or to show that Peter condescended to the most humble of lodgings without squeamishness or "respect of persons." A location *sur mer* was chosen for business reasons both by the tanner who did much washing of hides, and, according to Harnack, also by the homonymous fisherman: "If Peter enters into a house on the seashore and stays there a long time (ἡμέρας ἱκανάς, 9 43), we may perhaps assume that his trade of fisherman influenced him. He was no tanner." (*Op. cit.*, p. 79 [Eng. Trans., p. 85] *note.*)

[5] Of course Luke is not unique in his interest in hospitality. Paul himself and the last chapter of Romans alone provide sufficient evidence of the part it played in Christian thought. See E. von Dobschütz, *Die urchristliche Gemeinde*, 1902 [Eng. Trans., 1904], *passim;* A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*[4], 1924 [Eng. Trans.[2], 1908], Book II, Chap. IV, § 10.

the upper room in Troas where 'we' were gathered (20 8); the lecture hall of Tyrannus in Ephesus (19 9)."[6]

Harnack notes that some of these passages are in the "we" sections, some are not, and finds therein an argument against regarding this detail as due to a source. He continues: "How do the supporters of the we-source hypothesis stand in the face of a situation like this? Of these passages, six stand in the we-sections, nine in the remaining parts of the book. It must be assumed, I suppose, that the author of the whole was interested in 'houses' and had the fortune to meet with the account of an eye-witness who was likewise interested in 'houses'!!"

In answer to Harnack's ironical rejection of a source I think it is possible to show that this trait in Luke is not incompatible with his use of a source. In the first place the references to lodging may be sometimes derived from a source; in the second place they may be introduced by the evangelist in rewriting a source. For evidence of each of these we turn to the third gospel. It is in the main dependent on written sources, yet it also contains many allusions if not to the houses in which Jesus lodged at least to various forms of hospitality. He is pictured often under the Pharisees' roof. He is entertained by Simon the Pharisee and also by Zacchaeus the publican and by Mary and Martha in their homes. Jesus on several of these occasions discusses hospitality. The parable of Dives and Lazarus seems to turn about the question of inhospitality, while in another parable the shrewd business manager is chiefly concerned that when he is discharged he should have friends who would receive him into their houses

[6] Harnack, *loc. cit. ante* note 1. The suggestion is obvious that the same habit of mind has led the author to give some names of places as well as of persons simply because they marked the overnight stops of journeys. In other histories the σταθμοί were wont thus to be marked (Herodian, ii, 15, 6). Travellers before sailing would lodge at seaports like Seleucia near Antioch (13 4), Attalia near Perga (14 25), Neapolis near Philippi (16 11), Cenchreae near Corinth (18 18). Travellers going overland by the *via Egnatia* from Philippi to Thessalonica would at least lodge at both Amphipolis and Apollonia (17 1).

(16 4, cf. 9). These passages are not in the other gospels. On the other hand, the humble declaration of the centurion (7 6) that he was not worthy to entertain Jesus is verbatim the same in Matthew (8 8) and is therefore due to a common source and not to Luke himself. The same is true of the striking saying (9 58): "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man has not where to lay his head."[7] It was doubtless congenial to Luke, but it comes straight from his source.

In accord with this interest in lodging is Luke's emphasis on spending the night in the open. It has been conjectured from his references to cities that the author's viewpoint is rather urban and with this would agree the impression which Jesus' open-air experiences made upon him. He it is who says that before his death at Jerusalem Jesus spent his nights at the mount of Olives (21 37).[8] The other evangelists say Bethany. The retirement to the mount of Olives was customary (22 39) and there he prayed. So too it is Luke who repeatedly refers to Jesus' prayer in the open. He says in one passage (6 12) that it lasted all night. Luke alone of the evangelists clearly makes the transfiguration scene (9 28–37) an all night experience in the open. Note the references to prayer, to sleep and waking, to the next day.

I had long been aware of this general interest before I noticed two other striking changes which Luke makes in Mark. At the story of the Gadarene demoniac Mark (5 3) describes him as one who had his abode in the tombs. Luke (8 27) says

[7] Matt. 8 20 *verbatim*. The "association of ideas" determining the introduction of this saying at this point in Luke may be due either to the evangelist or to his source. The cue is probably "lodging," for Luke 9 51-56 is the account of the rebuff by a village of the Samaritans whither Jesus had sent messengers "to prepare for him."

[8] The equivalence of "mountain" to "desert" which was discussed in an earlier one of these notes (JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE, xliv, 1925, pp. 221ff.) should be recalled wherever Luke mentions the Mount of Olives or Jesus' prayer on a mountain. The verb used here is ηὐλίζετο, which means properly "lodge in the open" but sometimes merely "lodge." For the agreement of Matt. 21 17 ηὐλίσθη see B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 1924, p. 301.

he "abode *not in a house,* but in the tombs." Here is Harnack's word "house" added.[9] Again before the feeding of the five thousand, since evening had come on, Mark (6 36) represents Jesus' disciples as saying to him: "Send them away in order that going into the fields and villages round about they may buy for themselves something to eat." In like manner Matthew (14 15); Luke (9 12) copies but makes one addition: "Send away the multitude in order that going into the villages and fields round about they may *put up for the night* and find provisions."[10]

I proceed now to call attention to two other cases where Luke's interest in spending the night in the open seems to me to lurk and to throw light on long-standing obscurities.

συναλίζομαι

In Acts 1 3 f. we read of the risen Jesus that "appearing to the apostles by the space of forty days, and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God,[11] and *συναλιζόμενος,* he charged them not to depart from Jerusalem," etc. Now *συναλιζόμενος* is an ancient *crux interpretum.* Some scribes evidently found difficulty with it and the modern discussion, whose beginnings include such names as Calvin and Erasmus, Theodore Beza and Sebastian Castellio, has come down to our own time and country in a series of articles by American scholars.[12] The debate,

9 *καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔμενεν ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι.* Of course Luke is only making explicit in this negative clause what Mark implies in his *τὴν κατοίκησιν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν,* just as by the preceding negative, *οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἱμάτιον* Luke prepares, as Mark does not, for the reference to the patient when cured as clothed (*ἱματισμένον*) as well as in his right mind.

10 *ἵνα καταλύσωσιν καὶ εὕρωσιν ἐπισιτισμόν.* This is not the only time that Harnack declares improbable in the "we" passages, if a source is used, precisely what is probable in the gospel of Luke, where Mark is being used. See *The Beginnings of Christianity,* Vol. II, 1922, pp. 164 ff.

11 It is uncertain whether a new sentence begins at this point; also where the description of the gospel ends, and where the ascension scene proper begins.

12 Theodore D. Woolsey, *Bibliotheca Sacra,* xxxix, 1882, pp. 593–618; W. H. P. Hatch, Journal of Biblical Literature, xxx, 1911, pp. 123–128;

which I do not wish to enter, has been between *συναλίζω* in the sense of "eat with" and *συναλίζομαι* in the sense of "gather" (transitive or intransitive). For each of these meanings weighty arguments can be given and yet each has to meet strong objections. I content myself with a brief summary, referring the reader to the articles mentioned for fuller discussion.

(1) *συναλίζομαι* in the sense of "eat with" must be derived like the simple verb *ἁλίζομαι* (Matt. 5 13, Mark 9 49) from the root *ἅλας*, "salt." The Vulgate *(convescens)* and other versions presuppose this force. The emphasis on salt as a symbol of fellowship can be illustrated from Greek as well as Oriental sources. Torrey believes that this "somewhat unusual word is the (exact) rendering of the Aramaic מִתְמַלַּח, this ithpa'al meaning primarily 'eat salt in company with,' and then simply 'have (table-) companionship with.'"[13] For the introduction of the idea of eating in connection with Jesus' resurrection appearances Luke 24 30, 40–43 and Acts 10 41 form quite sufficient parallels, and that too from this very author.

The objection raised against taking *συναλιζόμενος* in this sense is the simple fact that such a verb is, as far as we know, quite late and rare. No other compound of *ἁλίζω*, "to make salty," is known, and one would not suppose that if compounded with *σύν* it would form a deponent verb meaning "to eat with." A new denominative verb formation from the very rare *σύναλος* is perhaps possible. Whatever its origin, such a verb is of quite doubtful existence. The cases cited in support of it are really ambiguous. Thus the Hexaplaric *alius* at Psalm 140 (141) 4 reads *συναλισθῶ*. If it were translating the present Massoretic text its version would mean the same as Symmachus' *συμφάγοιμι*; but if it understood its Hebrew text as the LXX did, which rendered it *συνδοιάσω* (= "join with"), this instance of *συναλίζω*

C. R. Bowen, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xiii, 1912, pp. 247—259. See also beside discussions in lexica, commentaries, and older *observationes*, A. Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xxxviii, 1895, p. 74; F. Field, *Notes on the Translation of the New Testament*, 1899, pp. 110 f.; C. R. Bowen, *The Resurrection in the New Testament*, 1911, pp. 374—378.

[13] C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916, pp. 23 f.

must be included under another meaning. The cases of this verb in the pseudonymous Manetho and the Clementines[14] require the idea of association of some sort but not necessarily table companionship.

The context of the verb in Acts is not altogether favorable to "eating with." If the eating has evidential value it would have occurred more naturally a little earlier in the paragraph, where proofs of the resurrection are named: *παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσεράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς*. If it is to be connected with what precedes it comes in somewhat lamely.[15] If it goes closely with the following *παρήγγειλεν*, the present participle would mean he spoke while eating, which is a little curious in itself and is not really paralleled in Luke 24 42 f. or Acts 10 41 f. though the same *παρήγγειλεν* occurs in the latter passage.

(2) The only alternative interpretation proposed in the past has been to derive the form somehow from *συναλίζω*, "to gather." This transitive verb is used (like the simple *ἁλίζω*) repeatedly and for a long span of the history of Greek both of collecting things and of gathering persons. The passive is used of persons or things that are collected or of a substance that "collects."[16]

While therefore the verb has an undoubted existence in this sense its application in this passage is grammatically difficult and its sponsors do not agree on its use. Those who take it as a deponent, transitively "gathering (them)," or intransitively "foregathering (with them)," cannot adduce any instance of such usage. Those who take it as a passive are embarrassed both by

[14] [Manetho], *Apotelesmatica*, v. 339: *πῆμα λυγρῷ γαμετῇ συναλιζόμενον κακόηθες* (of a bad wife); [Clement], *Hom.* 13 4: *αὐτοῖς συναλιζόμεθα* (= *Recogn.* 7 29: *cum eis cibum sumimus*); *idem*, *Ep. ad Jac.* 15: *ἑνούμενοι, συναλιζόμενοι, ἡσυχάζοντες*.

[15] See Field, *loc. cit.*: "Of the Fathers it is observable that they always join *καὶ συναλιζόμενος* with the preceding verse, sometimes even inserting it after *ὀπτανόμενος*.

[16] For the fullest list of occurrences see H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*, *s. v.* For the last type see the instances from Hippocrates in W. K. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, 1882, p. 182, and from Aëtius, *De placit. phil.*, in H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 1879, pp. 369, 409.

the present tense and by the singular number. The former they must explain either as a frequentative or as merely the equivalent for the aorist. The parallels adduced for the singular number are few and not very satisfactory. One feels that, like *ἀθροίζω* or *συναθροίζω*, the verb demands either a plural or a collective subject, and, if used of an individual, at least a dative expressing the persons with whom the subject is associated.[17]

(3) Instead of the choice of evils which the dilemma of these two alternatives represents I wish to propose another meaning, viz., "to live with," in the sense of spending the night together in the open. I would regard *συναλιζόμενος* as derived from *αὐλίζομαι* and merely another spelling for *συναυλιζόμενος*. I say another spelling rather than a textual error, for the form in *-αυ-* is not attested by any early MSS.; and though the scribes and fathers who changed to *-αυ-* were, I believe, correctly understanding the passage, an original spelling in *-α-* seems to me to be attested by other variants and by the consistent effort of the versions somehow to find a root for the verb in *ἀλ-*.[18]

Such a variation of spelling is altogether likely. Modern study of contemporary documents shows the frequent orthographic exchange of *α* for *αυ*. The commonest instances are in the pronoun *αὐτός* which yields such forms as *ατης, ατων, εματ., σατ., εατ.*[19] The testimony of Crönert and Mayser suggests that

[17] The addition of "with them" (D d Aug etc.) is natural for any meaning of the verb.

[18] The textual evidence for this reading or for this understanding ought not to be underrated. *συναυλιζόμενος* is found in several minuscules including 614 important for its "Western" readings and was apparently read here by Eusebius and Epiphanius. The Latin evidence is not unanimous for *convescens*, which was read by the Vulgate and has determined Roman Catholic interpretation. In d we find *simul convivens cum eis*, and Aug perp gig e and some Vulgate codices employ *conversor*. This may imply a reading *συναυλιζόμενος* or may mean that *συναλιζόμενος* was (correctly) understood as merely an orthographic variant for the same verb.

[19] I refer the reader to W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis*, 1903, pp. 126 ff.; J. H. Moulton, *Classical Review*, xv, 1901, pp. 33, 434; *ibid.* xviii, 1904, p. 107; *Expositor*, May 1904, p. 363; *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, Vol. I, 1906, p. 47, Vol. II, 1919, p. 87; E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, Vol. I, 1906, p. 114; H. St. J. Thackeray, *Grammar of the O. T. in Greek*, Vol. I, p. 79. Among the more interesting early

this spelling increased in Egyptian papyri near the beginning of the Christian era.[20] The phenomenon occurs in other words especially near another dipthong in *υ*. Augustus is found repeatedly in the papyri (as in low Latin) with initial A for Αυ- and so also in Luke 2 1 ℵ C* Δ. There are spellings like *ἀπολαούσας, ἀναπαόμενος*.

Of the particular verbs which form the subject of this note (whether simplex or in composition), the non-literary sources so far as indexed apparently provide no example in either spelling. That a writer of the first century or an early copyist should have written *συναλιζόμενος* intending to convey the thought and meaning of *συναυλιζόμενος* is natural enough. From a later period we have definite evidence of precisely this exchange in MSS. of various writers. For several of the instances of *συναλίζομαι* that are adduced in the older discussions of Acts 1 4 as well as in that passage itself the spelling with a dipthong is a textual variant.[21] It is hard in such cases to be sure which

occurrences I may quote B G U 713, 42 Κρατίου (= Κλαυδίου); B G U 1079 *καὶ σὺ βλέπε σατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*; P Lond 1912, 94 (letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians) *ἀπολάοντας*; P Oxy 1242, 32 (a later Jewish-Gentile controversy) *μετ' ἀτούς*.

[20] In *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, xxv, 1901, p. 357, M. Laurent remarks on the frequency of these forms in the second half of the first Christian century, but Moulton in the last form of his *Prolegomena (Einleitung in die Sprache des neuen Testaments*, 1911, p. 70) was inclined to deny such contractions for the New Testament autographs except 2 Peter (1 19, 2 14).

[21] See note 18. At the two instances from the Clementines cited in note 14 the Parisian codex spells with *α*, the Roman codex with *αυ*. The one extant codex of Manetho reads at the passage cited *συναυλισθέν* (edit. Axtius and Rigler, 1832, p. 111). In the version of Psalm 140 4 cited above Origen seems to have read *συναυλισθῶ*. Conflict between MSS or between diplomatic evidence and conjecture is further illustrated for the compound with *σύν* at Hippocrates, *De natura ossium*, 298 (edit. E. Littré, 1839—1861, Vol. IX, p. 102); Xenophon, *Anab.* vii, 3, 48; *Hell.* i, 1, 30; *Cyrop.* i, 2, 15; Lucian, *Luct.* 7; *Philops.* 12; Plutarch, *De placit. philos.* iv, 19 (902 D); Iamblichus, *Vita Pythag.* 12 (edit. L. Kuster, 1707, p. 44 see note); Eunapius (edit. J. F. Boissonade, 1822, pp. 277, 474). For the simple verb compare Ignatius, *Magn.* 10, 2 *ἁλίσθητε* (*v. l. αὐλίσθητε*) *ἐν Χριστῷ*; Aretaeus, *Sign. Morb. Acut.* ii, 2, 8 *αὐλισθέν* (of blood that collects, cf. above note 16; *conj.* Petitus *ἁλισθέν*); Athenaeus ii, 40 *ἠλίζοντο* (codd. (*η*)*ὑλίζοντο*). Confusion

spelling is the original. In many passages the context would permit either meaning. To eat with, to live with, and, if the grammar permits, to be gathered with, would often make equally good sense. The editors of texts have been aware of the equivalence of these two spellings and have freely selected whichever one seemed to them most appropriate. Of *συναυλίζομαι* Liddell and Scott say explicitly "it is a frequent *v. l.* for *συναλίζομαι*." Probably the reverse is equally true.

The verb *συναυλίζομαι* is no stranger to the Greek language. Sophocles' *Lexicon* calls it "classical" and notes instances in LXX Prov. 22 24 and in Babrius 106. It is an obvious derivative of *αὐλίζομαι* and beside its sense of lodging comes to mean fellowship in general. To give its force to *συναλιζόμενος* in Acts 1 4 supplies a simple, grammatical and natural meaning. It is not necessary to reject the originality of the best attested spelling, but to suppose that the translators and early commentators had the same spelling before them that we do and attempted, as was their wont, to render it etymologically. They perhaps knew that the form could not be grammatically construed from *συναλίζω*, "to gather," and they also knew that it was not the right orthography from *συναυλίζομαι*, "to live with." They were compelled then to appeal to a rare word from the root "salt" and perhaps even to invent such a word. Understood as *συναυλιζόμενος* the participle has no grammatical difficulties. Its tense, voice and number are entirely suitable, and the absence of any following dative is unobjectionable. If anyone should argue against this meaning, as Zahn does against the spelling *συναυλιζόμενος*, that it emphasizes in an incomprehensible way an insignificant minor circumstance,[22] our reply would be that curious personal interests of authors often are responsible for just such insignificant details, in this case an interest in lodging.

Such a solution would escape the intrinsic difficulties of

in spelling would lead to confusion of meaning and perhaps to actual exchange of meanings in both directions. The confusion occurs in the passive forms. Active forms of *(συν)αλίζω* on the other hand are not often misspelled.

[22] Th. Zahn, *Kommentar zum N. T.*, Vol. V, 1919, p. 25 n. 38.

each of the two usual rival interpretations, and would remove other difficulties found in the passage as a whole. After his resurrection as before his death (Luke 21 37 ηὐλίζετο) Jesus is represented as living in the open near Jerusalem with his disciples. A few verses later we are told definitely that they were at the mount of Olives. This has seemed to modern scholars rather abrupt. Commentators have assumed that the first verses belong to Jerusalem proper and to the same meal there as is recorded in Luke 24 40 ff., while later the scene suddenly changes.[23] But if συναλιζόμενος means "living with them in the open," then the reader is already aware that in spite of the command not to depart from Jerusalem the company is not actually in Jerusalem but bivouacking in the neighborhood. And Luke, as in some other passages, does not definitely mention the place of the gathering until the close of the section.

It may be further suggested that συναλιζόμενος, if now we may associate it with the final ascension, implies that Luke thought of that event as taking place at night. This is in itself quite likely. If the ascension was originally recorded in Luke, though the text is doubtful, it was there thought of as coming after an evening meal. Luke has other such events at night,—angel visions to the shepherds near Bethlehem, and to Paul, or the transfiguration (see above) at which last as here we have an overshadowing cloud and heavenly visitants. Even of the "day" of the Lord's coming, of which Luke says here it

[23] I quote as a typical expression of this difficulty M. Goguel, *Introduction au N. T.*, Vol. III, 1922, pp. 172 f.: "Le récit de l'ascension (*1, 4—12*) manque d'unité: il commence au cours d'un repas pendant lequel Jésus recommande à ses disciples de ne pas quitter Jérusalem avant d'avoir reçu l'effusion de l'Esprit. L'intérêt est concentré sur l'entretien de Jésus avec ses disciples; puis, sans que cela soit d'ailleurs nettement indiqué, le lieu de la scène change. A partir du *verset 6* on est en plein air, sur la Montagne des Oliviers (*cf. 1, 12*). La dualité de tradition indiquée par ce changement de lieu est confirmée par l'allure du *verset 6* qui paraît le commencement d'un récit. Le rédacteur a donc, dans l'épisode de l'ascension, combiné ou trouvé déjà combinées deux traditions qui plaçaient le dernier entretien de Jésus avec ses disciples, la première au cours d'un repas, la seconde en plein air."

will be in like manner, he can employ the words (Luke 17 34) "on that night."

φάτνη

At the other end of Jesus' career Luke also has I believe a characteristic reference to the open air. His birth stories refer plainly to the shepherds as bivouacking (*ἀγραυλοῦντες*) and keeping watch over their flock by night and more obscurely he says (2 7) of Jesus' birth that Mary *ἀνέκλινεν αὐτὸν ἐν φάτνῃ, διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι.* The ordinary reader of the gospels little suspects the uncertainty in this passage. There was a surprising amount of discussion about it in the older commentaries and modern ones are not quite agreed.[24]

φάτνη is usually translated "manger" and it often has just that meaning. It is the eating place of cattle, a crib or a trough probably on the ground (Lucian, *Gall.* 29). The proverbial dog is said to be *ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ* (Lucian, *Tim.* 14, *Adv. Ind.* 30), but a horse or an ox is said to be *ἐπὶ φάτνης* (LXX Job 6 5; 39 9), or *ἐπὶ φάτναις* (LXX Joel 1 17; Hab. 3 17), or loosed *ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης* (Luke 13 15).

There is however some evidence that the word can be used of a "feeding pen" or "stall." The Latin *praesepe(-ium)* has both meanings and the Hebrew equivalents at some of the LXX occurrences have apparently the force of a gathering place for cattle. Pollux i. 184 associates it with *ἱππών* and *ἱππόστασις* and *σταθμός*. Typical of the views of many older scholars is the statement of Schleusner (*Lexicon in N. T., s. v.*) that "it was used specially of the courtyard of the house where the owner's cattle stood, which is called in Latin also *stabulum,* and was enclosed not by walls and a roof as is customary with us but by a fence made of wooden hurdles. Of this area, or place open and under the sky, the word

[24] Beside the discussions in the commentaries and lexica there are three old monographs listed in J. C. Wolf, *Curae philologicae et criticae,* 1739, pp. 581 f. Another is included in J. A. Ernesti, *Opuscula theologica* 2, 1792, pp. 595 ff. A characteristic article by Paul Haupt on "The Crib of Christ" appeared in the *Monist,* January, 1920.

φάτνη in the passage Luke 2 7 apparently must be understood."

A decision between these meanings is not easy and for the present purpose is unnecessary since in either case the open air rather than a building is intended. Here then is another scene of this writer's, set *sub divo* and at night. The following clause, usually translated "because there was no room for them in the inn," confirms this general understanding but unfortunately does not help us resolve our uncertainty as to the exact force of φάτνη since κατάλυμα also is not quite specific. We would expect it to give the contrast to φάτνη and so it does since it surely means some place of human shelter; but it is a more general word than πανδοχεῖον (Luke 10 34). It may mean a guest room rather than a whole building.[25] Since φάτνη should be read at its first occurrence without an article there is no reason to suppose that it was connected with the κατάλυμα, as though the inn had a courtyard or stable (so generally), or as though the room which served as the parents' apartment was at other times a stall having a manger (Zahn). Against the latter view is the plural αὐτοῖς, so that we can hardly explain the passage to mean that in his parents' κατάλυμα there was no place to put the baby except a manger. Rather we are meant to suppose that the whole family was excluded from the shelter that was to be expected. They took refuge either in an enclosure for cattle or at a cattle-trough, and on the ground in the enclosure or in the trough the newborn infant was laid. Spitta warns against reading into the narrative the explanation that the census had overcrowded the town and its quarters for visitors, or that Joseph was too poor to secure better accommodations.[26] He thinks that the under-

[25] Luke 22 11 from Mark 14 14. Polybius ii. 36 shows that it was used in the plural of rooms in the same house and not necessarily the house of another person. For occurrences in the papyri see Fr. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, Vol. I, col. 758. The ambiguity of the English "room" makes that word sound over-definite as a translation of τόπος, just as another case of ambiguity in English forbids our translating φάτνη here "crib."

[26] Fr. Spitta, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vii, 1906, pp. 298 f.

lying *motif* is that Jesus should be born in pastoral surroundings. Luke was probably ignorant of the early Christian tradition that placed Jesus' birth in a cave, though the latter was early and easily combined with Luke's version.[27]

While therefore some things in Luke's account do not seem entirely clear to us, this much at least is probable, that φάτνη is a place in the open and that the clause which follows emphasizes the absence of shelter. That clause corresponds to Luke's two additions to Mark mentioned above: it says negatively what φάτνη says positively just as ἐν οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔμενεν does for ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν (8 27), and of course κατάλυμα carries the same thought as the verb καταλύσωσιν (9 12).

ξενία and μίσθωμα

At the other extremity of Luke-Acts occurs, as has been already mentioned, repeated reference to Paul's lodging at Rome. The first instance (28 16) raises no lexical difficulty: ἐπετράπη τῷ Παύλῳ μένειν καθ' ἑαυτὸν σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ. But in each of the other passages nouns occur which, if used as commonly supposed of a place of abode, are almost if not quite unparalleled. Either we must give each of these nouns its more regular meaning and then omit these passages from the list of examples of Luke's interest in lodging,

[27] This tradition occurs as early as Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 78. It was supported by Isaiah 33 16 LXX, if not actually derived from it. Compare the use in early Christian literature and art of Isaiah 1 3: ἔγνω . . . ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ. The birth in a cave may be paralleled from pagan myths (Wettstein) or may belong to the motif of a foundling discovered by shepherds (H. Gressmann, *Das Weihnachts-Evangelium*, 1914, pp. 18 f.). It could be reconciled with Luke's account of the φάτνη, the parents' presence, the city, and the crowd, by being moved into Bethlehem and by appeal to the fact that in the East caves are sometimes used as stables for cattle.

Present Palestinian customs further suggest, as my friend Professor Elihu Grant of Haverford kindly informs me, that the container for cattle feed, in case that is what φάτνη means, would be a flat object like a pan or a tray or a mat on the ground or even a natural hard surface, not a raised manger. Likewise the adult peasants, who sleep themselves on the floor or ground, can hardly be imagined putting a child in an elevated place.

or else we must suppose that precisely that interest has led the author to use concretely of a room or apartment at Rome two words of rather different and less tangible meaning.

ἡ ξενία (Acts 28 23) usually means hospitality. The neuter plural τὰ ξένια with which it is often confused means the gifts of a host to a guest such as are mentioned at verse 10 of this chapter. The phrase καλεῖν (παρακαλεῖν) ἐπὶ τὴν ξενίαν is an idiomatic expression meaning to invite to one's table,[28] and in other connections ξενία, if not used in the more abstract sense of the friendship between host and guest, means the entertainment in the form of food provided for visitors. It is natural to give this meaning to Philemon 22 ἑτοίμαζέ μοι ξενίαν, and in the present passage to render ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν ἦλθαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες "[the Jews of Rome] having fixed a date with him came to him in larger numbers to the reception which he tendered them." Such a statement would be as congenial to Luke as a reference to Paul's lodging, as he has also an interest in table hospitality.[29] But not having been accustomed

[28] On the frequent variants ἐπὶ τὰ ξένια, ἐπὶ τῇ ξενίᾳ see Achilles Tatius, edit. Fr. Jacobs, 1821, p. 760 note; J. La Roche, *Wiener Studien*, xxi, 1899, pp. 27 f. But instances either with εἰς instead of ἐπί or with the verb ἔρχομαι as in Acts are not common. For the latter see Pindar, *Nem.* 10, 49; for the former P Oxy 747, 1 (ii/iii A. D., an invitation to a banquet, not cited in Moulton and Milligan *Vocabulary*) καλεῖ σε . . . εἰς τὴν ξενίαν ἑαυτοῦ.

[29] Compare with this passage the statement in Luke 5 39 (contrast the wording of the parallels) that Levi the publican held a great reception for Jesus (ἐποίησεν δοχὴν μεγάλην). Beside such idiomatic expressions for hospitality in Acts as παρεῖχαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν and ἀναδεξάμενος . . . φιλοφρονῶς ἐξένισεν (28 2 and 7), two passages may be mentioned where such a meaning is a curiosity lexically possible:

Field (*op. cit.* p. 118) mentions the suggestion of one T. Harmer who maintained that the words of Peter to Aeneas (9 34) στρῶσον σεαυτῷ were a recommendation that the patient give a feast on the occasion of his recovery and prepare his house for the reception of the company.

With more plausibility my colleague Professor Lake suggests that the somewhat peculiarly phrased statement about Saul and Barnabas in Antioch (11 26) ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ means that they were the guests of the church for a whole year. Just such a use of συνάγω is certainly found in Matt. 25 35, 43 and elsewhere (H. A. A. Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek*, 1895, p. 128).

to the idea we find it difficult to think of Paul the prisoner as playing the host to a group of local Jews and supplying them with refreshments as *ξενία* implies.

The other course, adopted by the majority of commentators, is to define *ξενία* as a guest-room whether of some friend of Paul's or of some place of public entertainment,—as *κατάλυμα*, *καταγώγιον* according to the Byzantine lexica. But the context in Acts, unlike that in Philemon, offers no suggestion as to who Paul's host might have been, and the use of *ξενία* of temporary living quarters in the sense of *ξενών* or *κατάλυμα* whether public or private is apparently not well attested at least at so early a date.[30]

More unique would be the employment of *μίσθωμα* (v. 30) in the sense of hired house or apartment. Not even the old

[30] *ξενών* (along with *κατάλυμα*) is well illustrated in the inscription of the Jerusalem synagogue of Theodotus recently discovered: *τὸν ξενῶνα καὶ τὰ δώματα καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια τῶν ὑδάτων, εἰς κατάλυμα τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ξενῆς.* From such passages as this and the synoptic passages where it is later specified as an *ἀνάγαιον* it is evident that *κατάλυμα* is a more general word. *ξενοδοχεῖον* is a frequent substitute for *ξενών* in Hellenistic as in Modern Greek. The instances from the papyri convinced Moulton and Milligan (*Vocabulary*, p. 433 *a* = *Expositor*, March 1910, p. 286) that in Acts *ξενία* means hospitality rather than a place of lodging. Even the examples they give for the latter meaning seem to me doubtful. Unquestionable instances of *ξενία* as a *place* of abode occur in [Clem.] *Hom.* viii, 2, xiv, 1 *bis*, and as a "cell" in Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* (edit. by J. A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1904, pp. 74, 7; 136, 16). See C. DuF. DuCange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, 1688, col. 1014.

The features of non-literary Greek are sometimes revealed more clearly than through other sources by the loan words of Rabbinic Aramaic. That language, beside transliterating *πανδοχεῖον*, the word for "inn" in Luke 10 34, uses commonly for the place where strangers lodge אַכְסַנְיָא (*κατάλυμα*, *khan*, *Herberge*, *logis*. See Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N. T. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Vol. II, 1924, p. 113). The instances cited of its occurrence (J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, *s. v.* S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter*, Vol. II, 1899, pp. 48 f., or *Talmudische Archäologie*, Vol. II, 1911, pp. 327 f., 973 f.) begin perhaps as early as the early second century with *Sifrè Num.* Unless this is a new Aramaic formation from *ξένος* or its root, it is a direct transliteration from *ξενία* and constitutes the best support for giving that word the meaning usually assigned to it in Acts 28 23.

lexica give such a definition and no parallel has yet been quoted with assurance.[31] Possibly then *ἐνέμεινεν δὲ διετίαν ὅλην ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι* means that Paul supported himself "on his own earnings."[32] Where else did Ephrem Syrus find evidence that at Rome Paul labored with his hands? *μίσθωμα* means money paid, and though it probably comes to the same thing in the end, it may refer here to what was paid to Paul as wages for his work rather than to what was paid by Paul for food and lodging.

[31] Fr. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, gives no instance at all of *μίσθωμα* from the papyri though they use *μίσθωσις* frequently of the act of payment including the payment of rent for a house, room or other real estate.

Wettstein *ad loc.* cited from Philo the phrase *ἐν μισθώματι οἰκεῖν* without giving any reference. There is evidently some mistake, as Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 1868, p. 9 *note* suspected. Dr. Hans Leisegang kindly informs me that his index (in course of publication) to the Cohn-Wendland edition of the works of Philo Alexandrinus will show that there is no such phrase in that writer.

[32] J. R. Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the N. T.*, 1894, pp. 50 f. Harris actually renders the lemma of Ephrem's text of Acts from Armenian into English as "at his own expense." Compare F. C. Conybeare, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. III, p. 453 *note*.

THE ARAMAIC LANGUAGE

G. R. DRIVER
MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN the course of a previous article (vol. XIV, pp. 114—115) I have proposed a new interpretation of the Assyrian *Addi-iṭri*, which does not involve the equation that ט had already become ד in Aramaic as early as the 9th cent. B. C. On this interpretation, however, *Addi-iṭri* should be rendered "Adad-(is)-my salvation," not "Adad-saved," on the analogy of *Nabû-tukulti* "Nebo-(is)-my-trust."[1] This assumes the existence of a noun *iṭru* 'safety,' 'salvation' from *eṭêru* 'to save,' formed like *igru* 'hire' from *agâru* 'to hire.'

There is another indication, Dr. Cowley has pointed out to me, over and above the proofs previously adduced (*ibid.*, pp. 112—118), that the Aramaic of the *papyri* is in a stage of transition. This is the insertion of ה as a *litera prolongationis* in the later period: for example, the name Darius is spelled in the first period דריוש *Darāyûš* (in no. 1, dated 495 B. C.), but in the second period דריהוש *Darayawa(h)ûš* (in nos. 20—32, dated from 420 till 408 B. C.) or דריהוש *Darayā(h)ûš* (in no. 30, dated 408 B. C.).[2] Similarly there occurs the noun בוּת 'shame' beside the verb בהת 'was ashamed' (in *Aḥîqar*, which is put somewhere between 430 and 400 B. C.),[3] thus confirming my theory that 460—400 B. C. were the years of transition.

This fact, in its turn, has an important bearing on the history of the divine name *Yahweh*, in that it confirms Dr. Cowley's

[1] Tallquist, *A. P. N.*, p. 162b.

[2] Cp. *Behistun*, l. 37, which is dated about 420 B. C. by Cowley (*Aram. Pap.*, p. 250).

[3] Cowley, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

theory of its transmission. For he has already made it tolerably certain that the early form of the name had no medial *h*, which came in at a later period as a *litera prolongationis*. On the Samaritan *ostraka* it is found (though only in proper names) in the form יו *Yāw*; later, in order to ensure the correct pronunciation with long *ā* the vowel-letter ה was inserted, giving rise to the form יהו *Yā(h)w*, which occurs in the Egyptian *papyri*. Almost simultaneously, however, with its insertion as a *litera prolongationis* the nature and purpose of this ה were misunderstood, so that יהו *Yā(h)w* came improperly to be read and, in consequence, generally pronounced *Yahw*. This became יהו—*Yāhû* or *Yĕhō*—in proper names (just as *saḥw* 'swimming' became *sāḥû*); but in the independent form it was assimilated, under the influence of a religious interpretation and the Hebrew dislike for words of this form, to a verb ל״ה and thereby acquired another ה as a vowel-letter to support the final vowel.[4] If this explanation is correct, the practice of inserting ה for this purpose must have grown up considerably earlier among the Hebrews than among the Aramaeans, not long after 900 B. C.; for E's explanation of the divine name (in Ex. 3 14) implies the presence of ה in it, as also does the derivation of כהן 'priest' proposed below (on p. 325).

This theory of the development of the name *Yahweh* receives striking confirmation from the cuneiform inscriptions. In the period of the kings, from the 9th to the 7th cents. B. C., the form is always *Yau* or *Ya'u*—that is, *Ya* with the Assyrian termination *-u(m)*; but in the later period, in the texts found at Nippur which belong to the reign of Artaxerxes I (*c.* 464—424 B. C.) and Darius II (*c.* 423—405 B. C.)—*viz.* to the period which the Aramaic *papyri* prove to be one of transition—it has become *Yaḥû-* at the beginning of proper names.[5]

This theory explains also how verbs ע״ו became ע״ה in late Aramaic: for example, how רץ (found at Zinjirlū on an inscription dated *c.* 745—727 B. C.)[6] became רהט 'ran' and בת became

[4] Cowley in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1920, pp. 177—183.
[5] Cp. G. R. Driver in S. R. Driver's *Genesis* (1926), pp. 439—440.
[6] Cooke, *N. S. I.*, no. 63, l. 8.

בהת 'was ashamed.' An original בת *bāth*[7] came to be written בהת *bā(h)th* to preserve the long vowel and this was afterwards mispronounced *bᵉhath* or *bᵉheth*, as though the ה was a proper consonant. It is almost possible, indeed, to say, when this took place; for בוּת 'shame' stands side by side with בהת 'was ashamed,' as already stated, in one of the *papyri*. Similarly, as Dr. Cowley has suggested to me, the late Hebrew קהל 'assembly' is derived from (*qā(h)l*<) *qāhal* 'called' and may so be connected (through *qāl* 'called') with קוֹל 'voice.'[8] Possibly, too, this principle will allow the Hebr. כֹּהֵן 'priest' to be referred to the √ כון, which appears in Ass. *kânu* III i 'to do homage.' For the general principle may have been at work in the Semitic languages long before it found particular application in Hebrew and Aramaic.

[7] Cp. Hebr. בֹּשׁ 'was ashamed' (the *ō* being peculiar to Hebrew); the form בת is only found in the noun בוּת 'shame' (Cowley, *Aram. Pap., Aḥ.*, l. 90).

[8] Cp. מוּל> מהל 'circumcised,' אברם> אברהם 'Abraham' (a misinterpretation of *'Abhrā(h)m*), and בגוי (Ezr.-Neh.)> בגוהי (Aram. *pap.*) 'Bighwāy' (Cowley).

CORRECTION

On p. 113, l. 13 the form which actually occurs in the *papyri* is not זכה but masc. זך and fem. זכי (Cowley, *op. cit.*, p. 285 b); and on l. 17 it should be added that די occurs in the *papyri* only in the form דילכי 'thine' (fem.) in one document (no. 13, ll. 7, 11, 16), dated in 447 B. C., which falls in the period of transition.

RECENT STUDY OF THE TERM 'SON OF MAN'

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

THERE are certain problems connected with the term 'son of man' that have not yet been solved in such a manner as to set at rest all reasonable doubt. It is still possible, for instance, to question whether any passage in which Jesus has been supposed to use the phrase בר נשא in its ordinary generic sense is genuine. It is pertinent to inquire whether *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* may not have originated in a mistranslation of בר נשא used in this sense in some Jewish or Jewish-Christian apocalypse. And it is proper to consider whether the term in some form many not have been derived from speculations, of Jewish or pagan origin, concerning the second, the last, or the heavenly Man. But the investigations of the last thirty years have not been in vain. They have affected the methods of research; the questions involved are to-day approached in a new way. They have established some facts, such as these: *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is a translation of בר נשא, and בר נשא was not a current messianic title. Critical judgment is unmistakably gravitating toward the position that, in the gospels, the Greek term, as understood by the evangelists, is likely to have its earlier home in the eschatological series.

If, nevertheless, there is on many points no consensus of opinion, this is not strange in view of the far-reaching implications and the increasingly rigorous demands of scientific exegesis. The former make caution commendable however attractive a theory may be; the latter enhance the difficulties of the task. Aside from the philological equipment, extensive

acquaintance with the relevant literature, and insight into the peculiarities of the various Semitic dialects, there are numerous other requirements which have been justly urged. Textual criticism must be allowed to adhere to its own canons. When primary and secondary strata of tradition are separated, the accretions must be accounted for. A philological observation may furnish a significant clue, but it must be followed through all the literary data, with due regard for the necessary criticism of sources and the main theories propounded in this field. Historical methods must be applied in the sifting of the material and the search for ascertainable facts.

In his valuable contribution to this subject in the Symposium on Eschatology,[1] Bacon mentions at the outset the "distinct relief to students accustomed to think of meekness and lowliness as typical traits in the personal character of Jesus in the authoritative declaration of eminent philologians that the self-designation 'the Son of Man' would be unintelligible in the Palestinian Aramaic of Jesus' time, so that the title with all its connotation of superhuman authority and dignity must be ascribed to the period after the development of the resurrection faith." He then proceeds to give his reasons for not accepting this relief, but preferring a different solution; thus revealing at the same time the scholar's hospitality to new points of view and his sense of duty to test each noteworthy hypothesis in the light of the facts and the apparently assured results of long continued nvestigations.

Since the discussion of the phrase by so distinguished an Aramaist as Dalman[2] seemed to Bacon to dispose of the conclusions I presented to this Society in 1895[3] and Lietzmann independently reached and published in 1896,[4] and since Bacon's theory is based throughout, with a single exception to be noted below, on what are designated as "Dalman's proofs," it is natural to begin this review with a reference to the character of his arguments. It should be stated that the way was prepared for

[1] *JBL*, XLI, 1922, 143ff.
[2] *Die Worte Jesu*, 1898.
[3] 'Was בר נשא a Messianic Title?' *JBL*, XV, 1896, 36ff.
[4] *Der Menschensohn*, 1896, 124f.

my conclusions and those of Lietzmann by some important hints of Génébrard, Grotius, Bolten, Uloth, Lagarde, and Wellhausen and an elaborate study by Eerdmans;[5] and also that they have been adopted and defended by Wellhausen, Marti, Pfleiderer, Nöldeke, Merx, Haupt, and other scholars. Dalman's arguments may here be briefly discussed, as they have already been examined very carefully by Bevan,[6] Wellhausen,[7] and myself.[8] Dalman recognizes that בר נשא is the only Aramaic phrase that can have been translated *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*; that whereever it is actually found in extant Aramaic literature it has only the meaning 'der Mensch,' 'man,' 'the man,' 'quidam;' and that it occurs in this sense with great frequency even in the Galilean dialect. But he suggests the possibility that it may not have been used, and not even understood, in Galilee in the first century A. D. He appeals to the absence of the term in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions and the late age of the Palestinian Talmud and the younger Targumim. Its absence in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions known to us is not strange when one considers how seldom 'man' in a generic sense would be likely to be used and its rare occurrence in the epigraphic material preserved in any language. Rather is it surprising, in view of its limited use in Genza and Qolasta, to find it employed in some of the Mandaic magic formulas published by Montgomery.[9] Fiebig has shown that Simeon b. Jochai and Hoshaya employed it in the second century A. D. An innovation due to Edessene influence at so early a date is out of the question. It is possible that אנשא and גברא were more frequently used than בר נשא; but the collective, and virtually plural, meaning of אנשא was never quite lost sight of, so that הו בר נשא is found, but not הו אנשא. That בר נשא should have been used in Galilee in the second century, but not even understood a few generations earlier in the sense it has in Aramaic speech every-

[5] *Th. Tjidschrift*, 1894, 153 ff., 1895, 49 ff. Arnold Meyer called attention to the hints of Génébrard and Bolten, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 1896.

[6] *Critical Review*, IX, 1899, 144 ff.

[7] *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI, 1899; *Die drei ersten Evangelien*,[2] 1911.

[8] 'Son of Man' in *Enc. Bibl.*, 1903; *The Prophet of Nazareth*, 1905.

[9] *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, 1913, 117, 146.

where, is well nigh inconceivable. The best proof that it was used in this sense in Judaean Aramaic in the second century B. C. is Dan. 7 13. Bacon says: "The linguistic objection seems not to be sustained." It is Dalman's conjecture that has not been sustained. No student familiar with Aramaic has attempted to defend it, and none has indicated his approval.

Even the one scholar who dissents from the generally accepted opinion that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is a translation of בר נשא does not express any doubt as to the use and intelligibility of this term in the Galilee of Jesus' time. In an article, remarkable alike for its subtlety of reasoning and its acquaintance with patristic literature, Badham[10] argues in favor of בר אדם. He supposes that Jesus used this term in the sense of son of Adam, second Adam, successor of Adam, and maintains that this suits all the passages in the synoptic gospels. Jesus, he thinks, had constantly in mind the contrast between himself and the first Adam. Healing, physical and spiritual, is quite in harmony with the character of the second Adam. So is forgiveness of sin. The creation of Adam was prior to the creation of the Sabbath, hence the Sabbath was made for Adam, and the second Adam had authority over it. Like the first he is a sower, but of the good seed. He restores the beauty and joy of paradise. Inasmuch as he is man, *he* may be blasphemed, but not the Holy Spirit. Homelessness is the lot of the successor of Adam. The second Adam has come to be a savior. He must suffer and die to expiate the guilt of the first Adam; and he will win the victory, come on the clouds of heaven, and restore paradise. It is in the regeneration, *i. e.*, the new birth of the world, that the second Adam will sit on the throne of his glory. This is in harmony with the predictions of suffering and death, because the final bringing to nought of evil, the destruction of the enemy, is at the same time the rescue of the oppressed. As evidence of the correctness of this interpretation Badham then introduces a wealth of proof-texts from the early fathers of the church, showing that they found in the phrase precisely this allusion to the second Adam in contrast with the first.

[10] *Th. Tijdschrift*, 1911, 395 ff.

It is evident, however, that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* presupposes a term containing the article. The poetic expression בן אדם rendered בר אדם in the Targums which followed the Hebrew, is translated into Greek *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*, but never *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, though the plural בני האדם is rendered *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* and in Ecclus. even *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. On the other hand, the synoptic gospels never use *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*, but always *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. Other forms like ברה דגברא, ברה דאנשא, and ברה דבר נשא are not found in Jewish writings, but are of Christian origin, being attempts to render the Greek phrase. The only Aramaic term that could have occasioned the unidiomatic *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is בר נשא. Badham's contention is not strengthened by his interpretation of the gospel passages. Even on the assumption that Jesus regarded himself as the second Adam it must be admitted that the exegesis is often strained and unnatural. But the assumption is extremely difficult. It involves ascribing to him an order of ideas to which he nowhere gives expression in simple and unambiguous language and which seems as much in contrast with his own thought as it is in harmony with later conceptions. Badhams's ingenious endeavor to substitute another Aramaic phrase is no more convincing than Dalman's effort to prove the necessity for another than the ordinary meaning of בר נשא.

Although this term is nowhere found in extant Aramaic literature in any other sense, it has been thought possible that it occurred with a different meaning in the original text of the Parables of Enoch. In 1908,[11] I set forth my reasons for believing that this work was written in Aramaic, and that בר נשא occurred in its earliest form, but only in the ordinary sense. This admirably suits the passages in c. 46: 'I saw one like a man;' 'I asked in regard to that man;' 'he answered: this is the man who has righteousness;' 'this man whom thou hast seen will arouse the kings;' and also 48 2 'in that hour that man was called by the Lord of Spirits.' But it involves the assumption that already the Aramaic text in subsequent

[11] 'The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch,' in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, 1908, 329 ff.

sections was tampered with by Christian copyists who introduced the terms ברה דגברא and ברה דבר נשא, and probably, though perhaps not necessarily, the further assumption that the Ethiopic text was translated directly from the Aramaic, for which the utter absence of any sign of acquaintance with this particular work in patristic literature was cited. Five years later Charles published an extensive critique of my position, upholding his former view that the original language was Hebrew, the term used בן האדם, and the translation in the supposed Greek version everywhere *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. In a study of the Apocalypse of Noah and the Parables of Enoch contributed to the forthcoming Haupt Memorial Volume, I have examined in detail the arguments of Charles, showing that none of the passages quoted presuppose a Hebrew rather than an Aramaic original, that the only text in patristic literature (Tertullian, *De cultu feminarum*, 1, 3) cited to prove acquaintance with the work rather proves the opposite, and that Christian retouching is obvious in the translation and probable in the original. It may be added that בן אדם (not בן האדם) in j. Taanith 65 b has been very satisfactorily explained by Dalman (*l. c.*, 202 f.), and that Badham also has pointedly asked "why Justin should not have confuted his Jewish opponent with the 'son of man' passages if he had known them," and made some judicious remarks on the subject of Christian coloring (*l. c.*, 444 f.).

In 4 Ezra 13 1 ff., *quasi similitudinem hominis* and *ille homo* are also likely to go back to כדמות בר אנש and הו בר נשא. Wellhausen, who at first was inclined to think of a Hebrew original (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI, 1899, 241), later reached the conclusion: "Das Original war also jüdisch-aramäisch, wie das des Enoch." (*Die drei ersten Evangelien*[2], 1911, 124 f.). This continues to be my conviction even after the arguments of Box (in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.*, 1913). The Syriac version has בר נשא and הו בר נשא, and the Ethiopic *be'esi*, which may indicate a Greek *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*. Here, as in En., 'that man' is not a title. It is natural to suppose an influence of Dan. 7 13. But the man-like being in En. is not identical with that in Dan., nor is the one in

4 Ezra identical with that in Eth. En. In his excellent outline of the growth of the messianic idea, Moore rightly observes: "The 'Son of Man' (in Eth. En.) is not the Messiah pre-existent in heaven as it is the fashion to say—if that had been the author's meaning the visions would have read differently."[12] In 4 Ezra 13 1, the one like a man may refer to the Messiah.

The term *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is found in all strata of the gospels, the earlier as well as the later ones. In classifying the 69 occurrences in the synoptics, obvious duplicates and passages obelised by critical editors must of course be eliminated. Badham places the distinct sayings in two groups, including in the first group those found in all and also those in Mt. alone, Mt. and Mk., and Mk. and Lk.; and in the second those found in Mt. and Lk., but also those in Lk. alone. Jackson and Lake[13] divide them into four groups: 1. those in Q, including Mt. 19 28, though the phrase is not found in the parallel Lk. 22 30, and leaving out Mt. 24 39 = Lk. 17 30; 2. those in Mk., including not only those in all but also those in Mt. and Mk., and Mk. and Lk.; 3. those in Mt. alone, leaving out Mt. 26 24 b; and 4. those in Lk. alone. A better method would seem to be the one I adopted, dividing them into six groups: 1. those in all (8); 2. in Mt. and Mk. (5); 3. in Mt. and Lk. (8); 4. in Mk. and Lk. (1); 5. in Mt. alone (9); and 6. in Lk. alone (8). This has been recognized by Bacon, who follows my tabulation. Jackson and Lake do not enter into an examination in detail of the later strata, but pay special attention to Q and Mk.; "for where these agree, if anywhere, trustworthy information is given." Now in Q there are four passages referring to the Parousia, and these are supported by three additional ones in Mk. On the other hand, there are no passages in Q referring to the Passion. Hence they infer that the references to the Parousia are earlier than those to the Passion and more likely to be genuine, as "they

[12] In Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 1922, 346—362.

[13] *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 1922.

are wholly intelligible in the light of contemporary Jewish thought." In them Jesus is understood as speaking objectively concerning the Son of Man, without identifying himself with this personage. There are also two passages in Mk. (2 10, 28) where the phrase is a translation of בר נשא in its generic sense; and one in Q (Mt. 12 31 = Lk. 12 10) where the same is probable, as Mk. 3 28 has 'the sons of men.'

The most important part of the study of these scholars is no doubt the careful reasoning by which they have convinced themselves that the Marcan passages concerning the Passion are late and unauthentic. It is a methodical error to accept both the conclusion that Jesus used, and was understood to mean, בר נשא in its ordinary generic sense and the supposition that it carried a different meaning based on Dalman's conjecture that it was not yet employed and understood in Galilee at the time of Jesus in its generic sense. If the latter were true, the former would be impossible; if the former is true, there is no room for the latter. This applies whether Jesus spoke of himself or concerning some one or some thing else. The idea that he referred, not to himself, but objectively either to his ideal (Brücker, *JPTh* 1886) or to the Coming One (J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, 1892), which has been taken up by Harnack, Heitmüller, Jackson and Lake, Bacon and others, can bring no real relief to those who cling to the thought of a messianic secret cherished by Jesus, if it is admitted that he used the term in its ordinary generic sense, and when it is realized that no evidence has yet been discovered of its employment as a title of the Messiah or of a heavenly being capable of identification with him. It is worth considering also that an unmistakable allusion to the celestial being in Dan. would suggest to his disciples precisely those features of the current messianic ideal, victory and rule over the gentiles, which it is supposed that Jesus wished to remove from their conception of his Messiahship.

Bacon examines in detail the passages in each of the six groups with the result that those in Mt. alone represent changes or expansions made by the evangelist, those in Lk. alone schematic or stylistic improvements, and that in Mk.

and Lk. is not authentic. Of the eight in Q, four, in the eschatological discourse, refer objectively to the Coming One, Jesus intending no identification of himself with this Son of Man; three are suspicious (Mt. 8 20, a proverbial saying, 11 19, unhistorical, 12 40, a misunderstanding); and 12 32 probably shows the generic use of בר נשא. Of those in Mk. seven are regarded as authentic references to the Betrayal and Passion, three objective references to the Coming One, and the rest suspicious, including 2 10, the power to forgive sins, 2 28, authority over the Sabbath, 9 9, transfiguration not to be told until after the resurrection, and 10 45, even the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto. It is not unimportant that so large a number of passages are rejected as due to the evangelists. These were so regarded by many scholars before the last phase of the discussion; and in spite of the reaction against the view based on Aramaic usage it is recognized that the authenticity of about two thirds of the sayings containing the phrase is subject to doubt. While upholding the priority of Q, Bacon attempts, against Jackson and Lake, to render probable the genuineness of the references to the Passion. It is to be noticed also that, though he frankly bases his structure on 'Dalman's proofs,' he nevertheless in one passage resorts to the idea of a בר נשא in the generic sense, which, if Dalman had proved anything, would be impossible. Nor can he quite follow this scholar in his conjecture that the heavenly being that comes on the clouds in Dan. 7 13 "*might* be one who should have passed through suffering and death, and is, in any case, by his very nature no mighty one, no conqueror, no destroyer, but merely a mortal (Menschenkind) whom God has taken under his protection, and for whom he destines great things," though Bacon thinks of him as a "Suppliant before the throne of God." Of all this there is certainly no hint in the text itself. Bacon also makes the concession to Jackson and Lake that "in Mk. no parallel is attempted between Jesus' career and the work and fate of the Isaian 'Servant of Yahwe.'" This weakens the force of his objection to the view of these scholars that it was the actual suffering and death of Jesus that caused the prediction to be put on his lips and

transferred the title from the eschatological to the passion series. In Bacon's opinion, Jesus finally identified himself with Daniel's Son of Man and was condemned to death because he declared himself to be the Messiah and predicted that the Sanhedrin would see him sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven (Mk. 14 62), which was regarded as blasphemy. In his remarkable book ישו הנו צרי (1922), Klausner also sets forth the view that, in proclaiming himself as the Messiah, Jesus defined his Messiahship by referring to Daniel's Son of Man. Klausner holds that from the beginning of his ministry Jesus thought of himself, not only as a prophet like Ezekiel, but also as a superhuman being, closely related to the deity, like Daniel's Son of Man. The blasphemy consisted in his conception of himself as a Messiah, raised above humanity, and associated with the deity in a manner incompatible with strict monotheism. But what was said in the council chamber is not known; even the Christian witnesses disagree; and none of the disciples was present.

Eduard Meyer[14] does not question that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is a translation of בר נשא.[15] He recognizes that the term has its origin, so far as the gospels are concerned, in the eschatological series.[16] He does not ascribe the Synoptic Apocalypse (Mk. 13 and parallels) to Jesus: "es ist ganz klar, daß diese ganze Verkündigung mit dem historischen Jesus nichts zu tun hat, sondern ein Erzeugnis der ersten Generation der Christengemeinde ist, deren Schicksale vorausgesagt werden," perhaps so late as 62 A. D.[17] Whether Jesus spoke of 'the Son of Man' before the High Priest "bleibt mindestens fraglich," since this feature of the confession "trägt die spezifischen Züge der erst nach seinem Tode ausgebildeten christlichen Lehre."[18] Concerning the prediction of the passion he says: "unmöglich ist es, daß Jesus sein Schicksal mit allem Detail vorausgesagt habe, so selbstverständlich es auch nachher

[14] *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, I, 1921; II, 1922.
[15] *l. c.*, I, 104.
[16] *l. c.*, I, 337.
[17] *l. c.*, I, 129 f.
[18] *l. c.*, I, 194.

der Christengemeinde erscheinen mußte. Daß ihm dasselbe Schicksal bevorstehe, wie so vielen Propheten, mochte er ahnen und aussprechen, die Einzelgestaltung konnte niemand im voraus wissen."[19] Consequently, he has no confidence in the genuineness of the bulk of passages in which the term occurs. There remain then the passages in which it has been suggested that Jesus originally used בר נשא in the sense it invariably has in extant Aramaic literature. Here he finds it 'unbegreiflich' that scholars familiar with Aramaic should have thought it possible that Jesus actually said: "man (בר נשא) has authority to forgive sins" or "man (בר נשא) is lord of the Sabbath." Even if it were true that "damit wird eine philosophische Auffassung hineingetragen, die der Welt des Judentums wie des Christentums völlig fremd ist und ihren Begriff der Sünde und der Sündenvergebung geradezu aufhebt," such flashes of rare insight, which need not be connected with any specifically modern philosophical reasoning, are often characteristic of religious genius. How difficult it would be to conceive of some ideas and sentiments that seem to us unmistakably expressed in the Book of Job as appearing in any period of early Jewish history, were the probability of the age we assign to this work and the accuracy of our modern interpretation to be measured by the generally prevailing views in Judaism and Christianity! As to the second saying, it is interesting to observe the different judgment of a man like Adalbert Merx:[20] "Der Grund für die Tilgung der Worte in D: 'der Sabbath ist um des Menschen willen gemacht' mit der daran gehängten Konsequenz, daß der Mensch Herr ist über den Sabbath, — denn das ist der wahre Sinn, und nicht etwa der Menschensohn, das bedarf keines Beweises, sondern ist selbstverständlich, — liegt auf flacher Hand. Mit einem solchen Prinzip ließ sich ein hierurgischer Kultus weder bei Juden noch bei Christen aufrecht erhalten. Er war damit unter die Beurteilung des menschlichen Bewußtseins gestellt,

[19] *l. c.*, I, 117.

[20] *Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas*, 1905, 37; cp. also *Das Evangelium Matthaeus*, 1902, 205.

das der priesterlichen Anforderung gegenüber frei wurde. Solche und ähnliche Prinzipien konnten in der Kirche nicht geduldet werden, sie meistert ihren Meister, indem sie ihn, und nicht etwa den Menschen für den Herrn des Sabbaths erklärt." What is significant in the discussion of this subject by the great Berlin historian is, not his endeavor on the slender basis of a few passages, capable of and fairly demanding a different interpretation, still to maintain the increasingly difficult position of a cryptic Messiahship, involving the occasional, though rare, use by Jesus of the generic term for 'man,' in an esoteric sense, partly to reveal, partly to conceal his somewhat modified Messianic claims, but rather his clear recognition of both the eschatological discourse and the predictions of death and resurrection as products of the Christology of the early church.

Mention should also be made of the ingenious attempt by Bruno Violet[21] to create a new 'son of man' passage. In Mk. 11 14 Jesus says to the figtree: *μηκέτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκ σοῦ μηδεὶς καρπὸν φάγοι.* This would imply that he cursed the tree. So it was understood by the scribe who added to the account in Mt. 21 18 ff. the closing words of 19 and 20, not found in Mk. Violet suggests that the Syriac rendering in Peš. need not mean: 'no man *shall* eat,' but may mean: 'no man *will* eat,' and further that in Galilean Aramaic בר נשא may have been used, בר having later dropped out. Taking בר נשא to be Jesus' designation of himself. he then derives this saying: "The Son of Man will never again eat fruits from thee." It is a prediction concerning himself, not a curse of the tree. Jesus is conscious that he is going to his death, and will never again enjoy the fruits of this tree. It is true that the Impf. may mean 'no man will eat.' Merx[22] had already pointed out this possibility, and asked the question whether the story may not be "eine mißverstandene und zur Geschichte umbildete ursprüngliche Parabel." A simpler explanation is

[21] In *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, N. F., XIX, 2.

[22] *Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas*, 1905, 133.

possible. Jesus is hungry, sees a figtree in the distance, finds on approaching more closely that it is withered, and remarks: 'no man will ever eat fruits from thee,' reflecting perhaps, without formulating a parable, on the hopeless condition of his people. This *obiter dictum,* afterwards remembered, may easily have been misunderstood and given rise to the idea of a curse and a selfish, unnecessary and senseless miracle. Whether the original had אנש, בר אנש, or בר נשא, the meaning would be the same. But בר נשא is less likely after the negative, and had it been in the text, it would no doubt have been rendered *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and caused no more trouble to a number of exegetes than in Mk. 2 8 or 2 10.

To most scholars the question whether the references to the parousia are more genuine than those to the passion seems to reduce itself to one of the relative age of Q and Mk. If Q is older, there would be a presumption in favor of the former. But the problem may not be so simple. Wellhausen argues for the priority of Mk.; and though Harnack, Heitmüller, Jülicher (at least so far as Q^1 is concerned), Jackson and Lake, Bacon and others stress the priority of Q, there is much disagreement among them. One may, indeed, strongly maintain the priority of Mk. to our present Mt. and Lk. and also the posteriority of Mk. to an earlier source or several such sources without being in sympathy with this or that theory as regards the degree of Mk.'s originality and the nature of the earlier source or sources. It is thought by many scholars that the non-Marcan material found in both Mt. and Lk. may have been derived from a common source, and it has become customary to designate it as Q. There can be no objection to such a *siglum* to indicate this well defined and available material, if it is deemed desirable. But it should be borne in mind that the existence of Q as a separate Greek document is a modern assumption, based on no early ecclesiastical tradition, and not hinted at either in Mt. or Lk. It is a supposititious document invented to account for certain striking similarities between Mt. and Lk. in these sections and for certain equally striking dissimilarities which appeared to preclude derivation of one from the other, particularly if the

latter was regarded as coming from an immediate disciple of Jesus. That such a document ever existed can neither be proved nor disproved. Books have been recovered which had apparently left no trace behind them and were unknown even by name; of others only the name has survived; and with many we are acquainted only through obviously very imperfect translations or later versions from these. Nevertheless, such an assumption need not be resorted to, if the facts can equally well be accounted for without it. Is it not conceivable that our present Mt. and Lk. stood in very much the same relation to an earlier form of Mt. as they are assumed to have held to Q? In spite of marked divergencies, the essential identity and, in the main, sequence of sections speak for a common source, the differences being explained as due to the vicissitudes of copying, expansion and contraction, recasting and editorial activity, personal and regional idiosyncrasies of thought, and stylistic preferences. Why should it be considered improbable that the common source was an earlier form of Mt., used with the same freedom both by the later expander and editor of Mt. and by Lk. as is assumed in the case of Q? Harnack[23] has shown that almost invariably the more original form is found in Mt. In the presence of a freely flowing and highly prized oral tradition attaching itself to more than one of the apostles, it is by no means necessary to suppose that one collection, even if ascribed to Matthew, was at all times *maßgebend.*

When Q is defined as the non-Marcan material common to Mt. and Lk., it should of course be distinguished, not only from Mk., but also from the oldest source, and it should not be pieced out with passages found only in Mt. or only in Lk. Upon this Bacon very justly insists. "The oldest source is not Q," he says. It contained, in his opinion, much beside Q, and Mk. may have used it. That Mk. used this source is indeed highly probable. That he was acquainted with Q is at least incapable of proof, since the Q material is non-Marcan. It is indeed subject to grave doubts. Why should he have so consistently left out all of these

[23] *Sprüche und Reden Jesu,* 1907.

statements? The same applies, with equal force, to the assumption that Q was an integral part of the oldest source. What motive can Mk. have had in discarding or passing by in silence everything found in Q? The more one reflects upon this strange procedure, the more plausible it becomes that Mk. did not find the bulk of the Q material in the oldest source. The evidence that he knew and used this earlier source must be looked for chiefly elsewhere. If Mk. is earlier than Q, as Wellhausen thinks, it does not follow that there was not a source earlier than Mk. Mk.'s right to be called the first narrator of the life of Jesus actually known to us need not be questioned, since even if the oldest source had certain headings, introductions, and incidental accounts such as we possess in 'The Words of Amos' and 'The Words of Jeremiah' (𝔊), its substance was no doubt a collection of sayings rather than an attempt at a biography. Nor need it be doubted that Mk. furnished the general framework for the later form of Mt. and for Lk. The freedom of Mk.'s gospel from many late elements in the other synoptics is obvious. But the problem of the relative age of Mk. and certain strata in Mt. and Lk. is only confused by the stress laid on manifest accretions, from the infancy stories to the textually doubtful baptismal formula. The right method would seem to be to start with what Mk. has in common with Mt. and Lk. Here such questions as these legitimately arise: Was Mk.'s information derived from a distinct source, so that there was a double tradition, such as Harnack supposes in the case of Mk. and Q? Or does the material in Mt. and Lk. come from Mk.? Or did Mk. use a source also underlying Mt. and Lk.? *A priori* it would be possible to think of two independent strands of tradition, a Petrine and a Matthaean. But it is extremely difficult to conceive of these as running so closely parallel with each other, both in contents and arrangement. A comparison tends to indicate that the more primitive form of a saying is often found in Mt. or Lk. This has been shown by many scholars, notably by Merx,[24] and has again been pointed out

[24] *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, I, 1902; II, 1905; *passim*.

by those who maintain a pre-Marcan source. The impression has been strengthened by Wellhausen's searching analysis of Mk. and by Bacon's important observations on the advanced position of Mk. on so vital a point as his Christology. It remains most probable that Mk. used an earlier source which to some extent has been preserved in Mt. (and Lk.). This, of course, does not preclude the possibility that many passages now found in all the three gospels were subsequent additions in Mk. which found their way into Mt. and Lk.; or that later additions in Mt. also were incorporated in Mk. and Lk.

The eschatological discourse (Mt. 24, Mk. 13, Lk. 24) may very well be such a later addition, passing from gospel to gospel. Colani (1864) suggested that it is 'a veritable apocalypse,' and Wellhausen (1893) that it came from an originally Jewish apocalypse written just before the fall of Jerusalem. In this apocalypse reference is made (Mk. 13 26 and parallels) objectively to 'the Son of Man.' Wellhausen says: "Nun steht freilich der Vers Mc. 13 26 in einer im Grunde jüdischen Apokalypse, zeigt jedoch den Ausgangspunkt der an Jesus als Menschensohn geknüpften christlichen Parusiehoffnung,"[25] *i. e.*, not the starting point for the hope among the early Christians of the return of Jesus, but for the ascription of this hope to him. It may be added that here also, and not in Q, is likely to be the starting point of the use of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου as a title and a supposed self-designation. Unfortunately, we do not know how this 'Son of Man' was first introduced in the original apocalypse, whether Jewish or Christian. The first reference may have been similar to that in Dan., Eth. En. and 4 Ezra; or it may, in the original, as Haupt[26] suggests, have had the meaning 'Some One,' the one you know. When this apocalypse was put upon the lips of Jesus, it was evident to all readers that he used it concerning himself; and when the Greek title had once been established as a self-designation, it could then pass to the predictions of his death ascribed to him, and give a new significance to the phrase already used

[25] *Die drei ersten Evangelien*[1], 1905, 133.
[26] *The Monist*, 1919, 1 ff.

as a rendering of בר נשא in possibly genuine utterances of Jesus. Wellhausen's dictum: "Sicher ist, daß, wenn Jesus seine Jünger nicht zum voraus über seinen Tod und Auferstehung belehrt hat, so erst recht nicht über seine Parusie"[27] is no doubt correct historically, but does not show the order in which this phrase came to be used as a self-designation. A further indication of the date when this insertion would be possible may be found in the passage so similar in its tenor preceding it in Mt. (23 34–38) and split up in Lk. (11 49–51; 13 34–35), with its allusion to the murder of Zechariah b. Berechiah (Josephus, *Bell. jud.*, IV, 5, 4), if it once formed a part of the same work. Wellhausen has convincingly shown that no other Zechariah can be meant, and has set in its right light the late legend referred to by Moore (*JAOS*, 1906, 317 ff.).[28] That 'The Wisdom of God' is the title of a book was hinted at by Paulus, van Hengel, Ewald, Bleek, Hilgenfeld, and Gfrörer; that the whole passage belonged to it was made probable by Strauß (*ZWTh*, 1863, 84 ff.). But the view that the apocalypse comes from this book, however plausible, cannot be proved.

Burton[29] distinguishes between four major sources: 1. Mk.; 2. the original Mt. (M); 3. a Galilean source (G); and 4. a Perean document (P), found in Lk. 9 57–18 14; 19 1–28. In these sources he gives place to 14 'son of man' passages in Mk., 6 in M (Mt. 10 23; 13 37, 41; 19 28; 24 30 a; 25 31), 2 in G (Lk. 6 22; 7 34), and 11 in P (Lk. 9 58; 12 8, 10 a, 40; 11 30; 17 22, 24, 26, 30; 18 8; 19 10). It is interesting to observe that this eminent New Testament scholar regards 250 verses found only in Mt. as coming from the *logia* referred to by Papias so that "the present gospel naturally took the name of that old document which it alone, of our present gospels at least, reproduced and of which it might almost be considered only an enlarged edition."[30] It is also worthy of note that Burton rejects the hypothesis of Q, and that his G contains only two

[27] *l. c.*[2], 1911, 96.
[28] *l. c.*[2], 1911, 118 ff.
[29] *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem*, 1904.
[30] *ib.*, 41.

passages referring to the 'son of man,' viz. Lk. 6 22 'for the son of man's sake,' and 7 34 'the son of man is come eating and drinking,' which are both subject to serious doubt. The return to the earliest ecclesiastical tradition seems to be a step in the direction of historic probability, while the abandonment of the theory that the non-Marcan material common to Mt. and Lk. constitutes a distinct document for the assumption of an equally supposititious source G has the disadvantage that its limits must be determined solely by subjective judgment, with the same absence of external testimony. He has been followed in the main by Sharman[31] and Wickes[32]. Sharman, however, either rejects altogether or seriously questions every one of the 'son of man' passages ascribed by Burton to M.[33] Wickes makes a distinction in Burton's P between the material common to Mt. and Lk. and the material not used in Mt. In the part of P regarded by him as Judaean he finds only one 'son of man' passage (19 10). This is loosely attached to what precedes and its character is such that it has long been questioned. None of these scholars seems to have made a special study of the 'son of man' question, or at least taken note of the discussion in their publications. Yet there is an unmistakable tendency on the part of students accepting this new approach to the synoptic problem to eliminate the title entirely from M, G, and the Judaean source in P.

What the earliest source contained can only be a matter of inference and conjecture. Some passages in the so called Q may have had a place in it, though overlooked or intentionally left out by Mk.; some preserved in all three gospels may have formed part of it, others not; some only found in Mt. or Lk. may have been in it. It is by no means improbable that among the sources used by Lk. there was a document not known to either the original Mt. or Mk., and it is possible that it had some such limits as Wickes has conjectured for his second group. In that case Lk. may have dealt with that

[31] *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future according to the Synoptic Gospels*, 1909.

[32] *The Sources of Luke's Perean Section*, 1913.

[33] *l. c.*

source as freely as he apparently did with the earlier form of Mt. and with Mk. It may also be that he derived this material from oral tradition on which, like Papias later, he confessedly leaned to some extent. As to its age and reliability, whether it came to him in one way or the other, we are obviously confined to subjective considerations. So far from being able to say that because a reported saying had a place in the earliest source it is presumably genuine, we can only conclude that because of its intrinsic probability it may have belonged to it, though we cannot be confident even of that. No light is thrown on its contents by the tradition referred to by Papias. If, as he avers,[34] Matthew wrote the words of the Lord in the Hebrew dialect, *i. e.*, in Aramaic, he obviously knew nothing with certainty concerning this document. Should it ever be discovered, it would no doubt contain many surprises, and perhaps raise more questions than it would settle. Even if its authenticity could be proved, it would still be doubtful whether it was the first draft or a late copy, and whether the sayings reported in it were genuine; and behind it would lie oral tradition with its unavoidable changes.

Even the passages in which Jesus has been supposed to use the term בר נשא in a generic sense furnish a problem. It was natural that Bruno Bauer, Volkmar, Jacobsen, Martineau, Oort, van Manen, Baljou, and Brandt should regard the Greek term as everywhere a creation of the evangelists. But Patton[35] has recently taken up the same position, and Bacon has independently arrived at very nearly the same conclusion so far as this group is concerned. In regard to Mt. 8 20 and 11 19 I quite agree to-day with Bacon. He has called attention also to the absence of Mk. 2 27 in D and the minuscules that go with it. This is important, as D is often relatively free from interpolations. It should be added that 2 27 a is lacking in the Sinaitic Syriac; it is also absent in Mt. and Lk. This weakens the case for 2 28. On the other hand, if 2 27 is an interpolation, the man who wrote it would seem necessarily to

[34] In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 39.

[35] *American Journal of Religion*, Sept. 1922.

have understood the Greek term as a rendering of בר נשא in its generic sense; and the ὥστε follows more naturally after 2 27, which may have been passed over by D and abbreviated in Sin. Syr. Patton emphasizes the anacoluthon in 2 10 ff. Gen. 3 22–23 has been appealed to as a similar instance; but there we should probably read ונשלחהו for וישלחהו. 'He says to the sick of the palsy' looks like a remark by the evangelist; and in Lk. the people praise God who has given such power to men. In Mt. 12 32 Patton takes umbrage at the distinctively Christian use of the term The Holy Ghost. But the holy spirit is not distinctively Christian, and Bacon's exegesis removes the difficulty. The three passages, Mt. 9 6, 12 8, 32 and parallels, seem to be genuine. They have been interpreted, with rare insight, by Francis A. Henry.[36] The literal unidiomatic translation, reminding of *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* in Ecclus. may still for some time have conveyed to those who understood Aramaic its original meaning.

Is it possible that the spread of the title from the apocalyptic series to the other groups was facilitated or at least that the common understanding of it in patristic literature can be explained by the Pauline 'second man,' 'last man,' 'man from heaven' or the Gnostic *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*? Moore[37] has shown that there is no evidence of any kind that such terms as 'the last, the second, the coming Adam' were current among Jewish scholars in Palestine as a designation of the Messiah, or ever generally current. The source where Christian scholars have found it, *Neve Shalom,* comes from the end of the 15th century. But the Pauline terms do not give the impression of being innovations by him. It may even be suggested that in 1 Cor. 15 45 a written source is quoted: "And so it is written, the first man Adam was made a living soul; the last man a quickening spirit." Jackson and Lake think that Paul may have disliked the unidiomatic Greek term and translated בר נשא. *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*. That is improbable. The Gnostic material has been conveniently placed before us by Badham.[38] The

[36] *Jesus and the Christian Religion*[2], 1923, 51 ff.
[37] *JBL*, XVI, 1897, 158.
[38] *l. c.*, 420 ff.

Naasenes, or Ophites, who were a pre-Christian sect, according to Hippolytus "honored as the beginning of all things ἄνθρωπος, 'Man,' and υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, a 'Son of Man'"; this man is bisexual and is called by them Adam. Irenaeus describes the Ophites as designating the Father of All the first man; and his Idea, ἔννοια, proceeding from him they style Son of Man, the Second Man. Badham questions my inference that both of these terms were used in pre-Christian times, and suggests that the latter was introduced after contact with Christianity. It should be remembered, however, that the necessity for introducing another υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, son of Yaldabaoth and Achamoth, distinct from the heavenly υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου would not have existed, if there had not been such a prototype in heaven. "Do not lie, Yaldabaoth," says Achamoth; "the Father of All, the first ἄνθρωπος is above thee, and so is ἄνθρωπος, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου." If there were a Christian contamination, one would expect the article. The two men in the Samothracian mysteries to which the Ophites referred are clearly pre-Christian. When generation is so strongly emphasized, sonship is a natural phrase. The conception of the supreme principle as man may be of mythical or philosophical origin. Reflection on his own nature and meditation on the divine may lead to the idea that what man is in his essence that God is also, and the reverse, hence to consubstantiality, ὁμοουσία, of God and man. This actually took place in India; and it is, therefore, significant that the supreme being, the first principle of the universe, should in the Vedas be called *purusha*, 'man,'[39] and the derived being both *purusha* and

[39] *Rig Veda*, X, 90 (916). Grassmann (*Rig Veda*, II, 1877, 486 f.) regards this hymn as among the latest insertions in the Rig Veda, and relegates it to the *Anhang*. He cites as reasons the apparent references to the Rig-, Sama-, and Yajur Vedas and acquaintance with the beginning of the Atharva Veda, the names of the four castes, and the language and character which seem to point to the period of the latest parts of the Atharva Veda. Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Veda*, 1894, 277) recognizes in this hymn describing 'die Entstehung der Menschheit aus dem Leibe des großen tausendfüßigen Urmensch (*purusha*)' 'eine priesterlicherweise schnörkelhaft ausgesponnene, aber möglicherweise uralte Vorstellung.' Obviously *purusha* = man is a

nārāyana, 'son of man.'[40] Here is either an analogy to Gnostic usage, or a borrowing. Chaldaeanism was a syncretistic religion whose elements were not all from ancient Babylonia. Like so many ideas, *e. g.* metempsychosis and atavar, this one may have passed from one end of the world touched by Hellenism to the other. A part of India as well as Phrygia and Babylonia belonged to the Seleucid Empire. But in Babylonian mythology there is also likely to have been a figure spoken of by preference as 'the man.' Gods became men; men became gods. Kristensen[41] thinks the phrase goes back to the Adapa myth. Following Zimmern's suggestion that Adapa = Adam, and that of Jeremias, Zimmern and Winckler that Adapa's designation as *zer ameluti* = בר נשא, he discusses 1) the parallel between Adapa and Adam, 2) the general conception of man in antiquity as one who by virtue of his nature from the beginning has insight into the mysteries of heaven, earth, and the realm below, so that 3) one who in an especial degree possesses this (magician, priest, prophet, king) is in a higher sense than the ordinary a 'man,' a 'son of man,' a typical, ideal *zer ameli* or *sa n si*. This use of the term in a pregnant sense has also been noted by Haupt[42] who calls attention to the fact that *mar ameli* is a gentleman, and בר נשא a man,

designation of the universe, the macrocosm being conceived after the fashion of the microcosm. In X, 90, 5 there seems to be a distinction between purusha, the absolute being, and *purusha* as the first-born. By identification with the Atman in the Upanishads the later conception of the term was developed. Cp. Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanischaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, 1915, *passim*. A special study of this development would be welcome. The distinction between *purusha* and *prakṛti* in the Saṃkhya and Yoga systems is clearly set forth by Surendranath Dasgupta, *Yoga*, 1925.

[40] Grill (*Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums*, 1902, 348) cites *Māhāna royana Upanishad*, XI, as evidence for the use of *Nārāyana*, 'the one like a man,' 'the son of man' as a designation of *purusha* in the sense of the derived primeval existence. That *Purusha-Nārāyana* is identified with Vishnu does not militate against this. Whether there is a historic connection or not, these Indian speculations correspond with those found in some Gnostic sects.

[41] *Th. Tijdschrift*, 1911, 1 ff.

[42] *The Monist*, 1919, 1 ff.

a noble man, and may be understood as an *exemplar vitae humanae*, a symbol, *ecce homo!* It is possible, therefore, that later speculation attached itself to the conception of man in a pregnant sense, leading even into the realm of mythology; but a critical examination of the Synoptic material does not justify the assumption that Jesus himself used the term בר נשא in any other than the ordinary generic sense.

The impression that meekness and lowliness, modesty and humility were typical traits in the character of Jesus need not be given up. There is no necessity for supposing that either before the episode at Caesarea Philippi or in his last days Jesus cherished ambitions to lord it over men in one way or another. Nothing compels the belief that he ever told his disciples: "Ye shall eat and drink at my table in my kingdom and sit upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."[43] A later scribe, if not Lk., is more likely than the master himself to have picked out prophecies of 'great David's greater son' in the story of Mephibosheth (2 Sam. 9) and the enthroned judges of Ps. 122. He may have had his share of erroneous beliefs and human weaknesses; but there is no evidence that he surrendered morally, as many others have, to the lure of kingship, the itch for power over his fellow-men, the passion for political or spiritual domination. In spite of the growing idea in the early church that he had not only predicted his death and resurrection on the third day, but also his return on the clouds of heaven, clothed with superhuman authority and dignity, it is permissible to think that he remained faithful unto death, even the death on the cross, to his clearly expressed convictions, in what may be regarded as genuine utterances, concerning man's duties, rights, and privileges, his way of life and service. There is more reverence in honest doubt than in an easy acceptance of even the salient points in a late, fluctuating and steadily growing tradition. To remove the outer wrappings with which loyal love and devout speculation have surrounded him is not to take away from but to add unto the grandeur and majesty of his personality. These

[43] *JBL*, 1922, 182.

garments themselves have had their value, and may in part have been woven with material coming down from primitive times. But the body is more than the raiment. He himself will never be fully known. Each human life has its mystery; it is deepened in the case of a great religious genius. Through ages to come he will, no doubt, remain an object of reverent study. For mankind will not suffer its spiritual heroes to see corruption. In seeking, however, for the permanent place of Jesus in the life of man, students will begin with a quest for the historically probable and learn to free themselves from a mistaken estimate based on questionable data. Without yielding to an unreasonable scepticism that refuses to be guided at all by the only material at our disposal and declines the duty of accounting for its development, without rejecting any part of the tradition simply on the ground that it contravenes an *a priori* judgment of what Jesus could have said and thought concerning himself, without resorting to any but the generally accepted methods of textual, literary and historical criticism, relief from such a conception of the Prophet of Nazareth is still available.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Four Strutters[1]

ONE of the most desperate passages in OT is the quatrain in Prov. 30 29–31, enumerating four beings that are *comely in going*, as AV[2] renders. Heb. *mêṯḥê läḳṯ* corresponds to Gr. καλλωπιζόμενοι, strutting, *i. e.* walking with a pompous gait, or prancing. The characteristic of the four beings enumerated is not fleetness, but stateliness. The usual pace of a lion is a walk (EB[11] 16, 738[bs]). In Schiller's poem *Der Handschuh* we read: *Und hinein mit bedächtigem Schritt | Ein Löwe tritt*, while we find in the following stanza: *Daraus rennt | mit wildem Sprunge | Ein Tiger hervor.* Καλλωπίζεσθαι, to make a show in walking, to move proudly, means prop. *to give oneself a good appearance.* In Italian (and Spanish) you say *to peacock, i. e.* to strut like a peacock (It. *pavoneggiarsi*).

It is possible that the Hebrew poet did not use the verb *hēṯḥ* in both hemistichs of the first line. The scribes have often repeated the same expression where the original text had two different phrases.[3] We may substitute *maḡbîhê* for *meṯḥê* 2°, but we must not read *miṯḥahhărê* instead of *mêṯḥê* 1°. The text of the first two lines is correct except that *maḡbîhê* may be substituted for *mêṯḥê* 2°, and *hémmâ* between *šĕlôšâ* and *mêṯḥê* should be omitted (*Proverbs* 68, l. 30): it is probably

[1] Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, Dec. 28, 1925.

[2] For the abbreviations see this JOURNAL, vol. 40, p. 167, n. 2; *cf.* AJP 46, 197, n. 3.

[3] *Cf.* JBL 26, 18[i]; 29, 106, l. 5; 31, 130, l. 1; 34, 65, l. 7; WF 217, l. 1; Is. 11 5: AJP 40, 68; Am. 5 9: JBL 35, 283, l. 14.

due to dittography of the final consonant of *šĕlôšâ* and the initial consonant of *mêṭîḇê*. We may therefore read the first two lines:

29 שלשה מטיבי צעד וארבעה מנביהי לכת
30 ליש גבור בבהמה ולא ישוב מפני־כל׃

which may be translated:

29 There are three that are stepping bravely, yea, four that are [proudly: strutting
30 The lion, the mightiest 'mong beasts, who turns not away from any.

This is all perfectly clear, but the following verse in 𝔐 is meaningless. Ehrlich said that it was beyond interpretation, and it is not translated in AT[4] (1923). In 𝔐 the text is evidently incomplete, the second hemistich of the line describing the cock is wanting, as is also the characterization of the buck. 𝔊 says that the buck is the leader of the flock of goats, 𝔖: that he walks at the head of the herd. Also in 𝔗 we must read instead of *têšâ ḏĕ-'âzél bêṯ ġîṯôrâ*, the he-goat that walks into the house of the proselyte: *têšâ ḏĕ-'âzél bĕ-rêš ġizrâ*, the he-goat that walks at the head of the flock. This emendation was suggested long ago by Bochart (1663). The *ṯ* in *ġîṯôrâ* is miswritten for *z*, and the preceding *bêṯ* is a corruption of *bênâṯ*, between, which is an erroneous repetition of *bênâṯ* in the preceding hemistich *bênâṯ tarnâḡĕlê*, among the hens (should be *tarnôḡĕlâṯâ*).

𝔊𝔗𝔖[4] of the last three lines are given in JBL 33, 155, but the 12 words of v. 31 in 𝔖, as quoted there, contain six mistakes, e. g. *mêzrĕbîl* for *mizdarkîl* (also *mizdarbîl* for 𝔗 *mizdarkél*). JBL 33, 156, 6 acknowledges indebtedness to Dr. Richard Gottheil for some kind help in the Aramaic and Arabic references; if Gottheil had seen the proofs of the article, the mistakes would no doubt have been corrected. Aram. *zarkél* is an S of *rakḵal*, the original form of the stem of Heb. *rāḡl*, foot. The *g* in *rāḡl* is due to partial assimilation of the *k*: also the *z* for *s* in *zarkél* is due to the *r*.

We may compare some of the numerical saws in Talmud and Midrasch, *e. g.* the four haltered animals (Shabbath 51[b]):

[4] For 𝔖 in Prov. 30 29–31 *cf.* ZAT 14, 102. 111. 215.

horse, mule, camel, and ass (ZDMG 65, 396, l. 27). In a Midrashic passage (ZDMG 65, 407, l. 14) four leaders are enumerated: the leader of all living beings: man; the leader of the birds: eagle; the leader of domestic animals: ox; the leader of wild beasts: lion. In Assyrian, the eagle (*našru*) is called *ašarid iççûrâti*, the leader of the birds (HW 150[a], l. 7; 487[a]; KB 2, 98, 69). *Ašaridu*, which we have also in the second part of the name Shalmaneser, seems to be a compound like Syr. *gurmîḏâ*, fore-arm, cubit, prop, *bone of the arm;* cf. Syr. *ğĕrimḥáççâ*, spine, Ass. *eçinçêru* which would correspond to an Arab. *ʿáṯmu-ʾš-šáhri*.

Taiš does not necessarily mean *he-goat*: in German as well as in Danish the term *buck* denotes not only a *he-goat*, but also a *ram* and a *roebuck*. We apply *buck* also to the male of the antelope, rabbit, hare, chamois, reindeer. The Hebrew poet evidently had in mind a ram (bell-wether) leading his sheep (*cf.* Jer. 50 8; *Iliad* 13, 492; 3, 198) although 𝔊 has *τράγος ἡγούμενος αἰπολίου*. We must supply after *taiš: naḡîḏ ʿăḏrô*. In Latin you call the bell-wether *dux gregis*. The same restoration is suggested by 𝔗𝔖. 𝔍 has *aries*. Also Luther rendered: *Widder*. 𝔖𝔗 suggest also the restoration of the line beginning with *zarzîr* which does not denote a *greyhound* (Graecus Venetus,[5] Luther, Ewald, Böttcher, Bertheau, Delitzsch, RV) or *horse* (Bochart, J. D. Michaelis, Umbreit, Hitzig, Elster, Bunsen, Reuss, Strack) or *zebra* (Ludolf, Simonis, C. B. Michaelis, Döderlein, Ziegler) but a *cock*. Also the Karaite Japheth Ibn-Ali Halevi (950—990; see *Proverbs* 66, 46) referred *zarzîr* to the cock. Heb. *zarzîr* corresponds to the Arab. *ǧárǧar*. The *z* instead of *ǧ* is due to the *r* as it is in Heb. *zĕʿêr*, little, for *ǧuḡaiʿr* (JHUC 364, 58, l. 7; 59, l. 13). In the same way Heb. *sîr*, pot (JBL 36, 256) appears in Arabic as *zîr*. The rare term *zarzîr* is used instead of *tarnĕḡôl*, because we must read in the second hemistich: *bĕ-ṯôk tarnĕḡôlôṯâu*. For the same reason 𝔖𝔗 use the rare term *âḇákkâ* instead of *tarnâḡĕlâ*. There is also a Syriac word *akdâḡâ*, cock, which may mean *Accadian* (AkF 51) just as we

[5] Λαγωοκύων. Greyhounds course hares (JAOS 45, 318[f]).

speak of Leghorns, Plymouth Rocks, Wyandottes, Hamburgs, &c. *Tarnĕgôl* is a Sumerian loanword < Ass. *tarlugallu* = Sum. *dar-lugal*, i. e. *the king of the pied* or *multicolored birds*.

The cock is figured on certain Babylonian gems and cylinders (RB 658). Arab. *çárçar*, cock, means prop. *cryer*. The cock is known as *chanticleer* (cf. Fr. *chantecler, chante-claire*). Arab. *çárçar* is a reduplication of the root *çr* > *çáraxa*, to cry > *çarrâx*, peacock. *Çárçara* is used of the singing of the wind (JHUC 316, 23) or the cry of a hawk or woodpecker, the cooing of a dove, &c. (*cf.* WZKM 23, 360[1]). Our *to rout* was formerly used of the bellowing of a bull, the snorting of a horse, the howling of the wind, roaring of the waves, snoring, &c.

For the unintelligible *moṯnâṯm ô* after *zarzîr* we must read *nôśê karbaltô*, lifting up its comb. In Dan. 3 21 *karbĕlâ* means *cap*, but in pB Hebrew *karbalâ* is used for *cockscomb*. 𝔐 *naṯm ô* is a corruption of *nôśê*. The erect head is characteristic of the cock. In the *Merry Wives of Windsor* (1, 4, 31) Dr. Caius' servant, Mrs. Quickly, asks Slender's servant, Simple, with reference to his master: *Does he not hold up his head, as it were, and strut in his gait?* Dyserinck (1883) proposed *zarzîr miṯnaśśê ṯa-ṯâṯš* instead of *zarzîr moṯnaṯm ô-tâṯš*. Hitzig (1858) suggested that *moṯnaṯm* might be part. Hitpa'el.

While the second syllable of the unintelligible *moṯnâṯm* after *zarzîr* is a corruption of *nôśê*, the first syllable of 𝔐 *moṯnâṯm* may represent the noun *meṯ*, man, male, which denotes *husband* in Assyrian and Ethiopic, and which may have been used for *cock*, just as *gābr*, man, male, has this meaning in pB Hebrew. 𝔍 renders *gābr* in Is. 22 17, for which we must read *hag-gābr*, O man: *gallus gallinaceus*. The word *met*, it may be supposed, was added as an explanatory gloss to the rare word *zarzîr*. Heb. *meṯ* may have denoted orig. *membrum virile*, esp. *ἰθύφαλλος* (JHUC 348, 48, Oct. 3). It exhibits the older form of the root *md*, to extend; Ass. *madâdu*, to measure, means orig. *to determine the extent*.

After *u-mālk* in the last hemistich we must read *maqhîl qiṯômô*. Also in Deut. 11, 6 *haiqûm* should be changed to *haqqiṯôm*. It means there *followers*, not *substance*. The *qiṯôm* of a king denotes *hâ-'ômĕdîm lĕ-p̄anâu* (Zech. 3 4). *Cf.* Ass. *manzaz*

pâni (HW 457[a]). The *l* of 𝔐 *alqûm*[6] is a remnant of the preceding *maqhîl*. Peiser's conjecture that 𝔐 *alqûm* is miswritten for *alqûs* representing the Edomite god *Qôš* (KAT[3] 473, n. 1) so that the last hemistich would mean *a king with whom al-Qus is*, does not commend itself. Halévy (cited in S-S) regarded *alqûm* as the name of an Arabian god more than 50 years ago.

We may restore the quatrain with the help of the Ancient Versions:

29 There are three that are stepping bravely,
yea, four that are strutting proudly:
30 The lion, the mightiest 'mong beasts,
which turns not away from any;
31 The cock, holding up his comb
in the midst of all his hens;
The ram which is leader of his flock,
and the king haranguing his retinue.

The king may imagine he appears like a lion, but he looks more like a cock or a bell-wether.

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

29 שלשה[α] מיטיבי צעד וארבעה מנבּיהי לכת׃
30 ליש גבּור בבהמה ולא ישוב מפני־כל׃
31 זרזיר[β] נשׂא כרבלתו בתוך תרנגולתיו
תיש נגיד עדרי ומלך מקהיל קיומו[γ]׃

(α) המה 29 (β) מת 31 (γ) עמו

Johns Hopkins University PAUL HAUPT

Mistranslated Lines in Proverbs[7]

Sixteen years ago (*Mic.* 79; *cf.* GB[17] 321[a], l. 12)[8] I showed that the original signification of Heb. *ʿarâš*, inherit, was *press*,

[6] Geiger (1857) referred *alqûm* to Alcimus (MF 122, n. 16).

[7] Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, Dec. 28, 1925.

[8] For the abbreviations see above, p. 326, n. 2.

sqeeze, extort, then *rob*, bereave. The primary connotation of *tîrôš*, must, is *pressing*, i. e. *juice* pressed from the grapes. Heb. *yîrâš*, he inherits, means orig. *he is bereft.* Ger. *Erbe*, heir, is identical with Lat. *orbus*, bereft, and Gr. *ὄρφανος*, orphan.

In OT the verb *yarâš* often means *dispossess*, take possession of. In several passages of the Book of Proverbs (esp. 20 13; 23 21; 30 9) the N *iuuarêš* is supposed to mean *he is impoverished.* According to Ehrlich we ought to read throughout *yûrâš* instead *iuuarés.* Some derive *iuuarêš* from *rôš*, poor. *Iuuarêš*, however, does not mean *he is impoverished*, but *he lacks the necessaries of life,* suffers from lack of bread. Gesenius' *Thesaurus* gave for *nôrâš* the correct explanation *ad egestatem redactus est.*

If Jacob had remained in Canaan instead of accepting Joseph's invitation to come to Egypt, he might have been *kabêd môd bam-miqnê, bak-käsp u-baz-zahab* but *hăsûr läḥm.* A man in a boat of a wrecked steamer, with his pockets full of money but no food, is not impoverished. There is a difference between impoverishment and privation. A rich gormand may have to diet; in this way he may be deprived of a great many things, but he is not impoverished. A billionaire may have to live on crackers and milk for his stomach's sake and his often infirmities (1 Tim. 5 23). *Pen tiuuarêš* in Gen. 45 11 means *lest thou come to want*, i. e. *suffer from lack of bread,* be insufficiently supplied with bread. In Prov. 20 13 *tiuuarêš* is contrasted with *śĕbaʿ läḥm*; we must render: *Love not sleep lest thou come to want; open thine eyes* (i. e. be open-eyed and circumspect, wary and chary) *and have plenty of bread.* We must read *u-śăbâʿ* (GK[28] §§ 110, f; 10, g : b):

אל־תאהב שנה פן־תורש פקח עיניך ושבע־לחם׃

In Prov. 30 8 the gloss *haṭrîpênî läḥm ḥuqqi,* provide me with the food I need, shows that *rôš ua-ʿôšr* in the preceding hemistich does not mean *poverty and riches*, bunt *want and luxury.* The stem of Heb. *ʿošr* means in Arabic: *to be covered with luxuriant vegetation* (Arab. *ġâṭara*) and the transposed Ass. *šer'u* (JAOS 45, 314, l. 9) denotes *luxuriant vegetation*, jungle. *Iuuarêš* in the following verse means *I suffer from lack of bread,* I have

nothing to eat. Both Delitzsch-Dalman and Salkinson-Ginsburg use *läḥm ḥuqqénû* for τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον in the Lord's Prayer, but this Greek phrase means *our bread for the following day,* ἡ ἐπιοῦσα. One of the theses which Wellhausen defended in 1870, was: *Forma* ἐπιούσιος *aliam derivationem non admittit nisi ab* ἡ ἐπιοῦσα (WF 353[1]).

In Prov. 23 21: *iṯṯarés* means *he is robbed.* The couplet *Al-tĕhî bĕ-sôbĕ'ê ỉáỉn | bĕ-zôlĕlê báśar lámo ‖ kî-sôbê ṯṯĕ-zôlél iṯṯarés | u-qĕra'îm talbîš nûmâ* must not be rendered: *Be not among wine-bibbers | among gluttonous eaters of flesh: ‖ Drunkard and glutton come to poverty, | and drowsiness clothes one in rags.* Nor does this passage intimate that wine-bibbers and gormands will be deprived of the pleasures of the table, that they will be more abstemious, forced to lead a more hygienic life. Horace says in his *Epistles* (1, 2, 34): *Si noles sanus curres hydropicus.* A thief may rob a dead-drunk person and strip him of his raiment, leaving him his own rags. For gormands the Hebrew has *those who indulge in meat for themselves,* who gorge themselves with meat. Meat was regarded as a luxury; as a rule, it was served only in honor of a guest or at a festival. For Heb. *zôlél* we must compare Syr. *zallîl,* luxurious, extravagant, debauched.

In Ps. 34 11 we must read: *Kĕpîrîm*[9] *iṯṯaršû ṯṯĕ-ra'ébû | ṯṯĕ-dôršâṯ lô-ỉáḥsĕrû ṭôḇ.* When there is such a universal famine that even young lions (whose dens are, as a rule, full of prey; *cf.* Nah. 2 13) hunger, His followers will lack nothing. In Buxtorf's lexicon *kĕpîrîm râšû* was translated: *leunculi pauperantur.* Mandelkern's suggestion that we should read *kôpĕrîm* = Arab. *kuffâr,* Syr. *kâpôrê,* infidels, is untenable, although it has been endorsed by Duhm in the new edition of his commentary (1922).

Johns Hopkins University PAUL HAUPT

[9] *Kĕpîrîm* was written *kĕpîrî* (see *Mic.* 68, l. 12). The omission of the initial *iṯ* of *iṯṯaršû* is due to haplography.

Deal gently with the young man

During Absalom's revolt David told his three generals, Joab, Abishai, and Ittai: *Deal gently, for my sake, with the young man, even with Absalom.* This rendering is retained in RV[10] and in the new translation issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America. AV puts *Deal* in italics, because 𝔐 has in 2 S 18 5: *Lĕ'áṭ lî lan-náʿr lĕ-'Abšalôm.* The first word is supposed to be an adverbial expression meaning *gently*, but we require an imperative. 𝔍 has *Servate mihi puerum Absalom*, and 𝔗: *Istĕmírû lî lĕ-ʿullêmâ, lĕ-'Abšalôm,* 𝔊A Φείσασθέ μοι τοῦ παιδαρίου Αβεσσαλωμ. For the Aramaic *istĕmár* we should expect *ištĕmár*, with *š*, because we have *šamâru* in Assyrian and *šamár* in Hebrew, The *s* instead of *š* is due to the labial.

Heb. *lĕ-'áṭ* is supposed to be a compound of the preposition *lĕ* and the noun *aṭ*, gentleness; but I showed more than 20 years ago that there is no noun *aṭ*, gentleness; the expression *lĕ-'áṭ* or *lĕ-'iṭṭî* must be derived from the stem *lûṭ*, to cover, veil; *hal-lâṭ*, secretly, softly (GK[28] § 72, p) is synonymous with *bassétr*. My explanation (*Kings* 167, 36) is recorded in GB[16]. The Arabic equivalent of Heb. *lûṭ* is *lâṭṭa-ʿalîṭṭu* which is a synonym of *sátara* and *kátama*. We have the same root in *látaxa*, to soil, and *lîṭ*, skin, prop. *cover* (OC 33, 86[i]). Ass. *lîṭu*, cover, curtain, is recorded in GB[16] 381[b] sub *lûṭ*. NE 59, 6 we have *ana lîṭ Ût-napištim*, to the mysterious place of Ut-napistim. We must read in 2 S 18 5: *lôṭ-lî lan-náʿr lĕ-'Abšalôm.* The form *lôṭ<lâṭ* is the inf. abs. of *lûṭ*, and the inf. abs. may be used instead of the imperative (GK[28] § 113, bb).

Johns Hopkins University PAUL HAUPT

[10] For the abbreviations see above, p. 326, n. 2.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Les Plus Vieux Chants de la Bible (Etudes d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses publiées par la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg, No. 14). By A. Causse. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1926. Pp. 175. Fr. 15.—.

Behind the Third Gospel: A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis. By Vincent Taylor. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. Pp. XV + 279. $ 5.50.

Gott und das Leid im Alten Testament (Vorträge der theologischen Konferenz zu Giessen, 42. Folge). By Hans Schmidt. Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1926. Pp. 48. Mk. 2.—.

Wolf Wilhelm Graf v. Baudissin: Gedächtnisrede. By Ernst Sellin. Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1926. Pp. 16. Mk. —.80.

Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine: A Critical Source Study. By Lev. L. Honor. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926. Pp. XV + 122. $ 1.75.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER 1925

THE sixty-first meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was called to order by President Bewer at 2 p. m. on December 28th, 1925 in Room 207 Union Theological Seminary, New York.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The reports of the Corresponding Secretary and of the Recording Secretary were read, accepted and ordered to be placed on file. In connection with the death of members reported, the President appointed Professors Hinke and Dahl to present memorial resolutions. The report of the Treasurer was read and was referred to Professors Margolis and Waterman as an auditing committee. The President appointed Professors Lyon and Peritz as a committee to nominate officers for next year. Professor Jackson, on behalf of the Committee on Arrangements, made an oral report. The Council was called to meet at 8 p. m.

Upon the completion of the business of the Society papers were read and discussed as follows:

By J. A. Bewer: The Hellenistic Mystery Religions and the Old Testament (Presidential Address).
By J. A. Montgomery: The Education of the Author of the Apocalypse.
By C. C. Torrey: The Compiling of the Book of Isaiah.
By P. Haupt: "Deal gently with the young man."
By P. Haupt: The Shoham Stone.
By P. Haupt: The Four Strutters.
By P. Haupt: Mistranslated Lines of Proverbs.
By I. Eitan: The etymology of *sarne phelishtim*.
By M. Burrows: The Johannine Prologue as Aramaic Verse.
By J. A. Maynard: Date and Place of Composition of the Two Last Documents of the Pentateuch.

By D. Levine: Name-Word Poetry of the Hebrew Scriptures.
By C. C. Torrey: "Everyone shall be salted with fire," Mark 9 49.

Monday Evening, December 28. The Society convened at 8 p. m. Professor Margolis called together the session as a meeting of the Fund for Biblical and Oriental Archaeological Research, and the following papers were read:

By E. L. Sukenik: *Recent Archaeological Researches in Palestine.
By E. Chiera: *The Excavations at Yaghlan Tappa.

Mrs. Longyear gave a report of the activities of the Zion Research Library.

Tuesday Morning, December 29. The Society met at 9 a. m. The following resolutions submitted by the committee for that purpose were read and adopted:

The Rev. John Skinner, D. D., Principal Emeritus of Westminster College, Cambridge, died last March at the age of 73. Westminster College is the Theological College for training ministers in the Presbyterian Church of England. When Dr. Skinner in 1890 was appointed in it Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature and Apologetics, it was still situate in Queen's Square, London, but early this century it was decided to transfer the College to Cambridge. Soon after the transfer, in 1908, Dr. Skinner became Principal and held this post till 1922.

Skinner's *Genesis* in the International Critical Series is a recognized standard work; but probably his most important contribution to theological learning was the book called *The Divine Names in Genesis*, published in 1914. This is really a masterpiece of scholarly controversy. In form and substance it is a reply to Johannes Dahse's *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage*, in which that writer dealt with what he considered to be the foundation of the documentary theory of the Pentateuch, 'The Names of God in Genesis.' The matter is one on which most serious students of the Old Testament have long made up their minds, and it was no part of Skinner's task to bring forward 'original,' i. e. novel, arguments. What was required was to explain the so-called 'critical' position fully and accurately, taking account of the multifarious, though often irrelevant, pieces of evidence from Greek MSS that Dahse had advanced, and yet to do this in so perspicuous a fashion as to make the argument clear to non-specialists. All this Skinner did, and his book remains as a permanent buttress to the cause of sound learning and scientific method.

* Illustrated with the Stereopticon.

Dr. Skinner's memory will live in the affection of his many friends and pupils. He was a wise and kindly scholar and a great teacher. "His talent for administration," wrote his successor, Principal John Oman, "was such that he could at once lead and keep himself in the background." It seems something of a paradox to lay stress on *Divine Names in Genesis*, for in conversation and life Skinner was the reverse of a controversialist. "In his hands criticism was not a fire-brand but a kindly light, and when he advanced views that conflicted with the traditions of the fathers he strove to present them in a way that would commend them to men's consciences in the sight of God."

Herman Volrath Hilprecht was born at Hohenerxleben, in the then duchy of Anhalt, Germany, July 28, 1859. He studied at the Gymnasium at Bernburg, from which he was graduated in 1880, and later at the University of Leipzig. There he came under the influence of Franz Delitzsch and his equally famous son, Friedrich Delitzsch, who introduced him to the then new science of Assyriology. After having been a "Repetent" of Old Testament Theology at the University of Erlangen, from 1885–1886, he accepted a call to become associate editor of the *Sunday School Times* in Philadelphia and shortly afterwards became the first incumbent of the newly founded Clark research professorship of Assyriology and comparative Semitic philology in the University of Pennsylvania. In this position, which he held from 1886 to 1911, he did his most important work.

When in 1888 the first Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania was organized, with Dr. Peters as director, Prof. Hilprecht accompanied this expedition as its Assyriologist. In the second and third expeditions of the university to Babylonia Prof. Hilprecht did not take part personally, but of the fourth expedition, 1898 to 1900, he was himself the scientific director. These four expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania brought to light an immense mass of material, whose publication was soon begun by Prof. Hilprecht in a series of splendid volumes. He opened the series in 1893 with a volume on *Old Babylonian Inscriptions chiefly from Nippur*, of which the second part was issued in 1896.

Among the other scientific publications of Prof. Hilprecht may be mentioned a volume of *Business Documents of the Murashu Sons of Nippur, dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I.* The texts themselves had been copied by Dr. Clay, but the introduction and translation of the texts were due to Prof. Hilprecht. Another volume appeared in 1906 entitled, *Mathematical, Metrological and Chronological Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur*. And finally in 1910 was issued *The Oldest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story* and *the Temple Library of Nippur*. A revised German

edition appeared in the same year at Leipzig. Upon these five volumes of cuneiform texts the fame of Prof. Hilprecht as one of the foremost Assyrian scholars will always rest. They are models of scholarship.

This was, however, by no means the whole extent of his scholarly activity. Under his inspiration and guidance a number of younger scholars were engaged to assist in the publication of the cuneiform treasures found at Nippur. Among them were Drs. Clay, Ranke, Myhrman, Poebel und Radau. They prepared ten different volumes of texts, which maintained the high standard of scholarly excellence set by the editor himself. The whole series, issued under Dr. Hilprecht's editorship, comprises fourteen volumes. And even in the later volumes, which continue his work, *Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania*, the influence of Dr. Hilprecht is still seen, not only in the methods of copying used, but also in the treatment and translation of the texts.

The high esteem in which Prof. Hilprecht was held by European scholars for his contributions to Assyriology and Oriental research is shown in the large and sumptuous *Festschrift*, presented to him by his friends on his 50th birthday *Assyriologische und archaeologische Studien*, which appeared in 1909.

When Dr. Hilprecht died in Philadelphia on March 19, 1925 this Society lost one of its oldest members, for he had been identified with the Society since 1888.

All too brief a time has the name of Karl Marti stood among the names of those whom this Society has honored itself in honoring. He was elected to our membership only a year ago and to-day we are called upon to mourn his loss. He died suddenly three days before his seventieth birthday on April 25th of this year. Karl Budde, another of our honored members, had gone to Switzerland for the purpose of handing to Marti a Festschrift in honor of the day, and instead he took part in the last affectionate tribute to the life and work of his friend when he was laid to rest.

Marti's name will always be associated with that of Wellhausen in the elaboration of the great historical hypothesis of the Old Testament which has come to be regarded as the principal key to unlock the riddle of the Book and at the same time of the Religion of Israel. Whatever qualifications the future may have in store for this hypothesis, no Old Testament scholar either of this or of subsequent generations can refuse to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which is owed to its architects. As editor of one of the two great commentaries (the 'Kurzer Hand-Commentar') in which the Wellhausen hypothesis found adequate exegetical expression, as contributor of three of its most important volumes (*Isaiah*, *The Twelve*, and *Daniel*), as contributor to the 'Encyclopedia

Biblica' (especially on the important subject of the *Chronology of the Old Testament*), as author of one of the classic formulations of the Wellhausen theory in *Die Religion des Alten Testaments* which was republished in English translation, and as editor for twenty-five years of the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, the outstanding Journal for our Old Testament discipline, Karl Marti will always occupy a conspicuous position in the history of Old Testament interpretation.

Upon those who were privileged to know him intimately Marti made an indelible impression as a man of wholesome piety, a loving and well-loved father in the home, and a colleague magnanimous in his judgments of the work of others.

In the untimely death of Prof. Charles Foster Kent, Ph. D., Litt. D., on May 2, 1925, the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis has sustained great loss. Born at Palmyra, N. Y., August 13, 1867, he graduated from Yale College in 1889, receiving the degree of Ph. D. two years later. After teaching at Chicago and Brown Universities, he was called back to his alma mater in 1901 as Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature. In that capacity he served until his death.

Dr. Kent was characterized by a spirit of buoyant enthusiasm, tireless energy and surprising versatility. Social, civic and religious enterprises all came within the range of interest of this eminent educator and scholar. His might well have been the motto, *Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto.* Of his manifold contributions to the cause for which this Society stands two deserve special mention. One is the excellent series of some forty volumes in which he has accomplished more, perhaps, than any other American scholar to make accessible to the general public the assured findings of modern Biblical science. In particular his *Student's Old Testament* and *Historical Bible* have found a large and appreciative reading. The other outstanding service of Professor Kent has been the organization and direction of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education, which expends about $ 20,000 annually in providing scholarships for training in Biblical teaching. The establishment and endowment of the newly organized School of Religion at Michigan, and the initiation of similar foundations in other universities, has been due in large measure to the vision and labor of Dr. Kent. Through such works as these, and in the lives and memories of many grateful students, our friend and honored fellow-member still lives on. Τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν. (Revelation 14 13).

Ernest De Witt Burton, one of the earliest members of this Society and its former President, was born on February 4, 1856,

in Granville, Ohio. He was graduated from Denison University in 1876 and completed his theological course at Rochester Theological Seminary in 1882. There he studied under William Arnold Stevens, and a lasting attachment grew up between them. In the following autumn, as Dr. Stevens was to be absent in Palestine, Mr. Burton was appointed instructor in New Testament for the year. His relation with Professor Stevens was later signalized by their publication together of a *Harmony of the Gospels for Historical Study*, which appeared in 1893, and has had an extraordinary circulation and influence.

In 1883 Mr. Burton was called to Newton Theological Institution, at Newton Center, Massachusetts, as associate professor of New Testament interpretation, where he rapidly developed as a New Testament scholar. In 1886 he was made professor. When Professor William R. Harper came to Yale in 1886, Professor Burton soon found in him a kindred spirit. When in 1891 Dr. Harper accepted the presidency of the University of Chicago, his mind immediately fixed upon Professor Burton for the New Testament chair.

Professor Burton came to Chicago as head professor of New Testament literature and interpretation, and he remained head of the department in both Graduate School and Divinity School, for thirty-three years. His work was several times seriously interrupted by illness, but during this one full generation he exercised through his classroom, his department, his public lectures, his articles and editorials, and his frequent books, an influence upon biblical study that was prodigious. From the beginning he was very close to President Harper, with whom he worked in the closest harmony on the *Biblical World* and later on the *American Journal of Theology*. Together they projected the 'Constructive Bible Studies,' which now numbers nearly thirty volumes, and to it each contributed a number of books. Indeed Professor Burton's last act before accepting the presidency of the University in 1923 was to turn over to the University of Chicago Press the manuscript of *A Source Book for the Study of the Teaching of Jesus*, to appear in the companion series of 'Handbooks of Ethics and Religion.' His own books numbered fifteen, the most notable being his great commentary on Galatians.

When President Judson retired from the presidency of the University of Chicago Dr. Burton was elected to succeed him in January 1923. He at once threw himself into the work of the presidency with all his characteristic intellectual energy. He welcomed the manifold and intricate problems of organization and finance which awaited him, and attacked them with the utmost zest. He took up the University's building campaign with the

greatest energy. The first structure to be begun was the Theology Building. President Burton presided and made the address at the laying of the corner stone on November 6, 1924. On November 17, he presided at the corner stone laying of the Rawson Laboratory of Medicine and Surgery, on the site of the Rush Medical College.

The corner stone of the Joseph Bond Chapel was laid on April 30, 1925, but the President was not able to be present. He had been taken to the hospital the week before for a serious intestinal operation. He was unable to be present when on May 7 ground was broken on Fifty-eighth Street for the great medical group in which his hopes and efforts had been so greatly engaged. Stricken down in the very midst of the first great results of his labors, he died on the morning of Tuesday, May 26, at the age of sixty-nine.

In the death of Professor Albert T. Clay the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis has lost one of its most honored members. He joined the Society in 1907, and was its President in 1920.

Primarily an Assyriologist, and one of the most expert of his time in deciphering and interpreting the cuneiform records of Western Asia, he was always profoundly interested in the study of the Old Testament. He had had a thorough theological training, and had given instruction in Hebrew and the literature of the Old Testament in several institutions before devoting himself to Assyriology. He had a keen eye for any new discovery that could illustrate or confirm the Hebrew records, from the cosmogony in Genesis down to the latest period represented by the Biblical narratives. His Bibliography shows a number of important monographs in this field, including volumes entitled *Light on the Old Testament from Babel* and *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*.

In the midst of the many arduous duties devolving upon him as Professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature and Curator of the great Collection of original material which his energy and wide experience enabled him to build up at Yale University, he found time to give an occasional reading course in the Hebrew narratives of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and to conduct classes in Semitic Archaeology as illustrating the Bible. The last work from his pen, an unpublished manuscript entitled *New Light from Babylonia and Assyria*, deals with side lights on the documents of the Old Testament obtained from the most recent excavations and discoveries, including those of the first half of the year 1925.

His brilliant conjecture and attempted demonstration of a very ancient Western Semitic civilization in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia has been corroborated in numerous details by

successive discoveries, and seems likely to be confirmed, ultimately in its essential features.

As a Trustee of the American Schools of Oriental Research, and as Annual Professor, both in Jerusalem and in Bagdad, he had an important share in the promotion of an undertaking in the Near East which originated in this Society and has maintained a close connection with it.

All who were acquainted with Professor Clay felt the stimulus of his splendid enthusiasm and creative energy. Those who were privileged to know him more intimately were impressed and helped by his unselfish devotion to duty, the straight-forward simplicity of his character, and the wide range of his ready sympathy.

The nominating committee suggested the following officers who were forthwith elected:

Prof. S. J. Case	*President*
Prof. I. F. Wood	*Vice-President*
Prof. H. J. Cadbury	*Recording Secretary*
Prof. M. I. Hussey	*Treasurer*
Prof. I. J. Peritz Prof. J. A. Bewer Prof. T. J. Meek Prof. E. O. Dutcher Prof. I. G. Matthews	*Associates in Council*
Prof. W. J. Moulton	*Representative among the Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

It was voted that the Society endorses the action of the Corporation of the Oriental Schools in attempting to secure a larger number of annual subscribers.

The Council reported through the Recording Secretary. The names of new members suggested to the Council and approved by them were approved by the Society and the persons named elected to membership. On recommendation of the Council Professor Bernhard Duhm was elected an honorary member of the Society.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By J. Obermann: "The workmen's hammer," Judges 5 26.
By A. M. Perry: On the Reporting of Miracles.
By S. J. Case: Jesus and Sepphoris.
By J. Muilenberg: "Saved by the Curse."
By H. S. Gehman: The Arabic Bible in Spain.

By B. W. Bacon: The Q-section on the Baptist and the *Shemoneh Esreh.*
By R. H. Pfeiffer: Idols of Yahweh.
By W. J. Moulton: Annual Report of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
By W. J. Moulton: America's Contribution to Palestinian Exploration.

Tuesday Afternoon, December 29. The Society re-assembled at 2 p. m. The auditing committee reported that they had examined the report of the Treasurer and found it correct. The report was then accepted and ordered placed on file. Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By G. S. Duncan: The Bible and Modern Science.
By H. J. Cadbury: Luke's Interest in Lodging.
By F. P. Ramsay: Genetic Criticism.
By F. P. Ramsay: Why "sister" in Mark 3 35?
By F. J. F. Jackson: Klausner's *Jesus of Nazareth.*
By E. G. H. Kraeling: "As one tears a kid," Judges 14 6.
By F. James: Is there pacifism in the Old Testament?
By B. W. Robinson: Some Papyrus Contributions to New Testament Interpretation.
By B. A. Elzas: Was the LXX translated from the Hebrew or from a transliterated text?
By I. J. Peritz: Modes of Divine Creation in the Old Testament.
By E. L. Sukenik: The Capture of Jerusalem.
By I. Eitan: The Crux in Proverbs 7 22.

The following papers were read by title:

By H. J. Cadbury: Recent Arguments for Medical Language in Luke-Acts.
By G. R. Berry: Some Notes on the Old Testament Prophets.
By D. E. Thomas: The Experience Underlying Amos' Social Philosophy.
By S. Feigin: The Babylonian Officials in Jeremiah 39 3, 13.
By L. I. Newman: Biblical MSS. and Scrolls in the Sutro Library, San Francisco.
By K. Fullerton: An Analysis of Job 9 and 10.
By W. N. Stearns: An Illustration from Plutarch on τὸ θεῖον, Acts 17 29.
By J. A. Maynard: Was Cain the Son of Adam?
By H. S. Gehman: The Sahidic and Bohairic Versions of the Book of Daniel.
By D. Levine: How Scriptural Poems Were Dated.
By A. M. Perry: "Not at the feast," Mark 14 2.
By I. Eitan: Traces of a Lost Paradigm.

Adjourned at 5 p. m.

HENRY J. CADBURY, *Recording Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Since the meeting in Chicago a year ago one double number (Parts I and II) of the current volume has appeared. Parts III and IV are now in the mails on their way to our members. The Editors still esteem patience the highest of all possible virtues in contributors and members alike, and are also constrained to pray for a double portion of that same grace for themselves. Printing is exasperatingly slow, especially when done abroad. Despite all we can do, six months or more are required for getting out a number of the Journal.

Again would we emphasize the urgent necessity for the submission by our members of a considerable number of good papers. The sole contact of the major portion of our membership with the Society is through the pages of the Journal. Only as this is kept up to the high level of interest and scholarship established by our predecessors in years gone by can the important work of this Society prosper.

George Dahl, *Corresponding Secretary.*

December 28, 1925.

REPORT OF RECORDING SECRETARY

The membership of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis appears at present to number 371, which is an increase of 12 over the number reported last year.

27 new members have joined during the year upon nomination and election.

The death of the following members has been reported:

Honorary members:

Rev. John Skinner elected in 1922, died April 1925.
Prof. Karl Marti elected in 1924, died April 22, 1925.

Regular members:

Prof. H. V. Hilprecht elected in 1886, died March 19, 1925.
Prof. C. F. Kent elected in 1896, died May 2, 1925.
Pres. E. D. Burton elected in 1883, died May 26, 1925.
Rev. Wm. C. Whitford elected in 1922, died Aug. 12, 1925.
Prof. A. T. Clay elected in 1907, died Sept. 14, 1925.

Respectfully submitted,

Henry J. Cadbury, *Recording Secretary.*

December 22, 1925.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1925

Receipts

Jan. 1,	Balance on hand from 1924	$ 1558.90
Jan. 20,	Interest on Trust Acc't	28.55
Mch. 7,	Yale University Press, sale of Journal for 1923	464.74
Mch. 7,	Yale University Press, sale of Journal for 1924	561.00
Mch. 14,	J. S. Cushing, sale of old plates	139.18
July 25,	Interest on Savings Acc't	7.00
Oct. 25,	„ „ „ „	3.32
Dec. 15,	Dues for 1925, exchange charges included	1053.33
		$ 3816.02

Disbursements

Printing of Journal, volume XLIII, parts 3—4	$ 388.81
„ „ „ „ XLIV, „ 1—2	667.80
Expenses of Editors	65.10
„ „ Secretary	52.67
„ „ Treasurer	38.25
Cash on hand	2603.39
	$ 3816.02

MARY I. HUSSEY, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, December 28, 1925,

MAX L. MARGOLIS
LEROY WATERMAN

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY[1]

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge, England.
Prof. Gustav Dalman, Theol. D., Greifswald, Germany.
Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, D.D., Halle, Germany.
Prof. Bernhard L. Duhm, D. D., Basle, Switzerland.
Prof. Adolf von Harnack, D.D., Berlin, Germany.
Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. Rudolf Kittel, D.D., Leipzig, Germany, Rosenthalgasse 13.
Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem (care of M. Gabalda, 90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris).
Prof. James Moffatt, D. D., Glasgow, Scotland.
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford, England.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen, Scotland.

ACTIVE MEMBERS[2]

(693) '22 Rev. G. Abbott-Smith, D.D., D.C.L., 743 University St., Montreal, Canada.
(628) '21 Rev. Prof. Howard C. Ackerman, B. D., M. A., 138 Clifton Place, Syracuse, N. Y.
(593) '20 Prof. Arthur Adams, Ph.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
(496) '13 Miss Charlotte Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N.Y. City.
(242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.
(731) '22 Rev. Abel Ahlquist, Ph. D., New Britain, Conn.
(576) '17 Wm. Foxwell Albright, Ph. D., American School of Oriental Research, P. O. B. 333, Jerusalem, Palestine.
(466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, D.D., Gettysburg, Pa.
(415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
(711) '22 Rev. Prof. S. Angus, Ph.D., St. Andrew's College, Sydney, Australia.

[1] This list has been corrected up to Oct. 1, 1926. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary, H. J. Cadbury, Bryn Mawr, Pa., of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 17 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(724) '22 Prof. J. C. Ayer, 200 St. Mark's Sqr., Philadelphia, Pa.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.
(373) '04 Dean Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
(690) '22 Prof. Moses Bailey, Ph. D., 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass.
(594) '20 Prof. Roland H. Bainton, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
(712) '21 Lieut. C. C. Baker, 707 S. Bonnie Brae St., Los Angeles, Calif.
(855) '26 Prof. P. E. Baker, Fiske University, Nashville, Tenn.
(722) '22 Prof. J. F. Balzer, M.A., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
(825) '26 Albert E. Barnett, 2414 Garland Av., Nashville, Tenn.
(210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, 3725 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., 6 Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(561) '16 Prof. John W. Beardslee, Jr., Ph.D., D.D., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J.
(828) '26 Prof. Dwight M. Beck, S.T.B., Mt. Union College, Alliance, Ohio.
(694) '22 Prof. Irwin R. Beiler, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
(829) '26 Miss Marion J. Benedict, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
(718) '22 Rev. C. D. Benjamin, Ph. D., Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.
(568) '16 Rev. C. Theodore Benze, Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy, Pa.
(830) '26 Rev. J. Buchanan Bernardin, B. D., Divinity 35, Cambridge, Mass.
(326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(792) '24 Rev. E. H. Blackard, A.M., B.D., 3236 St. John Ave., Kansas City, Mo.
(618) '21 Pres. James A. Blaisdell, Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.
(551) '15 Rev. Joshua Bloch, Ph.D., 346 E. 173th St., N.Y. City.
(604) '20 Rev. P. F. Bloomhardt, Ph. D., Wittenburg College, Springfield, Ohio.
(751) '23 Father A. M. Bolduc, S.M., S.T.L., Marist College, Brookland, D.C.
(843) '26 F. D. Bone, 1192 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
(380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, O.
(795) '25 Prof. Clarence Bouma, A.M., Th.D., Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich.
(423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Th. D., 5657 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Ph. D., 12 S. Water St., Providence, R.I.
(311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, Hotel Holley, Washington Square West, New York City.

(831) '26 Rev. Mitchell Bronk, D. D., 1701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(569) '16 Mrs. Beatrice A. Brooks, Ph.D., Wellesley, Mass.
(301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., 3041 Broadway, N.Y. City.
(102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, Mount Dora, Fla.
(719) '22 Prof. Walter E. Bundy, Ph.D., De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
(586) '18 Prof. Ernest Ward Burch, Ph.D., Garrett Biblical Institute Evanston, Ill.
(747) '23 Prof. Millar Burrows, 262 Fifth St., Providence, R. I.
(554) '15 Prof. R. Butin, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
(589) '18 Prof. Moses Buttenwieser, Ph.D., 252 Loraine Ave., Clifton, Cincinnati, O.
(471) '11 Prof. Henry J. Cadbury, Ph. D., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
(631) '21 Rev. James T. Carlyon, S.T.M., D.D., Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Col.
(784) '24 Mr. L. L. Carpenter, B.A., Th. D., 714 Augusta St., Greenville, S. C.
(472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
(746) '23 William David Carroll, B. D., Westport, R. D. 12, Conn.
(821) '25 Prof. J. F. B. Carruthers, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
(564) '16 I. M. Casanowicz, Ph.D., National Museum, Washington, D. C.
(392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Case, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(222) '91 Rev. James L. Cheney, Ph.D., Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland, O.
(595) '20 Prof. Edward Chiera, Ph. D., 2022 S. 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(816) '25 Dr. P. Churgin, Rabbinical College, 301 E. Broadway, N. Y. City.
(369) '03 Prof. Calvin M. Clark, Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(523) '14 C. P. Coffin, 1744-208 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
(606) '20 Rabbi Simon Cohen, Temple Beth El, 4 E. 76th St., N. Y. City.
(686) '22 Rabbi Simon R. Cohen, 1421 Ditmas Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(662) '22 David C. Cook, Elgin, Ill.
(615) '21 Rev. Francis T. Cooke, 673 Jefferson Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(582) '18 Rev. George S. Cooke, Wissahickon Inn, Redlands, Calif.
(785) '24 Prof. Douglas Hilary Corley, Th.D., Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
(390) '06 Rev. Wm. M. Crane, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass.
(296) '96 Prof. Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., 118 North St., Auburn, N.Y.
(796) '25 Rev. Margaret B. Crook, 11 Jewett St., Northampton, Mass.
(759) '24 Prof. Earle B. Cross, Ph. D., 136 Harvard St., Rochester, N. Y.
(819) '25 Prof. A. J. Culler, B.D., Ph.D., Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio.
(498) '13 Prof. D. E. Culley, Ph. D., 57 Belvidere St., Crafton, Pittsburgh, Pa.
(573) '16 Charles G. Cumming, B. D., Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.

(832) '26 A. Bruce Curry, Ph. D., Union Theol. Seminary, Broadway at 120th St., N. Y. City.
(739) '23 Mrs. Muriel Streibert Curtis, B.D., Wellesley 81, Mass.
(401) '07 Prof. Elizabeth Czarnomska, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
(499) '13 Prof. Geo. Dahl, Ph.D, 1102 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.
(797) '25 Prof. H. E. Dana, Th. D., Seminary Hill, Texas.
(645) '21 Miss Clara W. Davidson, Pleasantville, Venango Co., Pa.
(526) '15 Prof. Israel Davidson, 531 W. 123d St., N. Y. City.
(451) '10 Prof. Richard Davidson, Ph.D., Knox College, Toronto, Can.
(675) '22 †Prof. John D. Davis, Ph.D., 58 Mercer St., Princeton, N. J.
(705) '22 M. E. Davis, Th.M., D.D., Box 178, Brownwood, Tex.
(756) '23 Prof. W. Hersey Davis, Ph.D., Norton Hall, Louisville, Ky.
(500) '13 Prof. Frank Leighton Day, Ashland, Va.
(458) '10 Prof. Thomas F. Day, 1648 S. A. Ave., San Anselmo, Calif.
(633) '21 Prof. John Pitt Deane, M. A., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.
(524) '14 Prof. Irwin Hoch DeLong, Ph.D., 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa.
(121) '84 Prof. F. B. Denio, D.D., Bangor, Me.
(817) '25 Rev. W. B. Denny, S. T. M., 48 Main St., Southington, Conn.
(723) '22 Prof. H. T. De Wolfe, D. D., Acadia Univ., Wolfville, N. S., Canada.
(600) '20 Rev. Samuel Dickey, Oxford, Pa.
(619) '21 Rev. Prof. Charles Allen Dinsmore, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
(417) '07 Prof. Winfred N. Donovan, Newton Centre, Mass.
(798) '25 Charles T. Doolittle, 2330 N. Halstead St., Chicago, Ill.
(596) '20 Prof. R. P. Dougherty, 319 Willow St., New Haven, Conn.
(823) '26 Prof. C. C. Douglas, Ph. D., 902 W. 37th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
(833) '26 Rev. Prof. John Dow, M. A., Knox College, Toronto, Can.
(634) '22 Rev. Benj. R. Downer, Th. D., 1043 Laurel Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
(664) '22 Rev. George H. Driver, 526 Chestnut St., Meadville, Pa.
(620) '21 Prof. William Haskell Dubose, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
(760) '24 Prof. George S. Duncan, 2900 Seventh St. N. E., Washington.
(382) '05 Prof. E. Olive Dutcher, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
(666) '21 Prof. Frank Eakin, Ph.D., Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.
(402) '07 Prof. Burton S. Easton, Ph.D., 4 Chelsea Sq., New York City.
(844) '26 Miss Louise Eby, Schwanallee 40, Marburg, Germany.
(464) '10 Prof. Charles C. Edmunds, Gen. Theol. Seminary, Chelsea Sq., N. Y. City.
(364) '03 Dean F. C. Eiselen, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.

(673) '22 Israel Eitan, Hebrew Institute, Wylie Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(612) '21 Rev. Barnett A. Elzas, A.B., M.D., LL.D., 42 W. 72nd St., New York.
(761) '24 Rabbi H. G. Enelow, D.D., 521 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City.
(403) '07 Prof. Henry Englander, 904 Lexington Ave., Cincinnati, O.
(745) '23 Rev. Morton Scott Enslin, B.D., 4 Seminary Ave., Chester, Pa.
(263) '94 Pres. Milton G. Evans, D.D., Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester, Pa.
(799) '25 Prof. H. R. Fairclough, Ph.D., Litt.D., Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.
(800) '25 David E. Faust, B.D., 51 1/2 Trumbull Str., New Haven, Conn.
(753) '23 S. Feigin, 135 S. Aiken Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(735) '23 Pres. Carl A. Felt, The Peking Theol. Sem., Peking, China.
(762) '24 Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, 531 W. 123rd St., N. Y. City.
(763) '24 Rev. John W. Flight, Ph.D., Winsted, Conn.
(578) '17 Rev. Robert B. B. Foote, East Norwalk, Conn.
(629) '21 Rev. Donald F. Forrester, M.A., B.D., 175 Ninth Ave., N. Y.
(441) '08 Dean H. E. W. Fosbroke, General Theological Seminary, Ninth Ave. & 20th St., New York City.
(587) '18 Rabbi Solomon Foster, B.A., 90 Treacy St., Newark, N. J.
(298) '96 Prof. Henry T. Fowler, Ph.D., Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
(814) '25 Rabbi Leon Fram, Congregation Beth El, Woodward at Gladstone, Detroit, Mich.
(312) '97 Prof. James E. Frame, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(418) '07 Prof. D. J. Fraser, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.
(671) '22 Rabbi Samuel Fredman, 6046 Washington Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
(789) '24 Miss Estelle Freeman, 514 W. 122nd St., N. Y. City.
(752) '23 W. W. Freeman, Th.M., State Teachers College, Commerce, Texas.
(541) '15 Prof. Leslie E. Fuller, Ph.D., Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(366) '03 Prof. Kemper Fullerton, Oberlin Theol. Sem., Oberlin, O.
(764) '24 Prof. Frank Gavin, Th.D., General Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(765) '24 Henry S. Gehman, Ph. D., 5720 N. Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(750) '23 Rev. Ralph William George, S.T.B., 16 Westcott St., Portland, Maine.
(758) '23 Rev. P. B. Gibble, B.D., 4 N. College St., Palmyra, Pa.
(198) '89 Prof. George W. Gilmore, 354 Fourth Ave., N.Y. City.
(766) '24 Prof. Louis Ginzberg, Ph.D., 531 W. 123rd St., N. Y. City.
(801) '25 Rev. C. E. Goddard, 59 Warrender Park Road, Edinburgh.
(794) '24 Rev. E. R. Goodenough, D.Phil., Woodbridge, New Haven, Conn.
(340) '00 Prof. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(447) '09 Prof. Alex. R. Gordon, Litt.D., Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.
(162) '86 Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, Ph.D., Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(635) '21 Rev. William C. Graham, S.T.M., Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada.

(384) '05 Prof. Elihu Grant, Ph.D., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
(621) '21 Very Rev. Prof. Frederick C. Grant, D. D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
(678) '22 Rev. Oscar F. Green, P. O. Box 322, Palo Alto, Calif.
(588) '18 Prof. Ettalene M. Grice, Ph. D., Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven, Conn.
(646) '21 Rev. Frank H. Hallock, D. D., Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minn.
(647) '21 F. Watson Hannan, S. T. D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.
(728) '22 Victor E. Harlow, M. A., Oklahoma City, Okla.
(818) '25 Rev. F. D. Harris, 2138 Central Ave., Detroit, Mich.
(119) '84 Prof. J. R. Harris, Litt. D., 210 Bristol Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, England.
(834) '26 Rev. R. S. Haupert, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
(215) '91 Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph.D., Longwood Circle, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.
(668) '22 Prof. Charles A. Hawley, Ph. D., International Y. M. C. A. College, Springfield, Mass.
(648) '21 Prof. Howell M. Haydn, B. D., 11432 Mayfield Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
(367) '03 Prof. Doremus A. Hayes, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(322) '98 Rev. Henry H. Haynes, Ph. D., Derry Village, N. H.
(503) '13 Prof. Charles B. Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
(124) '84 Rev. C. R. Hemphill, D.D., Louisville, Ky.
(577) '17 Prof. Ralph K. Hickok, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
(835) '26 Granville Hicks, A. B., 43 West St., Northampton, Mass.
(454) '10 † Prof. W. Bancroft Hill, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
(79) '83 Prof. E. Y. Hincks, D.D., 58 Washington Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(434) '08 Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, Ph.D., 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y.
(659) '21 Rev. Chas. T. Hock, 222 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J.
(354) '02 Rev. Richard M. Hodge, D. D., 552 W. 113th St., N. Y. City.
(802) '25 Prof. E. G. Hoff, 836 Humphrey Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
(563) '16 Rev. Louis H. Holden, Ph. D., 26 Union St., New Brunswick, N. J.
(836) '26 Miss Louise P. Holden, 38 Dover Road, Wellesley, Mass.
(427) '08 Rev. Ivan L. Holt, 5068 Washington Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
(539) '15 Prof. Lynn H. Hough, Central M. E. Church, Detroit, Mich.
(304) '96 Rt. Rev. Hiram R. Hulse, S.T.D., 15th and 8th Sts., Havana, Cuba.
(439) '08 Prof. Mary I. Hussey, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
(452) '10 Prof. Henri Hyvernat, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
(858) '26 Prof. Clyo Jackson, United Theological College, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.
(559) '16 Prof. F. J. Foakes Jackson, Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.

(679) '22 Prof. Fleming James, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
(827) '26 Prof. R. A. Jernberg, 1526 W. 45th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
(386) '05 Prof. James R. Jewett, Ph. D., 44 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(485) '12 Miss Harriet E. Johnson, 32 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass.
(636) '21 Rev. William H. Johnson, Ph. D., D. D., Lincoln University, Pa.
(803) '25 Prof. W. G. Jordan, B. A., D. D., 116 Barrie St., Kingston, Ont., Canada.
(537) '15 Prof. Lucy E. Keith, Western Coll. for Women, Oxford, O.
(151) '86 Prof. M. L. Kellner, D.D., 3 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(592) '20 Rev. Edwin H. Kellogg, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
(660) '22 Prof. Fred T. Kelly, 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis.
(725) '22 Prof. Alexander P. Kelso, B. Sc., Southwestern Presb. Univ., Memphis, Tenn.
(338) '00 Pres. James A. Kelso, Ph. D., 725 Ridge Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(438) '08 Prof. Eliza H. Kendrick, Ph.D., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
(649) '21 Rev. Paca Kennedy, D.D., Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va.
(852) '26 Prof. Edward H. Knight, D. D., 71 Tremont St., Hartford, Conn.
(544) '15 Prof. Carl S. Knopf, Univ. of Southern Calif., Los Angeles, Calif.
(460) '10 Rev. Raymond C. Knox, Columbia Univ., N. Y. City.
(767) '24 Rev. Carl H. Kraeling, 7301 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
(518) '14 Rev. Emil G. H. Kraeling, 132 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
(473) '11 Rev. M. G. Kyle, D. D., 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
(519) '14 Prof. Elbert C. Lane, Hartford Theol. Sem., Hartford, Conn.
(755) '23 Rev. P. A. Laury, D.D., 243 E. Garrison St., Bethlehem, Pa.
(692) '22 Miss A. Lilian Leathers, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
(743) '23 Prof. Darwin Ashley Leavitt, B.D., 610 Church St., Beloit, Wis.
(665) '21 Prof. Elmer A. Leslie, 228 Mason Terrace, Brookline, Mass.
(611) '20 Rabbi David Levine, 318 W. 100th St., N. Y. City.
(768) '24 Prof. Reuben Levy, M.A., Jewish Inst. of Relig., W. 68th St., N. Y. City.
(769) '24 Mr. Leon Liebreich, B. A., Ambassador Arms, Stamford, Conn.
(622) '21 Miss Grace Lockton, 338 N. Grand St., Marshall, Mich.
(372) '04 Prof. Lindsay B. Longacre, 2273 S. Fillmore St., Denver, Colo.
(674) '22 Mrs. Mary B. Longyear, 60 Leicester Ter., Brookline, Mass.
(845) '26 Rev. Arnold E. Look, M. A., Th. M., 263 Coram Av., Shelton, Conn.
(715) '22 Prof. William J. Lowstuter, 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
(616) '21 Prof. D. D. Luckenbill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

(720) '22 Prof. Nils W. Lund, Th. M., North Park College, Chicago, Illinois.
(590) '18 Mrs. Eugene W. Lyman, Union Theol. Sem., Broadway at 120th, N. Y. City.
(71) '82 Prof. D. G. Lyon, 12 Scott St., Cambridge, Mass.
(824) '26 Prof. W. Vernon Lytle, Doane College, Crete, Nebr.
(847) '26 S. V. McCasland, Goodspeed Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(721) '22 Prof. W. H. McClellan, S. J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.
(536) '15 Prof. C. C. McCown, Ph.D., D.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
(319) '98 Prof. John E. McFadyen, United Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland.
(300) '96 Pres. Arthur C. McGiffert, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(650) '21 Pres. John McNaugher, D.D., LL.D., Pittsburgh Theological Sem., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(709) '22 Rev. Calvin A. McRae, Ph. D., 10701 Jefferson Ave. E., Detroit, Mich.
(424) '08 Prof. J. Gresham Machen, 39 Alexander Hall, Princeton Sem. Princeton, N. J.
(637) '21 Rev. Edward Mack, D. D., 4 Westwood Avenue, Richmond, Va.
(804) '25 John V. Madison, B. D., M. A., Holstein, Iowa.
(742) '23 Prof. J. R. Mantey, Th. D., 3034 W. Wash. Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
(837) '26 Ralph Marcus, A. M., 531 W. 124th St., N. Y. City.
(681) '22 Rabbi Elias Margolis, Ph. D., 16 Glen Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
(516) '13 Prof. Max L. Margolis, Ph. D., 152 W. Hortter St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(853) '26 John Martin, Esq., North Adams, Mass.
(545) '15 Prof. Alexander Marx, Ph.D., 531 W. 123d St., N.Y. City.
(505) '13 Rev. Walter A. Mátos, Swarthmore, Pa.
(860) '26 Prof. Takuo Matsumoto, Aoyama Gakuin Theol. Seminary, Tokyo, Japan.
(770) '24 Mr. Charles D. Matthews, 1029 Weaver St., Graymont Heights, Birmingham, Ala.
(617) '21 Prof. I. G. Matthews, Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester, Pa.
(846) '26 Prof. Joseph B. Matthews, S. T. M., Scarritt College, Nashville, Tenn.
(546) '15 Rev. John A. Maynard, 45 E. 27th St., N. Y. City.
(584) '18 Prof. Théophile J. Meek, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
(771) '24 Rev. Samuel A. B. Mercer, Ph. D., D. D., Grafton, Conn.
(601) '20 Rev. Henry H. Meyer, D.D., 150 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City.
(639) '22 Prof. Russell B. Miller, Ph. D., Ohio Wesleyan Univ., Delaware, Ohio.
(670) '22 Rabbi Louis A. Mischkind, P. O. Box 154, Wilmington, Del.
(475) '11 Prof. Conrad H. Moehlmann, 51 Mulberry St., Rochester, N. Y.

(838) '26 Rev. G. Gardner Monks, B. D., 46 Massachusetts Av., Worcester, Mass.

(236) '92 Prof. J. A. Montgomery, Ph.D., 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.

(741) '23 Pres. H. M. Moore, D.D., Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.

(805) '25 Prof. William Morgan, D.D., 20 Barrie St., Kingston, Ont., Canada.

(566) '16 Pres. Julian Morgenstern, Ph.D., 3988 Parker Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

(651) '21 Dean William Charles Morro, Ph.D., 58 North Irvington Ave. Indianapolis, Ind.

(698) '22 Prof. Elmer W. K. Mould, 652 W. Washington Ave., Elmira, N. Y.

(331) '99 Pres. Warren J. Moulton, Ph.D., Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.

(772) '24 Prof. James Muilenberg, Mt. Holyoke College, S. Hadley, Mass.

(214) '91 W. Muss-Arnolt, Ph.D., 245 E. Tremont St., N. Y. City.

(627) '21 Prof. Thomas Kinloch Nelson, M.A., D.D., Theol. Sem., Alexandria, Va.

(508) '13 Rev. Wm. M. Nesbit, Ph.D., 980 North Ave., New Rochelle, N.Y.

(490) '12 Prof. Wm. R. Newbold, Ph.D., 212 St. Mark's Square, Philadelphia, Pa.

(806) '25 Prof. Herbert L. Newman, B. D., 2 West Court, Waterville, Maine.

(608) '20 Rabbi Louis I. Newman, 125 Jordan Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

(839) '26 Prof. Edward E. Nourse, D. D., Hartford Theol. Seminary, Hartford, Conn.

(820) '24 Prof. Julian Obermann, 9 W. 97th St., N. Y. City.

(732) '22 Rev. Henry Offerman, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

(476) '11 Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Ph. D., Resthaven, R. F. D., Milford, Mass.

(859) '26 Miss Evelyn Oliver, 704 Washington St., Bath, Me.

(572) '16 Prof. Albert T. Olmstead, Ph.D., 706 S. Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill.

(856) '26 E. A. Overton, A. M., 4949 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.

(773) '24 Prof. Ernest W. Parsons, 278 Alexander St., Rochester, N. Y.

(757) '23 Mrs. Katherine S. H. Paton, S. T. B., 50 Forest St., Hartford, Conn.

(240) '92 Prof. L. B. Paton, Ph.D., 50 Forest St., Hartford, Conn.

(547) '15 Prof. Walter M. Patton, Ph.D., 401 College Ave., Northfield, Minn.

(323) '98 Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, Ph.D., Syracuse, N.Y.

(623) '21 Prof. Alfred Morris Perry, Ph. D., Bangor Theol. Seminary, Bangor, Maine.

(611) '21 Mr. Robert H. Pfeiffer, S.T.M., Ph.D., 82 Larch Road, Cambridge, Mass.

(748) '23 Rev. Ze Barney T. Phillips, D.D., 3723 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(774) '24 Rev. M. Wayne Pickerel, S.T.B., Ewing, Nebr.
(641) '21 President Clara D. Pinkham, Baptist Mission Training School, 2969 Vernon Ave., Chicago, Ill.
(703) '22 Rev. Edward B. Pollard, D.D., Crozer Theol. Sem., Upland, Pa.
(378) '05 Prof. William Popper, Ph.D., Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal.
(254) '93 Prof. F. C. Porter, D.D., 1111 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.
(532) '15 Prof. Thomas Porter, Ph.D., S.T.D., Rua Padre Vieira 3, Campinas, Brazil.
(822) '25 Prof. H. H. Powell, 1051 Taylor St., San Francisco, Calif.
(509) '13 Prof. Waldo S. Pratt, Hartford Theol. Sem., Hartford, Conn.
(556) '16 Rev. Sartell Prentice, D.D., Nyack, N. Y.
(176) '87 Prof. Ira M. Price, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(597) '20 Prof. Alex. C. Purdy, Ph.D., Hartford Theol. Sem., Hartford, Conn.
(775) '24 C. E. Purinton, 31 Shaler Lane, Cambridge, Mass.
(701) '22 Prof. Herbert R. Purinton, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.
(653) '21 Prof. Charles Lynn Pyatt, College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky.
(266) '94 Rev. F. P. Ramsay, 280 Bement Ave., West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.
(598) '20 Prof. H. M. Ramsay, St. Stephens Pro-Cathedral, 13th & Day Sts., Portland, Ore.
(557) '16 Pres. John H. Raven, D.D., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.
(361) '03 Pres. Harry L. Reed, Auburn Theol. Sem., Auburn, N.Y.
(848) '26 Prof. Nathaniel Reich, c/o Miss Stroup, 3238 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(533) '15 Joseph Reider, Ph. D., Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa.
(585) '18 Miss Ruth Richards, 16 Ashland St., Medford, Mass.
(776) '24 Rev. Hilary G. Richardson, A.B., B.D., Yonkers, N. Y.
(777) '24 Prof. Donald W. Riddle, Ph. D., Kimball School of Theology, Salem, Oregon.
(510) '13 Prof. Frank H. Ridgley, Ph. D. 2011 Maple St., Omaha, Neb.
(815) '25 Corwin C. Roach, 1199 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.
(727) '22 Prof. Percy V. Roberts, Ph.D., Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas.
(455) '10 Prof. A. T. Robertson, D. D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem., Louisville, Ky.
(389) '06 Prof. Benj. W. Robinson, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.
(826) '26 Miss Dorothy B. Robinson, B. D., Mt. Holyoke College, S. Hadley, Mass.
(284) '95 Prof. Geo. L. Robinson, Ph.D., 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

(285) '95 Prof. James H. Ropes, D.D., 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass.
(687) '22 Rabbi William Rosenau, 1515 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md.
(387) '05 Prof. Elbert Russell, Ph.D., Duke University, Durham, N.C.
(779) '24 Rabbi Norman Salit, J.D., 1152 New St., Far Rockaway, L.I., N.Y.
(456) '10 Prof. J. R. Sampey, LL.D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem., Louisville, Ky.
(187) '88 Rev. F. K. Sanders, Ph.D., 25 Madison Ave., New York City.
(511) '13 Prof. H. A. Sanders, 2037 Geddes Av., Ann Arbor, Mich.
(840) '26 Rev. Carl M. Sangree, B.D., Litchfield, Conn.
(780) '24 Rev. J. Foster Savidge, S.T.M., Church of the Holy Communion, Norwood, N.J.
(190) '88 Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Ph.D., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.
(708) '22 Prof. F. W. Schneider, D.D., 1504 Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.
(669) '22 Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.
(457) '10 Rev. Samuel Schulman, D.D., 27 West 72nd St., N.Y. City.
(463) '10 Prof. E. F. Scott, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th St., N.Y. City.
(856) '26 Prof. William Scott, Randolph-Macon College, Lynchburg, Va.
(807) '25 Keith C. Seele, c/o American Express Co., 55 Charlottenstr., Berlin W. 8, Germany.
(520) '14 Prof. Wm. G. Seiple, 125 Tsuchidoi, Sendai, Miyagi Ken, Japan.
(699) '22 Prof. Arthur G. Sellen, Ph.D., Washburn College, Topeka, Kans.
(676) '22 Prof. Ovid R. Sellers, Ph.D., 846 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill.
(408) '07 Prof. Charles N. Shepard, Gen. Theol. Sem., Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(808) '25 A. R. Siebens, 2330 N. Halstead St., Chicago, Ill.
(683) '22 Mr. Benjamin Silkiner, 101 W. 113th St., New York City.
(337) '00 Prof. Charles F. Sitterly, D.D., Drew Theol. Sem., Madison, N.J.
(849) '26 Dr. S. L. Skoss, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
(677) '22 Prof. A. Wakefield Slaten, Ph.D., 544 Cathedral Parkway, N.Y. City.
(841) '26 Prof. W. A. Smart, D.D., Emory University, Ga.
(786) '24 Rev. H. Framer Smith, M.A., B.D., 167 W. Chelten Ave., Germantown, Pa.
(55) '81 Prof. H. P. Smith, D.D., 43 Southeast Ave., Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
(409) '07 Prof. John M. P. Smith, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(534) '15 Prof. J. Ritchie Smith, Princeton Theol. Sem., Princeton, N.J.
(548) '15 Miss Louise P. Smith, Wellesley College, Wellesley 81, Mass.
(603) '20 Prof. Robert Seneca Smith, 1157 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.
(580) '17 Rev. J. Edward Snyder, Box 502, Grand Forks, N.D.
(809) '25 Pres. Elliott Speer, East Northfield, Mass.

(787) '24 Mr. Ephraim Speiser, 2135 No. 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(793) '24 Miss Helen S. Stafford, Bible College, Columbia, Mo.
(328) '99 Prof. Wallace N. Stearns, Ph.D., Jacksonville, Ill.
(738) '23 Rev. Ferris J. Stephens, Ph. D., Culver-Stockton College, Canton, Mo.
(567) '16 Prof. Paul R. Stevick, Morningside College. Sioux City, Iowa.
(716) '22 Prof. Harris B. Stewart, 7 Seminary St., Auburn, N. Y.
(90) '83 Prof. Jacob Streibert, Gambier, O.
(810) '25 Prof. W. R. Taylor, Ph. D., University College, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
(851) '26 Rabbi Sidney S. Tedesche, 200 Linden St., New Haven, Conn.
(691) '22 Rev. Patrick J. Temple, S.T.D., 104 Mount Joy Place, New Rochelle, N. Y.
(111) '84 Rev. Roderick Terry, D.D., Newport, R.I.
(342) '00 Rev. Charles S. Thayer, Ph.D., 4 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn.
(813) '25 Prof. David E. Thomas, Ph.D., 804 Virginia Ave., Columbia, Mo.
(695) '22 Rev. Edward K. Thurlow, S.T.M., Sheffield, Mass.
(257) '93 Prof. C. C. Torrey, D.D., 191 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn.
(781) '24 P. Raffaele Tramontano, College S. Luigi, Posilipo, Naples, Italy.
(850) '26 Miss Doris E. Trevett, Orchard Park, N. Y.
(480) '11 Prof. Harold H. Tryon, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(492) '12 Prof. J. Milton Vance, 930 N. Bever St., Wooster, O.
(706) '22 Rev. Selby Frame Vance, D.D., LL.D., 237 Hilands Ave., Ben Avon, Pittsburgh, Pa.
(549) '15 Rev. Prof. A. A. Vaschalde, Ph. D., Catholic Univ., Washington, D. C.
(811) '25 Miss Harriet Vaughan, 4900 Washington Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
(663) '22 Prof. E. E. Voigt, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
(713) '22 Rev. R. B. Wallace, D.D., Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
(704) '22 Rev. C. Cameron Waller, M.A., D.D., Huron College, London, Ont., Canada.
(791) '24 Prof. O. W. Warmingham, 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
(521) '14 Prof. LeRoy Waterman, 1835 Vinewood Bvd., Ann Arbor, Mich.
(812) '25 Prof. Orville E. Watson, D. D., Bexley Hall, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.
(657) '21 Prof. W. G. Watson, B. D., Mount Allison University, Sackville, N. B., Canada.
(643) '21 Dean Thomas Wearing, Ph. D., Colgate Seminary, Hamilton, N. Y.
(658) '21 Rev. J. H. Webster, D. D., 5738 Clemens Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
(667) '22 Prof. Gordon B. Wellman, Th.D., 17 Midland Road, Wellesley 81, Mass.

(689) '22 Pres. W. W. White, Ph.D., D.D., 541 Lexington Ave., New York City.
(445) '09 Prof. Edward A. Wicher, D.D., San Francisco Theol. Sem., San Anselmo, Cal.
(726) '22 Rev. Dean Rockwell Wickes, T'unghsien near Peking, China.
(535) '15 Prof. Laura H. Wild, Mt. Holyoke College, S. Hadley, Mass.
(684) '22 Prof. Clyde E. Wildman, 238 Kensington Place, Syracuse, N. Y.
(696) '22 Chas. B. Williams, Ph. D., D. D., Union Univ., Jackson, Tenn.
(275) '95 Rev. Leighton Williams, Marlborough, N. Y.
(790) '24 H. R. Willoughby, 139 Goodspeed Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(609) '20 Miss Olive May Winchester, 604 Fourteenth Ave. S., Nampa, Idaho.
(788) '24 Pres. S. S. Wise, Ph.D., LL.D., Jewish Institute of Religion, W. 68th St., N. Y. City.
(672) '22 Rev. J. E. Wishart, D. D., San Francisco Theol. Sem., San Anselmo, Calif.
(782) '24 Prof. H. A. Wolfson, 85 Prescott St., Cambridge, Mass.
(630) '21 Rev. Clinton T. Wood, M. A., 912 North Bever St., Wooster, Ohio.
(272) '94 Prof. Irving F. Wood, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(497) '12 Prof. W. C. Wood, Ph. D., College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.
(644) '21 Prof. William H. Wood, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
(842) '26 Rev. Prof. Edw. Strong Worcester, D. D., Theol. Seminary, New Brunsick, N. J.
(697) '22 Rev. William L. Worcester, 5 Bryant St., Cambridge, Mass.
(625) '21 Prof. M. J. Wyngaarden, A. M., B. D., 1116 Bates St., S. E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
(412) '07 Rev. Royden K. Yerkes, Ph. D., D. D., 3723 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(538) '15 Prof. Harry C. York, Ph.D., Hood College, Frederick, Md.
(717) '22 Elmer H. Zaugg, Ph.D., Japan College, Sendai, Japan.
(428) '08 Prof. Blanche Zehring, 309 E. Linden Ave., Miamisburg, O.
(610) '20 Prof. Solomon Zeitlin, Ph. D., Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS

WHICH SUBSCRIBE FOR THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

American Library in Paris,	10 Rue de L'Elysee (8), Paris, France.
Amherst College Library,	Amherst, Mass.
Auburn Theological Seminary,	Auburn, N.Y.
Bangor Theological Seminary,	Bangor, Me.
Beloit College Library,	Beloit, Wisconsin.
Berkeley Baptist Divinity School,	Berkeley, Calif.
Bibliothèque de L'Université,	Toulouse Haute, Garonne, France.
Bibliothèque de L'Université,	La Sorbonne, Paris, France.
Bowdoin College Library,	Brunswick, Me.
Brown University Library,	Providence, R.I.
Bryn Mawr College,	Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Bucknell Library,	Chester, Pa.
Carnegie Free Library of Allegheny, Federal and Ohio Sts. N.S.,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Carnegie Library,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Cleveland Public Library,	Cleveland, Ohio.
Colgate University,	Hamilton, N. Y.
Columbia University Library,	N.Y. City.
Congregational Library,	Boston, Mass.
Cornell University Library,	Ithaca, N.Y.
Divinity Hall, 740 University St.,	Montreal, Canada.
Divinity School Library, 42nd & Locust Streets	Philadelphia, Pa.
Doshisha Theological School,	Kyoto, Japan.
Drew Theological Seminary Library,	Madison, N.J.
Duke University Library,	Durham, N. C.
Enoch Pratt Free Library,	Baltimore, Md.
Episcopal Theological School,	Cambridge, Mass.
Free Library,	Philadelphia, Pa.
General Theological Seminary,	N.Y. City.
Gettysburg Theological Seminary,	Gettysburg, Pa.
Haverford College Library,	Haverford, Pa.
Hebrew Union College Library,	Cincinnati, Ohio.
James Milliken University,	Decatur, Ill.
Jewish Institute of Religion,	West 68th St., N. Y. City.
John Rylands Library,	Manchester, England.
Johns Hopkins University Library.	Baltimore, Md.
Library, International Y. M. C. A. College,	Springfield, Mass.

Library of Congress,	Washington, D. C.
Libreria de Augustin Bosch, 5 Ronda de la Universidad,	Barcelona, Spain.
Main Library, 8th and Grande Ave.,	Milwaukee, Wis.
Main Library, 472 Jersey Ave.,	Jersey City, N. J.
Margaret Carnegie Library,	Mills College, Calif.
McCormick Theol. Seminary,	Chicago, Ill.
Mount Holyoke College Library,	South Hadley, Mass.
Newberry Library,	Chicago, Ill.
Northern Baptist Seminary Library,	3040 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Northwestern University Library,	Evanston, Ill.
Ohio State University Library,	Columbus, Ohio.
Pacific School of Religion,	Berkeley, Cal.
Pacific Unitarian School, Dana and Allston Way,	Berkeley, Calif.
Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 616 W. North Ave.,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Public Library,	Boston, Mass.
Public Library, 197 Montague St.,	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Public Library,	Chicago, Ill.
Public Library,	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Public Library,	New York, N.Y.
Public Library,	St. Louis, Mo.
Public Library of Victoria,	Melbourne, Australia.
Queen's University,	Kingston, Ontario, Can.
Rochester Theological Seminary Library,	Rochester, N.Y.
San Anselmo Seminary Library,	San Anselmo, Calif.
Scarritt College Library,	Nashville, Tenn.
Shantung Christian Univ. Tsinan,	Shantung, China.
State Library,	Albany, N.Y.
State Library,	Concord, N.H.
State Library,	Lansing, Mich.
State Library,	Sacramento, Cal.
Syracuse University Library,	Syracuse, N.Y.
Trowbridge Reference Library,	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Union Theological Seminary,	N.Y. City.
University Library,	Cambridge, England.
University of California,	Berkeley, Calif.
University of Illinois,	Urbana, Ill.
University of Michigan Library,	Ann Arbor, Mich.
University of Pennsylvania Library,	Philadelphia, Pa.
University of Toronto Library,	Toronto, Canada.
University of Wisconsin Library,	Madison, Wis.

Vassar College Library,	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Vipond Library,	1600 Barclay St., Vancouver, B. C., Canada.
Wellesley College Library,	Wellesley, Mass.
Wesleyan University Library,	Middletown, Conn.
Western State Normal School,	Kalamazoo, Mich.
Western Theological Seminary, Ridge Ave.,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Yale University Library,	New Haven, Conn.
Zentralbibliothek,	Werner, Zurich, Switzerland.
Zion Research Library,	60 Leicester St., Brookline, Mass.

LIST OF EXCHANGES

(To be sent to Professor George Dahl, 1102 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn., and ultimately to go to the American School of Archæology in Jerusalem.)

American Journal of Religion, Univ. of Chicago,	Chicago, Ill.
Anglican Theological Review,	Middletown, Conn.
Bibelforskaren,	Upsala, Sweden.
Biblica,	Istituto Biblico Pontifico, Piazza Pilotta 35, Roma I., Italy.
Biblische Zeitschrift,	Freiburg i. B., Germany.
Canadian Journal of Religious Thought, 73 Queens Park,	Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Expository Times,	Edinburgh, Scotland.
Harvard Theological Review, Andover-Harvard Theological Library,	Cambridge, Mass.
International Index to Periodicals, 958 University Ave.,	New York City.
Jewish Quarterly Review, Dropsie College,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Journal of Theological Studies,	London, England.
Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute,	London, England.
Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift,	Haarlem, Holland.

Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft,	Berlin C 2, Schloß, Portal 3.
Princeton Theological Review,	Princeton, N.J.
Review and Expositor (So. Bapt.),	Louisville, Ky.
Revue Biblique Internationale, 90 Rue Bonaparte,	Paris, France.
Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,	Berlin-Schlachtensee, Friedrich-Wilhelm-str. 55.
Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,	Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Berlinerstr. 65.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901 and Dec. 28, 1923)

CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

Each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

JOURNAL
OF
BIBLICAL
LITERATURE

EDITED BY
GEORGE DAHL
LEWIS B. PATON FRANK C. PORTER

VOLUME XLVI
1927

NEW HAVEN
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
AND EXEGESIS
1927

PRINTED BY W. DRUGULIN, LEIPZIG (GERMANY)
FOR THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

ALBRIGHT, W. F., The Names "Israel" and "Judah" with an Excursus on the Etymology of Tôdâh and Tôrâh 151
BACON, B. W., The Redaction of Matthew 12 20
— The Matthean Discourse in Parables, Mt. 13 1-52 . . 237
BAILEY, M., Levitical Legend from the Persian Period . . . 132
BARTON, G. A., A Comparison of some Features of Hebrew and Babylonian Ritual 79
BUDDE, K., Baudissins Vermächtnis 139
— Baudissins KYRIOS 345
BURROWS, M., Kuhn and Koheleth 90
CADBURY, H. J., Mark 16 8 344
CASE, S. J., The Alleged Messianic Consciousness of Jesus . . 1
CASPARI, W., "The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness" . . 266
DENIO, F. B., On the Use of the Word Jehovah in Translating the Old Testament 146
ENSLIN, M. S., *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, Mark 16 8 62
FLOWERS, H. J., Mark as a Source for the Fourth Gospel . . 207
GEHMAN, H. S., The Sahidic and the Bohairic Versions of the Book of Daniel 279
GODDARD, C. E., A Tradition Current in the Third Century B. C. . 106
JACKSON, F. J. F., Evidence for the Martyrdom of Peter and Paul in Rome 74
KÖNIG, E., „Metrum" als Mittel der Textkritik in der althebräischen Poesie 331
MCCOWN, C. C., The Beatitudes in the Light of Ancient Ideals . 50
MONTGOMERY, J. A., Some Aramaisms in the Gospels and Acts . 69
— The *hemzah-h* in the Semitic 144
PATON, L. B., The Problem of Suffering in the Pre-exilic Prophets 111
PFEIFFER, R. H., The Dual Origin of Hebrew Monotheism . . 193
TORREY, C. C., The Archetype of Psalms 14 and 53 186
WOOD, I. F., Borrowing between Religions 98
Books Received 150, 346

Proceedings, December 1926 i
List of Members vii
Lists of Subscribing Libraries and Exchanges . . . . xx, xxiii
Constitution and By-Laws xxv

THE ALLEGED MESSIANIC CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS[1]

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE distinction between the religion of Jesus himself, and the religion of the disciples who after the crucifixion made him increasingly the object of their own adoration, was clearly stated by Lessing a century and a half ago. Historical Christianity embraces both the religion of Jesus and the religion about Jesus, both the Jesus of history and the Christ of dogma. While it is relatively easy for modern thinking to contrast sharply these two figures, historically the actual line of separation is exceedingly difficult to fix. Just what elements in the new religion belonged within the realm of Jesus' personal experience, and what features were contributed by his followers who perpetuated the new movement after his death, are often debatable problems.

The question of Jesus' self-classification is perhaps the most crucial issue in this entire field of inquiry. The Jesus of history became the Christ of faith so soon after his death, if indeed the process of elevation had not set in prior to the crucifixion, that one finds it a hazardous undertaking to discriminate accurately between the mind of the Master and the mind of his admiring disciples in the gospel-making age. For them a worthy judgment about him was of far greater conscious importance than any attempt to appreciate his own personal piety. The quality of his religious living was not

[1] Presidential Address given before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, December 28, 1926.

completely lost from view, and on occasion might be cited as a model for imitation. But oftener it was elevated to a height which no Christian might hope to reach, or to which he might even think it improper to aspire. The disciples were not to forget that Jesus had lived religiously, even sinlessly, but they commonly sought credentials for him in formal displays of his authority, or in his self-assertions of dignity, rather than within the sanctuary of his personal experience. What think ye of Christ? was for them the theme of supreme interest.

I

In a religion where he had been made an object of adoration second only to God, a proper appreciation of Jesus was fundamental. It was necessary to provide him with honorific titles indicative of one or another aspect of his official status. In so far as any account whatever was taken of his personal religion, it too was assigned to an unparalleled realm of experience. Presumably he had been aware of possessing an authority and discharging a function which never had and never could come within the range of a disciple's own self-consciousness. As a matter of fact, probably Christians did draw generously upon their own experience for patterns by which to visualize the religious life of their Messiah. But this imagery had to be liberally retouched before it could suitably be applied to the favored Son of God, the apocalyptic Son of Man, or the preexistent incarnate Logos.

The framers of the gospels were all concerned to describe in their respective ways the state of mind that befitted one in Jesus' high station. Throughout, from the earliest to the latest strata in the records, Jesus was invested with a unique authority. Not only were his injunctions said to be superior to those of all previous Jewish teachers, but at his word of command the very power of Satan had now been broken. In the temptation incident this mighty champion of evil had been thwarted by the ready replies of the newly designated Son of God. On the occasion of his first public miracle, an

unclean spirit had been terrified into confessing that the new teacher was the "Holy one of God" (Mark 1 24). Readers of the gospels were told that when Jesus spoke he filled his hearers with astonishment (Mark 1 22). His audience marveled at the words of grace that fell from his lips (Luke 4 22). Sometimes he unequivocally affirmed that his command transcended the teachings of the most highly revered ancestors of the Jews (Matt. 5 21–43). One evangelist reported that at twelve years of age Jesus had amazed the learned men of Jerusalem by his wisdom (Luke 2 47). On another occasion a Roman officer had testified that no such words as those uttered by Jesus had ever before been spoken by any man (John 7 46).

The mind of Jesus was displayed still more authoritatively when he declared himself qualified to forgive men's sins, a prerogative commonly supposed to belong only to God (Mark 2 5–12). Because confident of his right to the title Son of Man, he assumed not only authority to forgive sins, thus representing God on earth, but he also felt empowered to declare himself superior to that most sacred Jewish institution, the holy sabbath (Mark 2 28). When demons, because they too belonged to the sphere of the supernatural, cried out in terror acknowledging him to be the representative of God, he commanded them not to disclose this secret as yet known only in the higher regions where he and they normally dwelt (Mark 3 11 ff.). Moving upon this high plane of self-interpretation he was represented as believing that God had selected him to fulfil the messianic expectations of the Hebrew race.

If the New Testament evangelists have read the experience of Jesus aright, he carried about within his breast, at least from the hour of baptism, a conviction that he was the individual whom God had chosen to establish the new Kingdom, now preached by himself and earlier by John the Baptist. Only gradually had this truth dawned upon the disciples, but the moment of its apprehension marked a real climax in their career (Mark 8 27–30). Yet if this earthly Jesus was the one appointed to officiate in the role of the

apocalyptic Messiah soon to come in the glory of the Father accompanied by the holy angels (Mark 8 38), he must first find his way to heaven. Would he be snatched up, Enoch-like, when the crucial instant for the Kingdom's inauguration arrived? According to the Synoptic records, all through the period of association with Jesus the disciples remained very much in the dark regarding the way in which this necessary transition was to be effected. But no uncertainty is permitted in the mind of Jesus. It is assumed that he was fully aware of his approaching crucifixion, to be followed immediately by his triumphant resurrection (Mark 8 31-33).

Especially during the closing days of his earthly career had Jesus seemed fortified by the assurance that he was destined to become the apocalyptic Son of Man. He calmly faced arrest and unflinchingly withstood his accusers buoyed up by the conviction that he was the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed. He boldly forecast his future vindication on the day when he would be seen sitting in powerful estate at God's right hand whence he would descend victoriously to earth to execute judgment and reward the righteous (Mark 14 62). Already he had taken the disciples into his confidence telling them of impending disaster when the temple would be thrown down, as all nature agonized in travail bringing to birth the new golden age. He had assured them that their own generation would not pass before this forecast of events should be realized. But of the exact day and hour, he confessed that he was himself unaware. The Father alone possessed this knowledge (Mark 13 3-32).

At other times Jesus is reported to have declared his absolute oneness of knowledge with the Father. There is a notable paragraph common to Matthew and Luke in which Jesus is said to have affirmed that he, and he alone among men, had been entrusted with the fulness of divine wisdom (Matt. 11 25-27; Luke 10 21 f.). Others could have a knowledge of the Father only as it might be mediated by the Son. Nowhere else in the Synoptic Gospels is this note of self-assurance on the part of Jesus sounded so clearly, but in the Fourth Gospel it is characteristic of his whole state

of mind. Here he displays continually a divine knowledge carried over from his earlier existence in heaven with the Father. This memory of heavenly wisdom was an ever present possession of his religious consciousness. Consequently the Fourth Gospel is especially rich in declarations of Jesus that disclose his self-interpretation. He informed his hearers that they must be reborn in order to qualify for membership in the Kingdom. But he had needed to experience no such transformation, since from the beginning he was the only-begotten Son of God. By virtue of his original constitution he had always been one with the Father. He and God worked together in perfect unison, and men were to pay their respects to this relationship by honoring the Son even as they honored the Father (John 5 23). The words spoken by Jesus were not the result of any deep meditation and striving within the arena of his personal experience, but were ready-made commandments which had been entrusted to him by God who had sent him forth from heaven that he might become the light of the world and the bread of life (John 12 44-50).

Not only the words of Jesus, but also the unusual acts that he is reported to have performed are an index to the different evangelists' conception of his state of mind. A very unusual measure of self-assurance must be assumed for one who issues orders to the winds and the waves to be calm, or steps out fearlessly upon the surface of the Sea of Galilee. He who could think his word of blessing sufficient to cause a small quantity of bread and fish to become instantly an adequate supply of food for several thousand people, must have enjoyed a correspondingly unusual measure of spiritual self-confidence. Even those performances that seemed to the ancients less spectacular, such as the healing of certain diseases and the driving out of demons from people possessed, were not within the power of one whose religious life was of an entirely ordinary sort.

It is quite true that when the gospels were written the healing of diseases and the exorcising of demons were activities carried on with a measure of success by Christians them-

selves. Confident individuals did on occasion successfully call upon the name of the risen Jesus to effect cures, but the sense of assurance possessed by these healers was not immediate. They cured by the mediating power of Jesus' name. Not so with his mighty works. He moved across the stage with sure and certain step confident that there was resident in his own person virtue to heal all manner of disease. In fact he did not hesitate to enter the chamber of death, or the very tomb itself, to summon spirits back to their former bodily habitations. Everywhere throughout the gospels one is led to believe that confidence in his ability to perform miracles was an integral element in the religious experience of Jesus. Instances are noted where he deliberately refrained from exercising his powers, as when Satan invited him to leap down from a high point of the temple, or when his enemies asked for a sign from heaven, but there is no intimation that the evangelists entertained any tremors of doubt regarding his ability to produce the miracle demanded.

The gospel picture of the religion lived by Jesus betrays numerous evidences of heroic coloring on the part of his later followers. They were intent upon raising the respect of their contemporaries to the greatest possible pitch of admiration for the founder of the new religion. It was not their purpose to depict his own spiritual history, except as the story might serve to make him seem a more worthy object of devotion. Incidents in his career and words from his lips were selected and interpreted with a view to stimulating confidence in one or another phase of his official significance. The mind of the reverent disciple was made the mind of the Master. Everywhere it was assumed that he had deliberately shaped his career in accordance with the apologetic interest in his official character that was now so essential a phase of the Christian enterprise. Reported acts and sayings might incidentally shed much light on the hero's own religious living, but the narrators rarely failed to provide a setting that would stress his claims to reverence on the part of disciples. From first to last the gospels are pervaded by christological interests. Only secondarily, if at

all, do they aim to exhibit the personal piety of the Nazarene.

II

The process of christological evolution, already evident in the gospels, continued in the early church. Its drift was constantly away from any interest in the religion of Jesus to definition of his soteriological significance and classification of his personality. In the so-called Apostles' Creed, thought leaped directly from "born of the Virgin Mary" to "suffered under Pontius Pilate." As time passed attention fixed itself more and more firmly on Christ as Lord and Savior, while the features of the lowly Jesus of Nazareth gradually faded out of the picture. To deny the reality of his human career was, indeed, a serious offense; but to interest one's self chiefly in the human side of his being likewise involved sure condemnation for heresy.

For upwards of a century scholars have been endeavoring to burrow behind the christological interests that ultimately became solidly entrenched in the dogma of Christendom. In the closing decades of the eighteenth century, when Lessing broached the subject, the possibility of distinguishing between the religion of Jesus and the religion about Jesus must have seemed to most theologians an entirely impractical demand. It has required long years of labor in the formulation of historical method and the criticism of documents to establish the legitimacy of a quest for knowledge of the earthly Jesus in distinction from the Christ of faith. Still there remain wide differences of opinion on the subject even among those who have long and arduously devoted themselves to its study. The place held by christological speculation in Jesus' own mind is at the present moment one of the major critical problems connected with the history of his career.

While a century of labor has not solved all difficulties, much has been accomplished in the way of clarifying and limiting the problem. One no longer needs to raise the question, which was still lively even fifty years ago, as to whether Jesus regarded himself a cosmic redeemer, after the

model of the soteriological dogma of traditional Catholic and Protestant faith. The genesis of that form of thought is now too well known to permit the assumption that it could have served the purposes of Jesus and his associates. Whatever may have been his self-interpretation with reference to soteriology, we concede today that its type must have been Judeo-Palestinian and not Greco-European.

Already early in the nineteenth century the interests of ethical idealism had been brought to bear upon the question of Jesus' self-interpretation. In substance it was assumed that he believed himself to be the Messiah promised to the Hebrew people because he felt that morally and spiritually he was in perfect accord with the will of God. Because of the prominence given to ethics in the Jewish religion, this hypothesis on first sight seemed less incongruous with historical possibility than did the older traditionalism. One did not stop to question whether in the Jewish setting where Jesus had done his work, any degree of conscious moral acumen would ever have been imagined to constitute a messianic credential. In reality this mode of thought gave satisfaction because it made Jesus more highly estimable in the nineteenth century, not because it made him a more understandable figure within the Palestinian society of his own day.

A distinct advance was made when the problem was placed on a more strictly documentary basis through critical examination of the gospels. This achievement of research had become generally effective by the close of the last century. It was possible now to read the mind of Jesus as depicted, say, in the Logia, in Mark, or in John. Since the ethical note was most pronounced in the first of these distinguishable sources, the result in some quarters was a further emphasis upon moral idealism as a key to the understanding of Jesus' self-estimate. In his teaching about the love of God and the brotherhood of men, to be realized through a life of spiritual fellowship with the Father, Jesus was thought to have proved himself the real savior of mankind. Accordingly it was assumed that he had appropriated to himself the title of Messiah. This had meant for Jesus largely a new definition of the concept, but

the procedure was thought entirely permissible and in no slight degree a worthy evidence of his originality. The idea was liked by moderns, and one did not question too closely its appropriateness to the first century.

A better acquaintance with the apocalyptic literature of later Judaism, combined with a larger use of Mark as the key to Jesus' thinking, produced the eschatological interpretation so widely in vogue for the last twenty-five years. Not infrequently it was taken to be the final word on the subject of Jesus' self-estimate. With comparative ease one was able to show the correspondence in imagery between the Jewish apocalypses and much of Jesus' teaching concerning the end of the world and the coming of the new age. The Synoptic Gospels in particular exhibited a striking picture of the Son of Man coming with the clouds to institute judgment and inaugurate the Kingdom. Also these gospels represented plainly that Jesus had identified himself with the figure of the Son of Man suggested in Daniel and distinctly mentioned in the Similitudes of Enoch. Jesus, therefore, had classed himself in the apocalyptic messianic category. Prominent New Testament scholars on both sides of the Atlantic subscribed to this opinion. There remained, it is true, a few notable skeptics, but their audiences were small. The voice of a more vociferous Schweitzer easily drowned out the utterances of a more modest Wrede.

Today the audience of the skeptics seems to be on the increase. Doubts regarding eschatology as an adequate imagery for the self-interpretation of Jesus have recently emerged in different quarters. But, unquestionably, even the earliest strata of gospel tradition clearly imply apocalyptic self-classification for Jesus. Yet in the last analysis this representation may be only a residuum of early christological speculation on the part of the disciples. The utmost that one could say is that beyond doubt, in the circles of Christendom where this segment of the gospel story was formulated, it was firmly believed that Jesus had been raised to heaven and inducted into the office of the coming apocalyptic Son of Man. For Christians in the middle of the first century to entertain this

conviction necessarily meant ascribing the same opinion to Jesus himself. Here again the mind of the Master may have become known first by reading the mind of the disciples.

Perhaps one is prone to ask, How could the disciples come to believe that Jesus was to be identified with the apocalyptic Messiah if he himself had not so taught? Unless the suggestion had been received from him, one might think it impossible to imagine that his followers could have attained this remarkable conviction regarding their former friend and teacher. But there is another question equally in point. What antecedents made this type of thought possible for Jesus himself? Had the motives which could have prompted him to adorn himself with apocalyptic robes been as powerful as were the incentives that would later lead the disciples to drape these garments about their martyred teacher? Perhaps we yield ourselves too readily to the tacit assumption that Jesus must have officialized himself in terms of some soteriological category. Any procedure which takes for granted the presence of a personal christological interest in Jesus' own mind is in reality a begging of the question at issue. That he preached apocalypticism was one of the most certain rediscoveries of New Testament scholarship in the closing decades of the last century. But it is over-hasty to affirm immediately that he had given himself an eschatological messianic label. This was by no means an inevitable step for a herald of the new age.

III

The attention of Jesus had first been arrested by the activities of John the Baptist. One day the carpenter from Nazareth joined a band of pilgrims on their way to the Jordan valley to hear the new prophet who was calling the people to repentance in preparation for the impending day of judgment. This, so far as we are aware, was the initial move toward the choice of a new life-work for Jesus himself. His very presence among those baptized by John is ample proof that he was heartily in sympathy with the Baptist's message and shared his concern for the welfare of the Jews. Their distresses called for alleviation. Their political institutions had failed to

bring desired relief, while sporadic outbursts of revolutionary zeal had merely aggravated their misfortunes. But the group of sympathetic hearers that had gathered about the new wilderness preacher of repentance looked more directly to God for deliverance. By an early display of supernatural power he would suddenly bring to realization the final age of blessedness. At last the great and terrible day of Yahweh was at hand.

Among Palestinian Jews in the time of Jesus an advocate of eschatology was no monstrosity. For upwards of two centuries this type of thinking had been gaining popularity, as it had been called upon to serve at critical moments to inspire confidence in the power and protection of God. Just how extensively apocalypticism was in vogue, and whether its adherents could ever have been properly called a "school," may remain a matter of doubt. In the very nature of the case, eschatological thinking was more fluid in character than were, for example, the tenets of scribism, and people who looked for deliverance through a catastrophic establishment of the Kingdom could hardly have constituted so well-defined a social group as were Pharisees or Sadducees. Yet, unquestionably, the eschatological hope was an attitude of mind thoroughly at home in Jesus' environment. It was not only entirely respectable, but apparently in some circles it was very highly esteemed.

That Jesus believed the day of Yahweh to be at hand, is one of the most certain conclusions to be deduced from the fact of his early association with John. But Jesus was not content simply to insure safety for himself; he would also save his neighbors. This impulse transformed him from an appreciative disciple of the Baptist into an aggressive preacher on his own account. Presently he was to become even more effective than John had been in broadcasting the message of preparation for the inauguration of the Kingdom. This attempt to effect in his hearers religious renewal through repentance and reconsecration to God was an interest that from time to time had been championed by a noble succession of preachers in Israel. In giving himself to this

endeavor Jesus proved to be morally and spiritually a lineal descendant of the Hebrew prophets. Had he been called upon for self-classification, in the interests of defining the distinctive type of task upon which he was now engaged, undoubtedly the word prophet would immediately have sprung to his lips.

The memory of the prophets and their work constituted one of the most picturesque and stimulating religious heritages that antiquity had bequeathed to later Judaism. The story of their lives had been familiar to Jesus from early youth and it is not surprising that he should in a measure have duplicated their experiences and interpreted his own emotional life in similar fashion. Those were days when feeling ran high and when religion often expressed itself most effectively in forms of activity that might seem in later times to border dangerously on fanaticism. Jesus would have been quite out of place in the life of his day had he chosen his new task with utter calmness and deliberation. When he forsook his handicraft to become a preacher of repentance to his kinsmen he made a change in his career as radical as that made by an Amos, a Jeremiah, or any other of the ancient prophets. For him, as for them, the new obligation was God-given and the individual felt conscious of unusual divine equipment for his mission. Like the prophets he justified his new course of action by reference to stirring initial experiences, the memory of which has been perpetuated by his followers in the gospel stories of his baptism and temptation.

The gospel writers, however, and the Christians of their day, were far more interested to find meaning for themselves in the story of Jesus' baptism than they were to discover its meaning for him. In their environment the incident seemed especially valuable as a means of classifying officially the founder of the new religion and authenticating its rite of initiation. But neither of these interests had been a part of the situation in which Jesus lived. The voice that could transform an unschooled carpenter into an ardent prophetic preacher must have spoken in accents of far deeper reality. Officialdom and ritualism, as areas for self-interpretation, had

made no appeal to Amos and his successors. Even prophets as a class were prophets at their worst, in the eyes of those Hebrew reformers who appeared from time to time summoning their kinsmen to higher living. The true spokesmen of God were those who had heard his voice in their own souls revealing to them the message that was to be passed on to their audiences. These men were confident that they had been chosen for their tasks by the decree and favor of heaven, but they neither demanded nor expected self-exaltation, and hardly claimed even that measure of honor that would seem to have been their just due. Inspiration — not installation — was the essence of the prophetic experience.

In the Judaism of Jesus' day endowment by the Spirit was characteristic terminology for describing the way in which God made choice of individuals and prepared them for special tasks. That Jesus would feel himself empowered by the Spirit for the new work to which God had called him would be but to repeat in his experience the favor which heaven had shown in the past to a Moses, a David and a long line of prophets. One possessed by the Spirit was lifted quite above the plane of ordinary living, at least on all critical occasions. The driving force for life's work now came from without and from above. Impulses and emotions were sanctified, convictions were made doubly strong, and the whole area of moral and spiritual ideals was transported into the regions of the absolute by the certainty that the individual no longer pursued simply the dictates of his own will but was directed in his activities by the very Spirit of God.

Confident though Spirit-filled men were that God himself had chosen and equipped them for their tasks, they were not unaware of the difficulties that lay in the way of realizing their ideals. The Scriptures told of prophets who would, if possible, have resisted the divine impulsion. They shrank from the responsibilities laid upon them and felt personally quite unequal to their new calling. They expected opposition from their audiences, an opposition that might at any moment cost them their lives. Rarely were they rewarded with the

crown of martyrdom, but frequently it was their fate to find themselves without a following, while their message was unappreciated and their hopes were thwarted. A new teacher well acquainted with the story of the prophet's career among the Hebrews would hardly choose on his own initiative to enter a profession that offered so little prospect of success. But the great prophets had never taken up their duties because they thought the calling promised them a brilliant career. They, like their Christian successor Paul, preached because they must. Necessity was upon them, and to resist would have been worse than death.

Yet had prophets no right to expect, or even to demand, success? Having been called to their work by God and endowed by the Spirit, these new messengers of righteousness occupied a position of favor with heaven that surely deserved to be recognized and honored. It was not inconsistent with their sense of authority to ask of God on their behalf continued displays of approval and protection. But to have indulged themselves in this respect would have menaced the prophets' characteristic moral integrity and their ideal of absolute devotion to the will of God. History had shown that they must be prepared to meet rejection and defeat, even persecution and death, without losing confidence in the sanctity of their mission. Nevertheless, it might well seem incongruous that chosen spokesmen of heaven could not ask special privileges for themselves in the prosecution of their God-assigned duties. It was in some such area of conflicting emotions, when, in the presence of a mighty task, the sense of a divine summons momentarily stood in sharp conflict with the feeling of personal limitations, that the so-called temptation of Jesus had its original setting.

Jesus could not lightly abandon his customary occupation and ignore the problem of securing food and other necessities of life that would still be required in his new work. He knew the strength of the current desire among the people for unusual displays of God's favor. The revolutionary psychology of the day invited the activity of leaders who would demonstrate miraculously their divine equipment to instigate

a successful revolt against the Roman government. But for Jesus the path of duty lay in a different direction. He would make no claim upon God for ravens to bring him his bread, he would ask no assistance from ministering angels, and he would leave it for God himself to abolish the rule of Rome. The duties that had been imposed upon him called for a different program of action. His response to John's preaching had culminated in a keen sense of new consecration to righteous living before God and among men. This attainment in his own life had been accompanied by an experience of irresistible divine impulsion to lead others in a similar quest. The times were evil and the day of reckoning forecast by a host of previous prophets was at hand. The supreme need of the hour was to summon the Jewish people to more complete conformity with the will of their God. Without reserve Jesus now gave himself to the pursuit of this new-found prophetic task.

IV

From the moment of entrance upon his public career Jesus had possessed an overmastering conviction that his life had been linked with Deity in new bonds of experience and obligation. God had made special choice of him and had uniquely equipped him to deliver a message to the children of Israel. But to what extent this religious conviction impelled Jesus to attempt self-classification is another matter. Subsequently the disciples, viewing the earlier events in the light of their later experiences, believed that he had attained to a sense of divine sonship that meant identification of himself with the one whom God had promised to raise up in Israel to accomplish the deliverance of his people. In other words, Jesus accepted the appellation "Son" as an equivalent for the official title of Messiah.

The epithet would have served very well to express for Jesus his feeling of new status as the chosen spokesman of God. But it is far less probable that such terminology, if actually used, would have had messianic connotation either for him or for his immediate associates. All Israelites were

familiarly known as sons of God, while an especially devout or favored individual, like a wise man or a king, was specifically a "son." There was no incongruity in the Talmudic tradition that the heavenly voice had designated a first-century rabbi, famed for his piety and wisdom, "my son Hanina." Not until the end of the first century A. D., and then only in one of the apocalyptic books, does the expression "Son" appear as the synonym for Messiah, a usage exactly parallel to that of the gospels. Among the contemporaries of Jesus, any individual upon whom God's favor was felt to rest in an especial manner, had ample precedent for entertaining the conviction that he in particular was a "son." The epithet implied unusual equipment for duty or special commission for service. But it could hardly have occurred to any one, much less could it have been a generally recognized interpretation, that the designation was an official messianic label. That identification was an achievement of later Christian messianism and of the still later rival Jewish apocalypticism of IV Ezra.

For Son of Man the case is somewhat different. Since Jesus, like John the Baptist, summoned his hearers to repentance in preparation for the eschatological Kingdom, his followers easily convinced themselves that he had not only predicted the coming of the Son of Man visioned in the apocalypses of Daniel and Enoch, but that he had identified himself with this dramatic figure. If Jesus had employed this self-designation with anything like the frequency implied in the gospels, and in the contexts there indicated, it would seem to have meant for him a deliberate affirmation of his messiahship.

All four New Testament gospels permit him, with almost astounding persistence, to call himself Son of Man. Also, they restrict the term to Jesus' own vocabulary. But they allow him to employ it in such varied contexts that they bear no clear and united testimony to his exact meaning. The gospel of John comes nearest to attaining consistency, but quite severs the phrase from its older apocalyptic connections. The Synoptic usage varies between settings that stress apocalyptic associations of power or dignity, and those in which suffering and humility

seem to be characteristics of one who would qualify as Son of Man. But on the whole the eschatological emphasis predominates throughout the first three gospels.

In the Christian communities represented by the gospel tradition there was a pronounced fondness for Son of Man upon the lips of Jesus. Like "Verily I say unto you," and other turns of speech with a liturgical or sacrosanct flavor, the expression was never uttered by anyone else, not even by the demons, whose superior knowledge had led to their immediate recognition that Jesus was Son of God. Of itself "Son of Man" had no natural meaning, nor do the contexts in which it occurs always make clear its significance. This very air of mystery was not unwelcome to the ancients, although it might easily betray a later interpreter of the gospels into assuming that their authors were mechanically reproducing from earlier tradition an inherited locution so ancient that even to them it had become an enigma. On the contrary, a comparative examination of the records readily reveals the fact that the several evangelists were not controlled simply by "sources," but used the term Son of Man because fond of it on their own account. They thus entitled Jesus because they delighted to do so, whether they found the phrase in their sources or employed it in sentences of their own composition. Here again the mind of the disciple and the mind of the Master were readily made to coincide.

It was far easier for Christians in the latter half of the first century to designate Jesus "Son of Man" than it would have been for him in his own lifetime so to style himself. In the Aramaic speech of his native land, and with the scriptural background of Ezekiel, the Psalms and Daniel, if not also the Similitudes of Enoch, at his disposal, Jesus might readily have employed this collocation of words. The Semitic tongue, whether Hebrew or Aramaic, framed the expression "son of man" as easily as English says "mankind" (literally "man's child") or German "Menschenkind"—and with the same generic meaning. But, of course, no one in his right mind goes about calling himself "the Mankind," "the Human Race." The assumption that Jesus had put himself forward as the idealized

epitome of humanity was a happy discovery of later theologians, but it is without historical justification.

If the new teacher from Nazareth used the expression Son of Man, either it was in an impersonal sense meaning mankind in general, or else he appropriated it as a technical term that had been coined on the basis of its occurrence in Daniel to describe the new Israel, a figure "like unto a son of man," and its more specific titular usage in Enoch to designate that individual at present resident in heaven in the form of a man, a "Son of Man," whom God had selected as his representative to establish the new future order. Both John the Baptist and Jesus, if familiar with the relevant passages in the Similitudes of Enoch, might easily have spoken of the coming of the Son of Man in connection with the day of judgment and the end of the present age. Nevertheless this terminology seems not to have been widely current. At least it has not left its mark extensively upon even the apocalyptic literature of Judaism. If used in this setting it would have been a perfectly intelligible expression, but apparently the majority of Jewish eschatologists in the time of Jesus looked directly to God, rather than to any intermediary heavenly being, for the establishment of the Kingdom.

Were one to grant that Jesus might have been sufficiently familiar with the imagery of Daniel and Enoch to know the technical usage of the term Son of Man, the application of the title to himself would still be problematic. This God-chosen official was not to appear on earth until the arrival of that eschatological moment of destruction and restoration synonymous with the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven. In the meantime the Son of Man resided in the regions above with God and the angels. Ancient seers had seen him there enthroned in state ready for his triumphant descent to earth. In this imagery where would Jesus find any likeness to himself? He had been a Galilean artisan before he became God's chosen herald of repentance, while the apocalyptic Son of Man had been dwelling in heaven awaiting the arrival of that moment when he would assume his messianic duties by revealing himself on earth fully arrayed with the power and

glory of God. If Jesus assumed that he would not become Son of Man until after his death, what justification would he have had for supposing that the present heavenly occupant of the exalted messianic office would be dispossessed in order that the Nazarene reformer might assume the duties of that high functionary? Under such circumstances it is altogether improbable that Jesus had ever called himself the Son of Man.

One might doubt very seriously whether Jesus ever used the title Son of Man even in the third person. Had he persistently connected the coming of the Kingdom with the appearing of this apocalyptic figure, as pictured in the books of Daniel and Enoch, the disciples in later times might have found it much more difficult than they did to substitute their crucified teacher for this already enthroned messianic official. More probably that particular area of their eschatological thinking was still nebulous at the time of Jesus' death, and hence could be the more easily elaborated and revised in conformity with their later experiences. Jesus' own hope, like that of his contemporaries, had fixed itself on God, who would himself both judge and redeem the people of his choice. The traditional messianic figure of Judaism, who was essentially an anointed Davidic prince, occupied no conspicuous place on the horizon of eschatology. Those Jews of Jesus' day who leaned hard toward apocalypticism were more interested in God and the Kingdom than they were in creating a new transcendental messianic figure. It remained for Christianity to restore Jewish messianism to a new popularity around the person of the risen and glorified Jesus. This development was intimately bound up with the religious history of the disciples in the years following the crucifixion; it had not been a vital factor in the personal religion of Jesus. His energies had been consecrated to the task of preparing his hearers for membership in the Kingdom; he had not been concerned with messianic self-interpretation.[2]

[2] The view here set forth is presented in greater detail in the author's *Jesus: A New Biography* (Chicago, 1927).

THE REDACTION OF MATTHEW 12

BENJAMIN W. BACON
YALE UNIVERSITY

IN an article published in the last volume of the JOURNAL under the title "The Q section on John the Baptist and the *Shemoneh Esreh*" I urged the larger employment of a method to be called "the method of implication" for determining the real nature and contents of the Second Synoptic Source, the document underlying Matthew and Luke in that portion of their contents in which they coincide, but which is not derived from Mark. This 'double-tradition' material, so-called, is properly designated Q, and is rightly used as a foundation in attempts to reconstruct the source, which might better be distinguished as S. The admitted failure of the many efforts to reconstruct S may be partly accounted for by ambiguity in the use of the term Q, sometimes consistently restricted to the 'double-tradition' material, sometimes improperly extended to cover such additional material out of Mark or the 'single-tradition' material of Matthew or Luke as the critic decides may be ascribed to the source. In part the failure may be accounted for by the delusion, existent in Germany since the time of Schleiermacher and still dominant among English-speaking critics, that the utterance of Papias regarding the Gospel of Matthew had reference to the source in question.

In the aforesaid article an example was made of the longest of the Q fragments, Fragment 15 in Harnack's list, or perhaps I should rather include the two consecutive longest fragments 14 and 15. These are the Question of John's Disciples,

and its sequel, Jesus' Complaint of the Generation which had rejected the messengers of the divine Wisdom. By comparison of the *Shemoneh-esreh* with fragment 14 and by the use of implications of the two Q fragments themselves it was shown how wrong a conception of the nature of S has become widely accepted. Something was done to correct this mistaken view; but the proviso was distinctly laid down that the method of Implication must be accompanied by critical study of the distinctive editorial purposes and methods of each of the Synoptic writers; otherwise attempts at reconstruction beyond the mere juxtaposition of the Q fragments in the order of either Matthew or Luke would prove fallacious.

Some examples of this study of redactional purpose and method were given, but only in the most general way. The accuracy of Papias' description of Matthew as a "compend" (*σύνταξις*) of the Lord's precepts was defended, showing that it does consist (as a recently discovered second-century prologue declares) of "five books,"[1] arranged like the five books of Moses in a sequence of five narrative introductions followed in each case by an agglutinated discourse of connected precepts (*λόγια*), each 'book' being concluded and its successor introduced by a stereotyped transition formula (Mt. 7 28; 11 1; 13 52; 19 1 and 26 1). A Prologue (Mt. 1—2) telling Jesus' ancestry and birth, and an Epilogue (Mt. 26—28) relating his death and resurrection make a full total of seven sections for the Gospel.

When taken together with the evangelist's description of the charge committed to the Apostles at the close of his work (to teach universal obedience to the "commandments" of Jesus), and his definition of the conditions of salvation (obedience to the Mosaic moral code *plus* the "new commandment" of Jesus, Mt. 19 17–19) this choice and arrangement of material leaves small room for doubt as to the general intention of $R^{mt.}$[2]

[1] *Expositor* for Jan. 1918 "The 'Five Books' of Matthew against the Jews."

[2] The symbol R (redactor) is used to designate the compiler or editor of a Gospel, the suspended letters mt, mk, lk, indicating where needful the particular Gospel meant.

He is a neo-legalist of the type and temper of Jude, equally concerned at the prevailing teaching of *ἀνομία*, and probably of about the same period. Closer study will reveal other important and equally well marked characteristics not merely concerned with choice of material and mode of treatment but distinctly coloring style and vocabulary. The twelfth chapter of the Gospel, immediately succeeding ch. 11, to which our attention was directed in the former discussion, and forming in conjunction with it the narrative introduction to its third discourse (Mt. 13 1–52), will serve as an example of what may be gleaned from such study.

In this connection we should not fail to observe the striking contrast presented by the earlier Gospel of Mark to both the later Synoptists. Its difference from Matthew's "compend of the precepts" was distinctly perceived even before the time of Papias, and a scarcely less striking difference in aim and mode of treatment is explicitly avowed in the Preface of Luke. It is an extraordinary example of the misguidance to which eminent critics subject themselves through the obsession of the Schleiermacher delusion that some, in their attempts to reconstruct the source common to Matthew and Luke have actually given an *a priori* preference to the obviously artificial order of an evangelist whose work is designed with this pragmatic object of grouping the "commandments," and whose rearrangement of Mark's whole story of the Galilean ministry does it ruthless violence in the interest of the system adopted for the book. It is hard to see how any critic could prefer this to the order of Luke, a careful writer whose design is to construct a history rather than a compend of the "commandments," and who explicitly avows his intention to present his narrative "in order" (*καθεξῆς*). Fortunately the most recent attempts to define the nature of S show a reaction against this aberration. We shall make no assumptions in favor of either order for the sections of Q material in Mt. 12, leaving it for the internal evidence to determine in each case whether Matthew's order or Luke's more nearly represents the source. In some cases it will be apparent that Luke rather than Matthew is responsible for transposition, just as Luke in a

very few cases and for easily recognizable reasons has undeniably transposed the order of sections transcribed from Mark. But it should be no surprise to the reader if by way of anticipation we assure him that in the greater number of cases it turns out to be Matthew who has changed the original order, the reasons for his transpositions being also for the most part easy to define after study of his redactional methods.

In one further respect the article already published involves a certain degree of anticipation of the present attempt to determine redactional propensities. Six additional instances from kindred material (presumably from S) were adduced to show that the stage setting of the Coming of John's Disciples, leading up to the Complaint against the Generation heedless of God's Messengers, is not exceptional but characteristic. In other words the Teaching Source, as it is sometimes called, used this editorial method for introducing its set discourses. Brief mention of some typical occurrence, such as Jesus' prayer in a certain place, or the appeal of a hearer in the synagogue for a division of property, or the exclamation or question of a bystander, gave the *mise en scène* for a moral or religious discourse, on Prayer, on Abiding Wealth, on the Great Supper, on the Urgency of Repentance, as the case might be. A similar method of composition characterizes the Petrine source employed by Luke in the first half of his second treatise, and a kindred one, more developed toward the form of the Platonic Dialogue, is used by the fourth evangelist; for in John also five discourses of Jesus, first at Passover, then Pentecost, then Passover, then Tabernacles and finally at Dedication, are severally introduced by "signs" corresponding in nature to the subject of the discourse.

This discovery of editorial method sheds important light on the nature and composition of S. But it must be followed up by further enquiry. We must scrutinize the grouping of Q material wherever it appears. The interwoven bits of broken melody form in each nexus a determinable theme of their own. May we not hope that the trained and attentive ear will at last detect a common undertone, the keynote of all reflected echoes, the theme of the vanished source? Ideas have their

related sequences as well as their more tangible verbal embodiments. Our application of the method described to Mt. 12 has such an object in view. It is to be regarded as no more than an illustration. It will suggest the possibilities here available, but should be followed by similar study of the parallel sections of Luke and Mark.

The material employed in Mt. 12 is readily divisible into three parts: (1) Markan, (2) Q material, (3) such as we may designate P because peculiar to this Gospel. P material is of course not all of one kind. It may be derived from a source, S or other, or it may be merely editorial. In Mt. 12 verses 1–21 form a distinct division, being in the main transcribed from Mk. 2 23—3 12, with the usual Matthean abbreviation of Mark's diffuseness. Only in verses 5–7, 11 f., and 17–21 the paragraph has been supplemented by extraneous material, of which possibly 11 f. might be classed as Q from its resemblance to Lk. 14 5, but the other two sections are unknown elsewhere (P). Verses 31 f. are based on Q but colored by Mk. 3 28 f., and the last paragraph of the chapter (12 46–50) is transcribed from Mk. 3 31–35, forming there, as here, the introduction to the parable of the Sower, with which the Discourse in Parables (Matthew's Third Discourse) begins. The rest of the chapter (12 22–45) consists of Q material with touches of R. We may take the Markan, the Q and the P material in order, forming our judgment of R principally from the last.

1. The employment of Mk. 2 23—3 7 to form part of the narrative leading up to the Discourse in Parables illustrates the general purpose of R^{mt}. Mark had conceived the parables as enigmas, a mode of utterance adopted to meet the obduracy of Israel; for Isaiah had complained of old that "having eyes they see not, and having ears they hear not." R^{mt} simply takes over Mark's idea, thus making of the Markan group of Parables of the Kingdom (a group which Luke ignores but R^{mt} enlarges from three to seven) a kind of preaching of judgment, so contrived that those who "have ears to hear" (Jesus' spiritual kin of the introductory paragraph) shall understand "the mystery of the kingdom of heaven;" whereas the "outsiders," his kindred according to the flesh, shall receive

nothing of the inward sense. Understood thus as a mode of discourse adopted purposely to hide "the mystery of the kingdom" from the wise in their own conceit, while conveying its true sense to "Wisdom's children," the parable chapter with its prefixed saying on Jesus' Spiritual Kin has a logical preamble in the narrative section Mt. 11 1—12 16. Jesus' Complaint of the Generation heedless of God's Messengers (Mt. 11 1–19), his Denunciation of the Cities which Believed Not (11 20–24), and his Thanksgiving for God's Choice of "Babes" as beneficiaries of Revelation (11 25–30) are drawn from the Q material. In 12 1–14 these sections are now supplemented from Mark by the two Sabbath Controversies of Mk. 2 23—3 6 leading to the Pharisees' Plot against Jesus' Life, the paragraph being closed by an abbreviated transcript of Mk. 3 7–12 and an Old Testament quotation (12 15–21). The Q material which occupies the remainder of the chapter developes the conflict, as Jesus denounces the Blasphemy of the Pharisees who accuse him of Exorcising by Beelzebub (12 22–37), and the "evil and adulterous generation that seeketh after a sign" while blind to signs such as brought the Ninevites to repentance and the Queen of Sheba to the feet of Solomon (12 38–45).

The third 'book' of Matthew thus forms a consistent whole on the general theme of the Stumbling of Israel. Following the lead of Mark every one of our evangelists takes over and improves upon this theme. It is in fact already the apologetic of Paul in Rom. 9—11, wherein we first find employment made of the complaint of Isaiah that he is sent to a people having "eyes that they should not see and ears that they should not hear" (Rom. 11 8). Mark is followed in this by both Matthew and Luke, the latter expanding the theme in his second treatise at the close of which he repeats and enlarges the proof-text (Acts 28 26 f.),[3] while John closes his account of the public

[3] The quotation from Is. 6 9 f. in Mt. 13 14-15 is a mere extension of that of verse 13. The formula introducing it varies from that employed in stereotyped phrase by R^{mt} and the text is identical with that of Acts 28 26-27. We may probably regard it as the gloss of some early

ministry with appeal to the same prophecy (Jn. 12 39–41). We shall have occasion presently to enquire whether the theme was not suggested first of all by S. But our present concern is with the third "book" of Matthew. Let us return to the evangelist's handling of the material he draws from Mark in Mt. 12 1–16.

The first of the two Sabbath controversies merely transcribes Jesus' defense of his disciples' plucking the ears of grain as described in Mk. 2 23–28, omitting the mistaken dating "under Abiathar," but without other material change; for the non-appearance of Mk. 2 27 either in Matthew or Luke only shows that Codex Bezae, which also omits the verse, offers the more authentic text. As Dalman has seen,[4] we should read after Mk. 2 26 only "And he said unto them, The Son of man is lord even of the sabbath." The interpolated verse is an often quoted principle of rabbinic *halacha,* incongruous with Mark's line of argument, but highly acceptable to early Christian apologetic. The supplement to this Markan anecdote in Mt. 12 5–7 (P) is manifestly redactional. As in Jn. 7 23 R^{mt} has another scriptural precedent to cite, and connects with it the same proof-text which he had previously cited in 9 13. To seek out any special "source" for such scraps of floating material would obviously be futile. At the same time it is interesting to observe here one of the many instances of this evangelist's adoption of phraseology from his material. The clause "I say unto you, A greater matter (μείζον) than the temple is here" (that is, a case of more importance than temple ritual), is clearly recast from the mould of verses 41 and 42, "a greater matter (πλεῖον) than Jonah," "a greater matter than Solomon, is here;" that is, a warning of greater solemnity than the Ninevites had from Jonah, an invitation of greater worth than the wisdom of Solomon. R^{mt} is copying the phrase of S in a less appropriate case.

In 12 9–14 R^{mt} continues his transcript of Mark, abbreviating slightly according to his habit the second sabbath controversy, but adding here also in 11f. a supplement in substance identical

transcriber. Our argument, however, is not affected by this question of text.

[4] *Worte Jesu,* p. 215.

with Lk. 14 5. If we follow the rule of classifying as Q all material common to Matthew and Luke not found in Mark we shall find ourselves faced immediately by the problem how to account for the wide differences of language exhibited in about one third of this material, whereas the other two thirds show closer agreement than the sections in which both later evangelists draw upon Mark. Will redaction on one side or both account for the divergence in Mt. 12 11 f. = Lk. 14 5? Clearly R^{mt} is responsible for verse 12 b which merely adapts the supplement to its setting after the question of verse 10. On the other hand the differences between verses 11–12 a and Lk. 14 5 cannot all be accounted for by redaction, even when the propensities of both evangelists are taken into account. The simplest explanation of mingled resemblance and difference is that R^{mt}, having preferred the Markan version of this sabbath controversy (Mk. 3 1–6), but being also familiar with that of Luke's source, has supplemented from memory without taking the trouble to transcribe verbally. The fact has a bearing on the general question above referred to. We note also that in the closing verse (12 14) Matthew omits the historically dubious clause *εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν Ἡρωδιανῶν* to concentrate obloquy on his dearest foes "the Pharisees."[5]

Only the opening and final clauses of Mark's succeeding paragraph (Mk. 3 7–12) descriptive of the gathering multitudes are transcribed by R^{mt}, for the manifest reason that he has already employed the remainder in 4 24 f. However, he brings this portion of his indictment to a close by one of his habitual citations of prophecy, a section of P material. Mk. 3 11 declared, in accordance with a theory propounded by this evangelist in Mk. 1 34, that "the unclean spirits whensoever they beheld him fell down before him and cried out, saying, Thou art the Son of God."[6] In 3 12 Mark continues: "And he charged them much that they should not make him known," repeating his statement of 1 34 that Jesus forbade the demons to reveal his identity.

[5] On "Pharisees and Herodians in Mark" see JBL for Dec. 1921.

[6] *ZNW.* 1905 "The Markan Theory of Demonic Recognition of the Christ."

Matthew, who does not accept the theory, gives the clause Mk. 3 12 in his transcription a different application: "Many followed him, and he healed them all, and charged them (that is, *the healed*) that they should not make him known." This withdrawal from publicity—and perhaps also from controversy such as that described in verses 1–14—Matthew considers to have been predicted in the verses which he now inserts from Is. 42 1–3, 4 c:

> Behold my servant whom I have chosen,
> My beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased:
> I will put my Spirit upon him,
> And he shall declare judgment to the Gentiles.
> He shall not strive, nor cry aloud;
> Neither shall anyone hear his voice in the streets.
> A bruised reed shall he not break,
> And smoking flax shall be not quench,
> Till he send forth judgment unto victory.

The lines up to this point are taken from the Hebrew, with slight adaptation.[7] A succeeding line (separated from the foregoing by 4 a b) is given in the widely divergent rendering of the LXX.,

> And in his name shall the Gentiles hope.

We have two reasons for believing that the quotation is borrowed and expanded by the addition of the closing line. (1) R^{mt} makes all his own quotations (in distinction from those he finds in his sources) from the LXX, even conforming some of those transcribed from Mark to the LXX text.[8] Quotations in Matthew based on the Hebrew are incorporated from some source, usually S. (2) This quotation, the most extensive of the Gospel, and certainly based on the Hebrew text, has no appropriate application here. Its true application leaps to the eye the moment it is placed alongside the story of Jesus' vision at his baptism in Jordan, a story undeniably contained in the Second Source. In fact the story itself is scarcely more than a dramatization of the lines:

[7] On the derivation of the quotation see Dittmar, *Vet. Test. in Novo.* Comparison of LXX and Hebrew text will amply verify the statement of our text.

[8] *E. g.* 19 5 and 18 f.

Behold my Servant whom I elected,
My Beloved, on whom my soul's choice was fixed:
I will put my Spirit upon him,
And he shall teach true religion to the Gentiles.

It is not unreasonable to infer that this quotation, at least to the extent of these four lines, stood originally in S in connection with its story of the Baptismal Vocation.[9] Mark, who also changed the term παῖς to υἱός to agree with his Christology (1 34 etc.) would naturally drop the quotation,[10] and our evangelists in turn follow Mark. Only Matthew preserves the quotation for a different application.

As regards the only other Markan element of Mt. 12, the saying on Spiritual Kindred which is used (as in Mark) to introduce the parable of the Sower (12 46–50; 13 1–9 = Mk. 3 31–35; 4 1–9), it should suffice to place over against it in a parallel column the incident which in Lk. 11 27 f. follows at precisely this point, that is, after the parable of the House Swept and Garnished (Mt. 12 43–45 = Lk. 11 24–26):

Mt. 12 46–50 (= Mk. 3 31–35).	Lk. 11 27–28.
While he was yet speaking to the multitudes, behold his mother and his brethren stood without, seeking to speak to him.[11] But he answered and said unto him that told him, Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? And he stretched forth his hand towards his disciples, and said, Behold, my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, he is my brother, and sister, and mother.	And it came to pass, as he said these things, a certain woman out of the multitude lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the breasts which thou didst suck. But he said, Yea rather, Blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.

9 The immediately succeeding lines, Is. 42 2-3, are also based on the Hebrew. They are not likely therefore to have been added by the same hand as verse 4 c of which Mt. 12 21 gives the widely variant LXX. If verses 19–20 were part of the quotation in the Source this may warrant the inference that it stood at a later point, perhaps the conclusion of a section descriptive of the ministry such as fragments 14—15.

10 To retain the quotation would of course suggest to the reader the "servant" doctrine of Deutero-Isaiah rather than the Son-of-God doctrine of Mark.

11 Inferior texts supply at this point verse 47, a mere expedient to

Luke, it appears, is consistently following S. R^{mt} at the same point in the narrative takes in preference the Markan version of the saying, because its more explicit identification of the inner circle of Spiritual Kin formed a better introduction to the Discourse in Parables which Mark regards as intended to reach only these chosen ones. Whether the parable of the Sower, with its closing word "He that hath ears to hear let him hear" really followed in S at this point cannot be decided on the witness of Mark alone, but the connection has at least the support of this closing word.

2. We have next to consider the Q elements of Mt. 12, the chief problem in their case being the question of order. Was their sequence in S that of Luke, where nearly all appear in the great discourse of 11 14–36 as parts of Jesus' reply a) to the charge "He casteth out by Beelzebub" b) to the demand for a Sign from Heaven? Or shall we follow Mt. 12 22–45, which includes the two replies in the same order, but introduces several supplements of Q material found elsewhere in Luke, transposes several of the sections, and contains several explanatory clauses not found elsewhere? At least we shall meet no objection to following the Q order where both witnesses coincide.

The first inference as to the structure of S derivable from this doubly witnessed Q order is that the Source presented an extended discourse in two parts, the first in reply to the charge "He casteth out by Beelzebub," the second in reply to the Demand for a Sign. In the simpler version of Lk. 11 14–16 the interlocutors are not named. They are merely "some of the crowd." R^{mt} puts the blame as usual on his foes "the Pharisees," Mark on "the scribes who had come down from Jerusalem" (Mk. 3 22). It is of course the simpler form of Luke which represents S. Again Matthew and Luke agree in declaring the occasion to have been the exorcism of a Dumb Devil, at which "the multitude were amazed." Mark has a different setting, obviously secondary. The further data supplied in Matthew's description, that the demon was "blind" as well as

make good what the glossator considered the excessive abbreviation of R^{mt} in the clause *τῷ λέγοντι αὐτῷ*.

dumb, and that the amazement of the multitude was expressed in the cry "Is not this the Son of David?", are also editorial. But it does not follow that these additions had no basis in the Source. On the contrary a whole series of parallels in Mark and elsewhere go to show that Matthew has more than one form of the story, and that in one of these the opening of deaf ears introduced a discourse against a generation deaf to the messengers of the divine Wisdom and was followed (or preceded) by an opening of blind eyes introductory to a discourse against the spiritually blind. Luke, it is true, has no account of this healing of the blind. His only miracle of this nature is the story of Bartimaeus, which he transcribes from Mark without material change beyond omission of the name (Mk. 10 46–52 = Lk. 18 35–43). But even in Luke Jesus' reply to the Demand for a Sign includes a warning against Spiritual Blindness (11 33–36). May not the nonappearance of the miracle in Luke be due to his conscientious avoidance of duplication?[12]

Our confidence that in S the opening of deaf ears was accompanied by a corresponding miracle of the opening of blind eyes is based not alone upon the conjoining of these two in the answer to John's Enquiry (Mt. 11 5 = Lk. 7 22), where Jesus points to the fulfilment of Isaian prophecy (Is. 29 18; 35 5; 61 1) in his own healings, but also on passages in all the Gospels which if not directly derived from this S nexus appear at least to be suggested by it.

It has been shown in my recent volume *The Gospel according to Mark* that the section of Mark omitted by Luke (Mk. 6 45—8 26) consists, at least from 6 53 to the end, of a group of anecdotes dealing with the abolition of the distinctions of meats, the Mosaic barrier between Jew and Gentile, preparatory to work among Gentiles. After the controversy with "the scribes from Jerusalem" who complained that Jesus' disciples ate with unwashen hands (7 1–23; cf. Lk. 11 37–41) and the subsequent incident of the Syrophoenician in "the borders of Tyre and Sidon," Mark encloses between two companion miracles a

[12] As in the omission of Mk. 11 12-14 and 14 3-11; cf. Lk. 13 6-9 and 7 36-50.

parallel to the Miracle of the Loaves already given in 6 30–44 followed by a version of the Demand for a Sign and another of the Warning against the Leaven of the Pharisees (7 24—8 26). The two companion healings are an Unstopping of Deaf Ears (9 31–37) and an Opening of Blind Eyes (8 22–26). The therapeutic method of the Healer is similarly elaborated in each, with other traits so peculiarly Markan that this evangelist is certainly responsible for their form. But at least the second of the pair has been transposed away from its original setting.[13] The main point to be observed, however, is that the whole section is elaborated along the lines of Is. 29 9–24 from Jehovah's "closing of the eyes" of Israel's leaders to his "marvellous work" wrought among the poor and meek, causing "the deaf to hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind to see out of obscurity and darkness," so that in amazement men "sanctify the Holy one of Jacob, and fear the God of Israel." R^{mk} explicitly quotes the Isaian passage in Mk. 7 6 f., and it apparently suggests his symbolic elaboration of the two healings, the Unstopping of Deaf Ears and the Opening of Blind Eyes.[14]

But Matthew also in his parallel to this section of Mark shows plainly his appreciation of its relation to the Isaian prophecy. It is true that he omits in 15 29–31 Mark's description of the specific miracle of the Unstopping of Deaf Ears, for the excellent reason of having already given its authentic substance (in immediate sequence to its companion miracle, the Opening of Blind Eyes) in a previous group (Mt. 9 27–32). Nevertheless in transcribing Mk. 7 31 f. R^{mt} mentions specifically (as Mark does not) the "blind and dumb" among the healed, and adds to the Markan description of the "extreme" (ὑπερπερρισσῶς) amazement of the multitudes that "they glorified the God of Israel" (15 31). This expression, attached at the end of the parallel and completely unique in the New Testament, can hardly have any other origin than Is. 29 23. Either, then, R^{mt} has discovered the obscure relation of

[13] *The Gospel of Mark* (1925), p. 163 f.

[14] The duplicate character of Mk. 7 1—8 26 is recognized by A. H. Mc Neile. See his excellent *Commentary on Matthew* pp. 237 f.

Mk. 7 31–37 to Is. 29 18 f., or (as will appear more probable) he has independent access to Mark's source which used the Isaian term.

Again, Matthew's omission of the Opening of Blind Eyes in Mk. 8 22–26 is no more real than his apparent omission of the companion miracle. Having already introduced in 9 27–31, immediately before his account of the Unstopping of Deaf Ears, an Opening of the Eyes of *two* Blind Men, and having utilized in this connection the distinctive features of the Markan Bartimaeus narrative, R^{mt} could hardly be expected to further introduce here as a *fifth* healing of the blind a parallel to Mk. 8 22–26.

But we have still another witness to the original association of an exorcism of a Dumb Devil and amazement of the multitude with an Opening of Blind Eyes followed by Rebuke of the Pharisees for Spiritual Blindness. We have in Jn. 9 1–41 (elaborated at great length in the typical Johannine manner) an unmistakable parallel to Mark's story of the Opening of Blind Eyes. Its close is a Rebuke of the Pharisees for Spiritual Blindness (verses 35–41). But this is not all. The closing words "Now ye say, We see: your sin remaineth," so strongly reminiscent of the rebuke of those who said "He casteth out by Beelzebub" (the sin "which hath never forgiveness"), are followed almost immediately (Jn. 10 19–21) by a description of "division among the Jews because of these words" and the singular charge from some: "He hath a devil, and is mad," while others say: "These are not the words of one possessed with a devil. Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?". Nowhere in John save 8 48 f. and 10 20 f. is demon-possession referred to. The verse is an echo of the Blasphemy of the Scribes (cf. Mk. 3 30), inseparable in S from the Exorcism of the Dumb Devil.

In spite of the non-appearance of the Opening of Blind Eyes in the context of Lk. 11 14–36 (perhaps to avoid duplication with 18 35–43 = Mk. 10 46–52) it is hard to resist this cumulative evidence that the Source from which all have drawn in common presented (in association with its Dumb Devil episode but without the Markan elaborations in either

case) an account of Jesus' Opening of Blind Eyes from which Mark has drawn at least his Blind Man of Bethsaida (8 22–26), if not (with the use of a parallel source) his Healing of Bartimaeus as well (10 46–52).[15]

From this long digression to explain why R^{mt} supplements his stage-setting for the rebuke of those who said "He hath Beelzebub," with the clauses "blind and," "and saw," "Is not this the son of David?" (cf. 9 27 and 20 30 f.), we return to the question of order as between Matthew and Luke. We find a probability that in S a double introduction served to introduce a double rebuke. There were (1) those who turned a deaf ear to the warning of Wisdom's messengers, including in the first instance according to both Matthew and Luke those who said "He Exorciseth by Beelzebub," and there were (2) others who in spite of signs greater than those which turned the Ninevites to repentance, and an invitation more winning than that which drew the Queen of Sheba from the ends of the earth, blindly asked for a Sign from Heaven. The inter-relation of the two discourses, not only with one another but also with the rebuke of the Generation which Rejects God's Messengers (Mt. 11 7–19 = Lk. 7 24–35), already shows the nature of the message for which divine authentication was demanded. The issue was not drawn, as even Jülicher assumes, over the personal authority of Jesus. It concerned his declaration that the Kingdom of *God* (even Matthew in this signal instance desists from his habitual alteration to "Kingdom of heaven") was at hand, supported by his appeal to the visible tokens of God's "visiting" his people. More exactly, Jesus maintained that the divine sovereignty (*malkuth*) had "overtaken" (ἔφθασεν) this blind and dumb generation unaware. God's redeeming power was at work in their very midst, but they had neither eyes to see nor ears to hear.

We have noticed that at the very beginning of the Q section of ch. 12 R^{mt} has given the rebuke of Jesus a more specific target than Luke. Just as in the preaching of the Baptist he changes the Lukan form of the address from "the

[15] See *Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909), p. 146.

multitudes" to "Pharisees and Sadducees" (Mt. 3 7 = Lk. 3 7) so in 12 23 he alters "some of them" to "Pharisees" and in verse 38 changes "others" to "scribes and Pharisees." In every case Luke's simpler form is more authentic. The rebuke in S was general. It was directed against *all* who were displaying the spiritual dulness of which Isaiah had complained. R^{mt}, however, was not first to improve upon S by giving it a more specific direction. He had had a predecessor in Mark. Just as Mark introduces circumstantial description of the situation into his version of the saying on Spiritual Kin (Mk. 3 31–35) in order to make the application to the inner circle of disciples unmistakable,[16] so in the connected utterance against those who said "He casteth out by Beelzebub" R^{mk} not only specifies "the scribes who had come down from Jerusalem" as the guilty parties, but appends a Q saying given by Luke in a different connection (Lk. 12 10; cf. Jn. 16 1–11). The scribes are denounced as having committed an unpardonable sin "because they said, He hath an unclean spirit." R^{mt} is not satisfied with Mark's pointing of the denunciation. In 12 31–37 he adds a whole agglutination of sayings partly repeated from his own version of the Sermon on the Mount (ver. 33 = 7 18), partly clauses from other contexts of the Source (34 a = 3 7; cf. 23 33), partly material transposed hither from the Discourse on the Righteousness of Sons (34 b, 35 = Lk. 6 45), partly current proverb (verses 36 f.). The nexus recalls his agglutination of Woes on Scribes and Pharisees (Mt. 23), and exemplifies that special animus of this evangelist which led our second-century prologue writer to describe his Gospel as written "against the God-slaying people of the Jews."

As Luke has nothing here of this outburst against "the Pharisees," but proceeds direct from verse 30 = Lk. 11 23 ("He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth") to the parable of the House swept and Garnished (Lk. 11 24–26 = Mt. 12 43–45) we may disregard the fulmination of verses 31–37 in our attempt to determine

[16] See *Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909), pp. 36 and 44.

the order of S and ask ourselves next whether Luke is correct in this connection, and if so why R^{mt} has transposed.

The epexegetical clause appended by R^{mt} to verse 45 (it fails to appear in Lk.) "Even so shall it be also unto this evil generation" has small claim to derivation from S. But it is probably near the truth in its application of the parable; for it is fairly certain that the recorded utterance of Jesus offered something more than mere therapeutic experience. The parable really serves to justify the seemingly hard saying of verse 30: "He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth."

The thought of the whole context revolves around the conception of sovereignty in the "dwelling." In the devout thought of the prophets Israel is God's "dwelling." He "walks" and "tabernacles" among them. As Paul reminds the Corinthians, moral purity is expected of them because God had said "I will dwell among them and walk among them" (2 Cor. 6 16). The name Beelzebub is taken to mean in Mt. 10 25 "Master of the House."[17] At least it suggests the parabolic comparison. The argument from the exorcisms that a Stronger than the "strong man armed" has triumphed over him and swept away his bond-slaves is based upon Is. 49 24–26. It does not, as so often wrongly maintained, present *Jesus* as the Deliverer of the captives. That is not the point to be proved. The point to be proved is that the scribes have spoken against *God*. It is God himself, who by his own "finger" (Mt. "Spirit") has brought Satan's domination to an end. This is correspondingly the point of the Isaian parallel: "I Jehovah am thy Savior, and thy Redeemer the Mighty One of Jacob." But if Satan's claim to be "Lord of the Dwelling" is now proved false by the release of his captives through the "finger" of God it still remains to be

[17] Whatever the true derivation of the name R^{mt} clearly takes it to be the equivalent of Ζεὺς Οὐράνιος, or "Lord of the (heavenly) Dwelling" = *Baal-zebul*. In Mt. 10 25 Jesus is "the Master of the House" as compared with his disciples. In the Q context Satan vainly attempts the role, but is overcome by the Mighty One of Jacob, a Stronger than he who liberates his captives.

seen whether Israel will follow God's messengers or its own blind leaders. Will that divine sovereignty which has come so visibly near be welcomed by Jehovah's people? Many deny it. "Some" are willing even to declare the works of redemption to be from Beelzebub. Therefore Jesus is forced to make the issue: For or against; gatherers or scatterers? "Gathering" is the figure which he applies to his own work in restoring the "lost sheep." It is that which he had implicitly applied in summoning his first followers from their nets. Their work is that of the Redeemer in the *Amidah* prayer (Blessing 10), to "gather together the elect from the four corners of the earth." Jesus can only treat as opponents those who set themselves to frustrate this God-given work of gathering the scattered flock.

And the opposition he has most to dread is from those who have no ideal but to sweep and garnish the house. Pharisaism was all for purification, withdrawal, and quiescence. One perfectly legal sabbath, one day in which every true son of the law should faithfully observe every Mosaic precept down to the tithe of mint and anise and cummin! On such external obedience they counted to bring divine intervention and the dominion of Israel, forgetful of judgment, mercy and the weightier matters of the law. It was not "hypocrisy" as Luke assumes (Lk. 12 1) which constituted an invisible menace to Jesus' disciples. They were not tempted to imitate the Pharisees in this. But they did sorely need, and they continued for a hundred years and more to need, a warning against the external legalism of the Pharisees, the conception of "righteousness" as the merit acquired by obedience to rules, whereby God is obligated to bestow "reward." From beginning to end of his teaching Jesus sets himself against this externalism, insisting that nothing but a new spirit, an inward disposition of God-like loving-kindness can bring the "indwelling." We may assume, therefore, that while Matthew is right in applying the parable of the House Swept and Garnished in a spiritual sense, and to "this evil generation," he is wrong in transposing it to the end of the paragraph addressed to the "evil and adulterous generation." It belongs where Luke has placed it, as a sequel to the rebuke of those who said "He casteth out

by Beelzebub" and the challenge: "He that gathereth not with me scattereth." The warning "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees," which Luke and Mark (Lk. 12 1 expanded in Mk. 8 14–21 = Mt. 16 5–12) bring into close connection with it, may, or may not have preceded, but the inherent lesson of the parable of the Empty Dwelling claims for it the place which it occupies in Lk. 11 24–26 as a sequel to the denial of "the finger of God."

The parable of the House Swept and Garnished carries with it, on the testimony of Luke, the S version of the saying concerning Spiritual Kin (Lk. 11 27 f.), for which R^{mt} has substituted the Markan in Mt. 12 46–50. But where must we place that Opening of Blind Eyes presupposed by the discourse of Lk. 11 29–36 and indicated for this connection by so many parallels?

The place given it in Mk. 8 22–26 has already been characterized as artificial. Mark's setting only suffices to indicate an original location of this healing in the vicinity of its companion miracle of the Unstopping of Deaf Ears (Mk. 7 31–37) and the Demand of a Sign from Heaven (8 11–13). The question may perhaps be left for the present undetermined, since the only remaining traces in Mt. 12 are the clauses attached editorially to verse 22.[18] However, the Markan version of the Demand for a Sign followed in Mt. 16 1 ff. (Mk. 8 11–13 = Mt. 16 1–4) can by no means be disregarded, because in the Western interpolation of Mt. 2 b–3 we obtain an independent text of Lk. 12 54–56, a passage which for all its separation in Luke from the connection of the Demand for a Sign compels us by its subject-matter to follow the placing of Mt. 16 1–4 β text. A single glance at the two versions of the saying will suffice to show that neither is copied from the other.

Mt. 16 1–4 (β text).	Lk. 12 54–56.
And the Pharisees and Sadducees came up, and tempting him asked him to show them a sign from heaven. But he answered and said	And he said to the multitudes also, When ye see a cloud rising in the west straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; and so it

[18] *I. e.*, the clauses τυφλὸς καί, καὶ βλέπειν, and καὶ ἔλεγον· μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς Δαυίδ.

unto them, When it is evening ye say, It will be fair weather: for the heaven is red. And in the morning, It will be foul weather today: for the heaven is red and lowring. Ye know how to discern the face of the heaven; but ye cannot discern the signs of the times.

cometh to pass. And when ye see a south wind blowing ye say, There will be a scorching heat; and it cometh to pass. Ye hypocrites, ye know how to interpret the face of the earth and the heaven; but how is it that ye know not how to interpret this time?

Unmistakably the theme of the saying is Spiritual Blindness. The occasion should be that to which the β text of Matthew attaches it. How then account for its displacement in Luke and the independence of the two versions?—One can only surmise that the source itself was two-fold. As this whole division of Mark is full of duplicate material, as Mt. 16 1–4 itself repeats Mt. 12 38 f.,[19] so in the corresponding section of Luke the lack of proper connection is to be accounted for by the fact that this evangelist is drawing from two overlapping sources, one of which, if not unknown to Matthew, is at least rarely employed by him. For in spite of its correct placing we cannot regard the supplement of the Western transcribers as belonging to the authentic text of Matthew. The true text of Mt. 16 1–4 is derived from Mark alone.

We shall again be transcending the strict limits of Mt. 12 if we bring into the discussion Jesus' Congratulation of those who have Seeing Eyes and Hearing Ears, Mt. 13 16 f. = Lk. 10 23 f.; yet its sense forbids exclusion. This Q fragment is attached by R^{mt} to the quotation of Isaiah's complaint against the people that "hear but understand not, and see but perceive not" which Mark appends to the parable of the Sower (Mk. 4 12 = Mt. 13 13 f.). Thus placed Allen justly classes it with the long series of Matthean supplements which compensate for Mark's utterances derogatory to the Twelve. But the Congratulation has a wider circle in view. Mark's setting is manifestly artificial, since his quotation from Is. 6 9 would seem to be based on Rom. 11 8 rather than S. At first sight the setting of R^{lk}, which makes the Congratulation refer to the fruits of the Mission of the Seventy seems equally unreal. To make Jesus refer to the work

[19] See McNeile on *Matthew*, pp. 237 f.

of his disciples as "things which many prophets and kings desired to see and saw not" is hardly in keeping with the actualities of the situation. On the other hand this congratulation of those who have spiritual sight and hearing is just what we look for to offset Jesus' complaint of the generation deaf to God's messengers and heedless of the marvels of redeeming mercy taking place in their midst. He is speaking of "the finger of God," visible to those who have eyes to see. And if we look again at Lk. 10 21–24 this is in reality the very place the Congratulation really occupies. It follows the Hymn of Thanksgiving for the Revelation to Babes; only, R^{lk} has removed the whole section to bring its opening clause "He rejoiced in the Holy Spirit" into connection with the statement that the Seventy returned with "joy" and were bidden not to "rejoice" that they had power over demons but to "rejoice" that their names were on the register of heaven. Transposing the Hymn R^{lk} has displaced the Congratulation along with it. If we take the cue offered by the Wisdom hymn, which R^{mt} places after Jesus' complaint against the generation which despised God's messengers, and the Galilean cities which were unmoved by the mighty works (Mt. 11 15–24), we shall see its appropriateness. The S discourse in its former part will now conclude with this Congratulation of those that have eyes to see and ears to hear, instead of with the added strophe of the Wisdom hymn which R^{mt} attaches in 11 28–30. The order of S was: Mt. 11 15–19, 25–27; 13 16 f. but with something like Luke's clause "turning to his disciples" (Lk. 10 23) to differentiate the hymn from the utterance to the disciples.

With the inclusion of this link between the great discourse on John of Mt. 11 and the Q discourse of Mt. 12 on spiritual insensibility we are ready to pass to the final Q paragraph of the chapter, Jesus' reply to the Demand for a Sign (Mt. 12 38–42 = Lk. 11 29–32). Fortunately Mark comes to our aid with a version simpler than that of either parallel. The mere refusal of the demand without any reference to Jonah in Mk. 8 11 f. is indeed too great a simplification. It sacrifices part of the record for the sake of avoiding complication of the sense; for Mark having omitted the saying comparing "this generation" with "the men of Nineveh" his readers would have found a reference to

Jonah unintelligible. The Matthean parallel (Mt. 16 1, 2 a, 4) therefore naturally supplies the clause "save the sign of Jonah," a true element of S. On the other hand the two inconsistent attempts of R^{mt} and R^{lk} to explain what was "the sign of Jonah" are neither one successful, though R^{lk} is not far from the truth.

The point the Speaker upholds is his condemnation of the "adulterous" generation for their senseless demand. The Ninevites and the Queen of the South are adduced as examples which condemn by exhibiting more appreciative response to far inferior opportunity. The argument is similar to that of Mt. 11 20-24 = Lk. 10 12–15, where "Tyre and Sidon," and even "the land of Sodom," are cited as putting to shame the unbelief of the Galilean towns. The Ninevites "repented at the preaching of Jonah," whereas those who are now calling for "a sign" have had "a greater matter (πλεῖον) than Jonah" and yet have disobeyed the call. Both evangelists, it is true, take this "greater matter" to be something connected with the coming of *Jesus*. Either it is his resurrection (regarded by R^{mt} as the "sign of the Son of man" *par excellence*) or his personal presence (regarded by R^{lk} as a parallel to the sudden appearance of Jonah among the Ninevites). If, however, we observe how Jesus elsewhere treats "the baptism of *John*" (that is, the reformatory movement of the Baptist) as the great portent of the times, a fulfilment of Malachi's prophecy of the coming of Elijah to effect repentance before the Day of Jehovah, which therefore indicates that the great dénouement is close at hand, we shall find it difficult to believe that the Speaker had not the same great Sign in mind in this case. This inference will be confirmed when we observe that the Demand for a Sign of Mk. 11 27–33, which Jesus answers by citing "the baptism of John" is supplemented by R^{mt} in his transcription (Mt. 21 23 ff.) by the Q saying which Luke introduces here in 9 29 f., after the discourse about John the Baptist, and between it and the Rebuke of the Perverse Generation (Lk. 7 31–35). At the same point R^{mt} introduces the reference to Elias and the Men of Violence (Mt. 11 12 f. = Lk. 16 16) and the comparison of the Baptist to "Elias that was for to come" (Mt. 11 14 f.). So many references

to the appearance of John as the herald of the kingdom prophesied by Malachi, all clustering about this same nexus of sayings, cannot well be accounted for if Jesus did not mean, here as elsewhere, that this "coming of Elias" to effect the Great Repentance was "a sign from heaven," a foregleam of the great Day of Jehovah.

Still another confirmation of this understanding of "the sign of Jonah" may be found in the antithetic form in which Jesus propounds his condemnation of the Perverse Generation. They are equally deaf to the appeal of God's messengers, whether it be addressed to their fears or their hopes. Like sulky children who will play neither funeral nor wedding they reject John because he lives an ascetic life and Jesus because he brings a message of hope and cheer, and is genial and kindly toward all. The reply to those who Seek a Sign has the same two-fold condemnation. The "wisdom" (understood in the sense of Prov. 2—5, 7—9 as the winning appeal of God's redeeming Spirit) which drew the Queen of Sheba "from the ends of the earth" corresponds to Jesus' gospel of forgiveness to the penitent as the wedding song corresponds to the funeral dirge in the earlier comparison. As the Perverse Generation are reproached for rejecting *both* God's messengers, whether of warning or of forgiveness, so the "adulterous generation" that demands a sign is *doubly* obdurate. It has had more warning than was given the Ninevites, who repented at the mere threat of Jonah wholly unaccompanied by miracle: "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed." Nevertheless when John (who "did no miracle") comes like Elias crying "Repent! After me cometh he whose fan is in his hand to thoroughly purge his floor, gathering the wheat into his garner, and burning up the chaff with unquenchable fire," they give no heed. Nay more. Even when they saw the publicans and sinners meeting the summons of God, fulfilling thus the prophecy of the Great Repentance, "they did not even repent themselves afterwards." Equally blind are they to the gracious proofs of God's redeeming presence attendant on Jesus' "glad tidings to the poor." A greater matter than the 'wisdom' which brought the Queen of Sheba to the feet of Solomon (πλεῖον Σολομῶντος) takes place before their eyes and

ears, and they cry: "Give us a sign from heaven!" If there be force in the double form of the condemnation, then in Jesus' mind "the sign of Jonah" was "the baptism of John," just as his own message was that of "the Wisdom of God."

It follows that neither of the attempted explanations of R^{mt} or R^{lk} is correct, though both reappear in John. The fourth evangelist follows the lead of Matthew when relating the Sanhedrin's demand for a sign (Jn. 2 18–22). Here the sign from heaven is the resurrection after three days as in Mt. 12 40. In 6 30–40 he follows the lead of Luke. In the synagogue at Capernaum the Jews demand a sign and receive the answer that Jesus is himself the sign, the bread of life, which like the manna given by Moses in the wilderness, "cometh down from heaven and giveth life to the world." This is the interpretation of Lk. 11 30. All are later attempts to solve the reputed enigma, whose solution after all requires nothing more than to ask, What does Jesus himself treat as the great "sign of the times?"

3. After completion of our survey of the Q material of Mt. 12 it remains to consider the P material. Some of this we have already assigned to S in spite of its failure to appear elsewhere. The quotation from Is. 42 1–3 is an example of such material which there is strong reason to connect with the Second Source, and which will shed no little light on the vital question of its Christology.[20] On the other hand we have small reason to connect with any written source $R^{mt's}$ supplements to Markan narrative in 12 5–7, and to Q material in 12 36f. Even the supplement in 12 11f. seems to be a mere memoriter reproduction of the substance of Lk. 14 5. What remains is the addition of a single line (verse 21) to the prophecy of Is. 42 1–3 quoted from the Hebrew in 12 17–20, a few touches suggested by the Source as elsewhere used in 12 22f., definition of the indefinite subject in verses 24 and 38 ("the Pharisees", "the scribes and Pharisees"), and the explanatory clauses in verses 40 and 45b, whose value and significance has already been made clear.

Manifestly the work of R^{mt} was mainly directed to the task of interweaving his sources, of which S and Mark were by far

[20] *HThR.* Oct. 1916: "The Son as Organ of Revelation."

the most important. His personal idiosyncracies appear most clearly in his occasional supplements, of which the most notable in ch. 12 is his outbreak against the "brood of vipers" in verses 33–37, where source material (Q) and supplements (verse 33 repeated from 7 18, verses 36 f. from current proverb) are intermingled. Both motive and method are characteristic. The special animus of R against the Pharisees, sometimes associated with "scribes" sometimes with "the Sadducees" is exhibited repeatedly throughout this Gospel. The method is the same interweaving of phrases from different contexts of S which we have on the grand scale in the Sermon on the Mount. R^{mt} loves to avail himself of phrases from his sources, particularly S, and does not hesitate to repeat or transpose wherever the lesson in view requires.

Transposition on the larger scale is undeniable in his employment of the entire Markan story of the Galilean ministry, and will be admitted by all who have studied the composition of the five Discourses, particularly the first, the so-called Sermon on the Mount, for the Q material. In fact, so far as dislocation is concerned S would appear to have suffered even worse than Mark. The remark of Papias that Matthew, unlike Peter, who "had no design of making a compend of the precepts" (*οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων*), had "made a compend of the precepts" (*συνέταξεν τὰ λόγια*), is fully justified. R^{mt} is at the opposite pole from Luke as regards "order." Luke writes his *διήγησις* with special reference to this admitted lack in his principal narrative source (Mk.), and yet does not venture upon transposition except where the reason is obvious and cogent, as in Lk. 3 19 f., where the parenthetic story of Mk. 6 14–29 is brought back (in much abbreviated form) to a position better agreeing with Mk. 1 14. Strange indeed that Luke should be assumed to be less faithful to the order of S than the notorious transposer R^{mt}! No such judgment could ever have been passed upon Luke by any competent critic but for the fact that Luke's problem was also complicated by the necessity of combining parallel sources, as Mark's had been before him. And Luke's problem was apparently more complicated than R^{mt}'s, inasmuch as L (to use Streeter's symbol for the long admitted "special

source of Luke") does not seem to have been accessible to our first evangelist. It may indeed be true, as Streeter contends, that the combination of L with S had preceded, so that Luke is not himself responsible for the dislocations undeniably present in his Q material. But this, while exonerating the writer of the Preface from disregard of his promise to write "in order," only removes the critic's problem a stage further back. The "proto-Luke" who combined L and S must be held responsible for changes both of order and wording if comparison with $R^{mt's}$ version of the Q material has any value.

Our present study, restricted as it is to a single section of his work, and independent of the phenomena of Luke, goes to show R^{mt} has taken at least as large liberty with the order of S as with that of Mark. Disregarding other changes of wording, which speak for themselves, we note that the opening and closing lines of the agglutinated paragraphs give unmistakable evidence of such adjustment. A frequent, almost stereotyped beginning is τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς, almost to be rendered "Then it was that Jesus" etc. This is varied by ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ "It was on that occasion that." As this phrase appears in 12 1, where it attaches to Q material a Markan section certainly not intended by Mark for this connection, it clearly represents conjecture on the part of R^{mt}, and nothing more. The τότε of 12 22 certainly represents no more, and perhaps that of verse 38 is equally valueless. The opening clause of the Markan section 12 46–50 "While he was yet speaking to the multitude" of course takes the place of Mk. 3 20, 32 a, although the multitude in question is not the same. It serves to link up this version of the saying on Spiritual Kin with the Q paragraph preceding. But the linking up is justifiable, because in S the saying really did follow on the parable of the House Swept and Garnished (Lk. 11 22 f.).

R^{mt} also forms connecting links by alteration of the wording of the source at the close of paragraphs. Thus Luke is certainly correct in closing the Q paragraph against the Perverse Generation with the clause "And Wisdom is justified by her *children*." Mt. 11 19 changes to "justified by her *works*," because the paragraph next inserted (with the typical τότε) is an "upbraiding" of "the cities where most of his *mighty works* were done"

(11 20–24). Luke, as we have seen, gives this latter paragraph a different setting (Lk. 10 13–15), but R^{mt} had too much regard for Jesus' appeal to his mighty works in his message to John (11 4 f.) to be willing to consider any other setting for the "upbraiding." Hence the change to "works" in 11 19 which forms an easier transition.

A similar change is made in 12 28. Luke, who on all possible occasions (and some impossible ones) brings in references to the Holy Spirit (cf. 11 13; Acts 1 2; 4 25), would certainly have reproduced the reference if he had found it in the Source in Lk. 11 20. R^{mt} changes "the finger (or, as we should say, "the hand") of God" to "the *Spirit* of God" to make better connection with the paragraph on Blasphemy of the Spirit, which (on the authority of Mark) he makes to follow in verses 31 f.

In like manner R^{mt} retouches the Q parable of the House Swept and Garnished (12 43–45 = Lk. 11 24–26) at beginning and end to fit it for a changed connection. At the beginning no more was required than the addition of a simple δέ, but at the close the application which R^{mt} (correctly) believes the parable should have is made clear by his addition of the clause "Even so shall it be also unto this evil generation." As an interpretation this is substantially correct; but the phrase "this evil generation" is taken (after $R^{mt's}$ manner) from verses 39, 41, 42. The connection is artificial. The parable belongs where Luke found it and has left it. Rightly understood it supplies a worthy sequel to its companion parable of the Strong Man Armed. Both are concerned with Israel as God's "dwelling" (*mishkan*).

Our exemplary study of the redactional method of R^{mt} in Mt. 12 will serve to show something of the process which must supplement the "method of implications" to make the reconstruction of gospel sources truly scientific. Its primary interest lies in the interpretation of the first Gospel in its transmitted form. Even the minute changes this evangelist allows himself in the text of his sources suffice to a remarkable degree to impress upon the material the stamp of his own individual interpretation and application. To a far greater degree R^{mt} accomplishes the desired result by simple choice and arrangement of material. The effect of transposition in the hands of an editor who knows

his sources practically by heart is greater than most students realize. And the process of combination exemplified in Mark, $R^{mt's}$ principal source, shows to how large an extent this grouping of material had already been carried. The writer of Jude is a kindred spirit to R^{mt}, writing under conditions closely similar. This will appear more and more clearly as the study of his special aims and propensities is extended beyond the limits of a single section of the Gospel, and will be of no small service in determining the problem of its date and historical significance.

But the ultimate and supreme interest of our study lies elsewhere. The gospel critic and the Christian world are concerned above all with the question of the Q material and its source. Determination of the editorial method of our extant Gospels has principal value as a step toward determination of the nature, purpose, and content of the Teaching Source; for only as the changes effected in process of transmission are clearly identified and subtracted can the groundwork be brought to light. Here, as we have seen, the question of order is peculiarly vital. At the same time it is also peculiarly difficult, because our extant Gospels, whether because their compilers found this material already disjointed or because their own requirements led them to radically rearrange it, had already in Matthew's time reduced the original buildings to masses of broken masonry.

Study of Markan and Lukan editorial method must be applied no less careful than that bestowed on Matthew before our final inferences are drawn; but something may perhaps even now be gleaned from the foregoing scrutiny of Mt. 11 and 12. Study of the former has led to the inference that the Second Source was not a mere formless list of *logia*, but a true gospel narrative, albeit constructed on the plan of ancient accounts of the careers of teachers such as Apollonius of Tyana, romances such as the later and legendary Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, or "Acts" such as the *Preaching of Peter*, and its canonical counterpart preserved in the first half of Luke's second treatise. A series of examples mainly drawn from Luke, more conservative than Matthew of the narrative form of his sources, even justified the inference that the typical *mise en scène* for the individual

discourse of S was some briefly described incident, a healing of Jesus, an interruption from the crowd, a question from disciples or opponents, or the like. The theme of the discourse would thus be determined.

Our study of Mt. 12 has proved complicated because of the many parallels in all four of our Gospels; but it has led to the inference that the common basis of the various arrangements of the material was a discourse in S on Spiritual Sight and Hearing, a discourse whose original setting was the healing of a blind man accompanied (perhaps we might say followed) by the exorcism of a "dumb devil." The discourse was broken by the interjected cry of a woman, to which Jesus replied with the saying on Spiritual Kin, perhaps adding the blessing on Seeing Eyes and Hearing Ears (Mt. 13 16 f. = Lk. 10 23 f.). After this followed the Demand for a Sign with the upbraiding of the Evil and Adulterous Generation and a connected Discourse on Spiritual Blindness (Lk. 11 33–36 and parallels).

It would carry us far beyond the limits imposed to attempt to trace further possible connections in Luke and Mark. There is no small incentive to further study, however, in the phenomena of Mk. 1 40–4 34. The section corresponding to Mt. 12 1–14 viz., Mk. 2 23–3 6, is an intrusion. Mark attaches it to his own greatly condensed account of Jesus' appeal to the "mighty works" and reply to the charge "He eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners," to obtain a premature and exaggerated account of the growth of opposition. If this be set aside we find next a brief statement of Jesus' withdrawal to the sea accompanied by "a great multitude from Galilee" (Mk. 3 7 a = Mt. 12 15). R^{mk} expands the description of the crowd (3 7 b–12 = Mt. 12 16) with material drawn from the narrative (7 24; 4 1; 5 1 ff., 24 ff.), and introduces after it the Choosing of the Twelve (3 13–19) preliminary to their Mission (6 7–13). The intervening material (3 20–6 6), a conveying of "the mystery of the kingdom of God" in parables to this chosen circle and a display of the power of faith in five consecutive narratives of wonder-working, thus paves the way for the Mission of the Twelve. What then if we remove the Markan adaptation leaving the material to fall into its own unadapted sequences? The remainder (carrying our analysis

no further than the beginning of Mk. 4) will consist of the following sections: (1) The accusation "He casteth out by Beelzebub" and Jesus' reply; (2) parable of the Strong Man Armed; (3) Blasphemy against the Spirit; all three being enclosed in a variant of (4) the saying on Spiritual Kin (Mk. 3 20–35). But this is just the sequence of S after the appeal of Jesus to the Mighty Works (Mt. 11 1–19) paralleled in Mk. 2 1–23! The next section, introduced by a description of the multitude by the sea-side taught by Jesus from the boat, is the Parable of the Sower, closing with the saying "He that hath *ears to hear* let him hear." Was this parable a continuation in S of the discourse on Eyes that see not and Ears that hear not? If so, we have still another link in the chain of S sections. And there is the more reason to believe it, because immediately following the parable R^{mk} introduces an abbreviated form of the Hymn of Wisdom giving thanks for the revelation to babes (Mk. 4 11; cf. Mt. 11 25–27 = Lk. 10 21 f.). Moreover the paragraph which R^{mk} appends to the interpretation of the parable (Mk. 4 21–25) is an agglutination of Q sayings including those on Shedding of Light (4 21 = Lk. 11 33), Hidden things brought to Light (4 22 = Lk. 12 2), and Ears to Hear (4 23 = Mt. 11 15). At the conclusion of the discourse Jesus enters the boat with his disciples and crosses to the other side of the lake (4 35; cf. 8 10–12).

The possibility of continuing the original connection of S beckons the critic on. The perplexities are great, perhaps too great to permit more than plausible conjecture. Nevertheless the hope is surely justified that by sufficient care in the application of the two methods of "implication" and "determination of redactional type" some further steps may be made toward reconstruction of the precanonical Source.

THE BEATITUDES IN THE LIGHT OF ANCIENT IDEALS

CHESTER C. McCOWN
PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

THE interpretation of the Beatitudes is a perennial problem. The multitude of views which have been expressed may be roughly classified in two groups: (1) those which accept the spiritualizing interpretation of Matthew as correct, and (2) those which prefer to take literally the more material version of Luke. It would be interesting to know the division of opinion at this moment. I stand open to correction, but I believe that opinion is inclining to the view that Luke's form, "Blessed are you poor, . . . blessed are you who hunger now, . . . blessed are you who weep now, . . ." best represents the words of Jesus, and that he meant what these words imply in view of the widely held apocalyptic eschatology of the time, that is that a new age was soon to dawn in which the poor should receive their deserts and the rich theirs. I wish to discuss a line of approach to the problem which has been little exploited but which, I believe, has distinct value, the approach thru ancient history. Within the available limits I can only outline the argument.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the lands about the eastern end of the Mediterranean were in a very real sense a cultural unity. Hittites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Hebrews differed sharply in their laws and customs at many points. They passed thru a long course of evolution. Yet there was a great body of tradition common to all and persisting thru millennia of change. Many students of ancient

history will take this statement, if they accept it at all, with reservations. May I indicate my definition of it in the use I make of it? Jesus can be understood only in the light of contemporary Jewish belief and practise. Judaism can be understood only in the light of its antecedents, and its antecedents include the whole history of the Eastern Mediterranean world. "These things were not done in a corner." Jesus' attitude toward the poor and unfortunate, therefore, must be placed against this vast background if we would truly understand it.

When one turns to the documents of ancient civilization, he finds abundant confirmation of the Gospel saying, "The poor you have always with you." But even in the oldest records, among the Sumerians three thousand years before Jesus' time, he discovers that oppression and poverty were not regarded as normal or right. Uru-kagina, at present 'the first reformer of history,' appears as the champion of the poor, the widow, the orphan, and all the weak, who, he tells us, had suffered oppression "since ancient days, from the beginning."[1] During the celebration which Gudea organized for the dedication of his temple, E-ninnu, when for seven days he put the laws of Ninu and Ningirsu actually into effect, for this brief but notable period,

> "the maid was as good as her mistress, and master and slave walked together as friends. The powerful and the humble man lay down side by side . . . The rich man did not wrong the orphan and the strong man did not oppress the widow. The laws of Ninu and Ningirsu were observed, justice was bright in the sunlight, and the sun-god trampled iniquity under foot."[2]

This passage may serve to characterize the ideals to which the monarchs of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, Semite as well as Sumerian, did at least lip-service for two thousand years. Hammurapi legalized social distinctions which were fully accepted during our medieval period and which modern courts

[1] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, I, 1), Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907, pp. 45—57.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 69, 75, 89-95, 103, 139.

unconsciously follow in judging the poor and the rich, yet he ruled, so he claimed, in the interest of righteousness; to quote his words,

> "that the strong might not oppress the weak, that they should give justice to the orphan and the widow."[3]

The Kassite rulers of Babylon were perhaps unfamiliar with the ancient Sumerian tradition that a ruler was to be a father to his people. The insatiate ambition for foreign conquest which possessed the Assyrian monarchs drove such modest and kindly obligations into the background. Yet a courtier of Ashur-bani-pal wrote to him describing what his good administration had accomplished for the country in these flattering words:

> "Days of right, years of righteousness, abundant showers of rain . . . My lord the king leaves alive him whom his sins had handed over to death. Thou hast set free those who for many years sat in captivity, those who for many days were sick are become well. The hungry are satisfied, the emaciated are become fat, the naked are clothed with garments."[4]

Evidently the poor as well as the rich, the unfortunate as well as the fortunate, were supposed to profit by the rule of a successful monarch. Just how much this actually meant one may judge from the fact that Kaiser Wilhelm II three days after his accession echoed these ancient ideals in a proclamation in which he vowed before God "to be a succorer of the poor and oppressed, a faithful guardian of the right."[5] Yet the Assyrian's claim, like that of the modern European warlord, witnesses to the general acceptance of a portrait of the ideal ruler in which one permanent trait was the relief of poverty and distress and the protection of the weak from the rapacity of the strong.

Western Semites of the first millennium B. C. had not forgotten these 'primitive' notions. Inscriptions from two at least

[3] R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904, p. 99, correcting "oppose" to "oppress," *ḫa-ba-lim.*

[4] Schrader-Zimmern-Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3. ed., Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1903, pp. 380 f.

[5] Quoted in the *Forum*, Aug. 1926, p. 281.

of the kings of Ya'di, or Samal (?), recovered at Zenjirli, prove that there were monarchs of smaller kingdoms who accepted the same ideal and claimed to put it into practise almost at the time when Elijah was championing the cause of Naboth and Amos was crying out against the oppression of the poor.[6]

When one turns to Egyptian literature, he is struck by a certain sentiment of aristocracy which pervades it. Law and order were beloved above all else in Egypt. The social ideal was a static condition in which all things remained as they had been from the beginning. Especially dreadful was any change in the social status of the rich and the poor. The apocalyptic woes described by Ipuwer and Neferrohu emphasize this one feature above all others. The best proof of the terrible condition of the land was the fact that the rich had become poor and the poor rich. "Behold," says Neferrohu, "I show thee the land upside down. . . . . I show thee the undermost uppermost. . . . . The poor man will make his hoard. . . . . The pauper eats offering-bread."[7] In this particular, Egyptian apocalyptic exactly contradicts that of the Hebrews.

Otherwise the social ideals of the Egyptians were much like those of the Hebrews. Every man was to receive justice, and under a good ruler none was to hunger, none to be oppressed. One of the claims most frequently made by Egyptian nobles and kings in their tomb inscriptions is that they have protected the poor and helpless and fed the hungry. Nearly two thousand

[6] A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, New York—London: Scribner, 1923, pp. 184 ff.; cf. also G. A. Cooke, *A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. 159–85. Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, Vol. IV, Paris: Leroux, 1901, pp. 187–92, 298–319) restored and interpreted a Sinaitic inscription so as to imply that an institution similar to the Hebrew sabbatical year existed among the Nabateans, a year in which the poor had the right to reap the fields. But his interpretation has not been accepted by other scholars, nor has other evidence for such a Nabatean institution been discovered. See Cooke, *op. cit.* pp. 260 f.

[7] A. H. Gardiner, "New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt," in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, I (1914), p. 105; cf. the similar sentiments of Ipuwer, A. H. Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leiden, 1909, p. 11. See also McCown, *Harvard Theological Review*, XVIII (1925), pp. 374 f., 385.

years before Christ Ameni, prince of the Oryx nome, caused to be carved on the walls of his Beni-Hasan tomb the following declaration:

"There was no citizen's daughter whom I misused, there was no widow whom I afflicted, there was no peasant whom I repulsed (evicted?) . . . There was none wretched in my community, there was none hungry in my time."[8]

The Eloquent Peasant tells the High Steward, Rensi:

"Thou art a father for the orphan, a husband for the widow, a brother for her that is put away, an apron for him that is motherless."[9]

Not only the literature of social protest, such as the *Complaint of the Eloquent Peasant*, but also the products of conventional morality such as the *'Admonitions'* of various kings, viziers, and scribes, repeat the ideals of the early model prince of Beni-Hasan.

Most remarkable of all and strikingly similar to the sentiments in Jewish literature are those that are discovered in the 'religion of the poor' which arose in the decadent days following the failure of Ikhnaton's reformation. On a stone set up by two poor workmen in the necropolis at Thebes Amon-Re is addressed thus:

"Amon-Re, Lord of Karnak,
The great god within Thebes;
The august god who hears prayer,
Who comes at the voice of the distressed humble one,
Who gives breath to him that is wretched."[10]

In a long hymn from a Cairo papyrus Amon-Re is addressed as he,

"Who hears the prayers of him who is in captivity,
who is kindly of heart when one calls upon him,
who saves the timid from the haughty,
who separates the weak from the strong."[11]

[8] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906, Vol. I, § 523.

[9] *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, IX, p. 9, A. H. Gardiner.

[10] J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York: Scribner, 1912, p. 350; B. Gunn, "The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, III (1916), p. 83.

[11] Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

Amon is the 'vizier of the poor man,' he defends him in court against his rich oppressors and against judges who, under guise of court fees exact bribes. The god, who cared for the worm and the gnat might well be expected to look with solicitude upon the 'silent,' the 'poor,' the 'humble,' the 'timid,' and be ready to save them from the haughty, the rich, and the powerful.[12]

The evidence which I have thus briefly suggested by a few typical quotations shows that, whatever their shortcomings in practice, the two ancient civilizations to which the Hebrews owed most, the Semitic and the Egyptian, possessed a persistent tradition as to social justice. Poverty was not the will of the gods, divine favor was on the side of the poor man and against the rich, divine laws had been made for the protection of the poor and oppressed, and it was the duty of the divinely appointed ruler to put these laws into effect. This idealism was strongest during the adolescence of ancient oriental civilization, in the third millennium B. C., but it persisted into its cynical and decadent old age, even far into the first millennium before the beginning of our era.

It remained for the Hebrews to revive and perpetuate the ancient idealistic traditions of the civilizations which they inherited and to develop those ideals to a new precision and inclusiveness. If the *Admonitions of Amen-em-ope*, coming from the time of the Empire, could be copied into the Book of Proverbs, then surely the ideals of the social prophets of Egypt and much more the tradition of divine justice which was the common property of both Semites and Egyptians for over two thousand years may be regarded as directly continued by the prophets of Israel. There is no need to review the evidence as to the ideals of social justice that ruled the thinking of the best of the lawgivers, prophets, and psalmists of the Hebrews. Postexilic Jewish literature and particularly the apocalypses of the first century B. C. echo with the poignant and angry complaints of the oppressed poor. One may instance the Similitudes of Enoch, the section of Ethiopic Enoch (91—105) that describes with

[12] Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 353, 356.

beatitudes and woes the 'two ways,' the fragment from the "Damascus Covenanters," the Psalms of Solomon, and the Assumption of Moses.

There was, in the circle from which these documents came, what may be truly described as a highly developed class-consciousness, a thoroly bolshevistic hatred of the political authorities and the *bourgeoisie*. As in the Egyptian 'religion of the poor,' God was believed to favor the needy (*dallîm, 'ebyônîm*), the oppressed, or miserable (*'aniyyîm*), the lower classes (?), or the beggars (*miskenîm*), the humble (*'anâwîm*), the quiet in the land (*riq'eî 'ereṣ*, Ps. 35 20), but to hate the rich, the proud, the haughty.[13] It was entirely in keeping with the ancient Semitic conception of divine justice that the heavenly Son of man, the divinely appointed Elect One, should be assigned the task of overthrowing the kings, the mighty, and them that possess the earth, as the Similitudes of Enoch repeatedly assure us.[14] The "Covenanters of Damascus" believed that they who would give heed to the Messiah were to be the "poor of the flock." They should escape in the day of visitation, while the rest would be handed over to the sword when the Messiah came.[15] Wealth and wickedness, poverty and piety, seem to belong together.

Sharp as is the distinction between the rich and the poor, strong as is the feeling of solidarity on the part of the poor, the humble, the oppressed, it does not appear to me that there is sufficient evidence to prove that there was a 'brotherhood' of the poor, as Isidore Loeb supposed, or a sect or party of the oppressed Levites who wrote the Psalms that sing God's care for the poor, as Renan and Graetz maintained.[16] I doubt

[13] Cf. Alfred Rahlfs, עָנִי *und* עָנָו *in den Psalmen*, Göttingen: Dieterich, 1892; A. Causse, *Les "Pauvres" d'Israël (prophètes, psalmistes, messianistes)*, Strasbourg-Paris: Istra, 1922; art. "Poor," in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, IV, pp. 19 f., by S. R. Driver.

[14] I En. 46 4 ff.; 48 8 ff.; 62 1–16.

[15] "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" 9 10, R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, Vol. II, p. 816.

[16] Causse, *op. cit.*, p. 86; A. Lods, "Les 'Pauvres' d'Israël d'après un ouvrage récent," in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1922, a review of the work of Causse, pp. 5, 13 of the offprint.

if it is proper to use the term "party of the poor." Moreover not all of the Psalms and very few of the apocalypses convey the idea that the Jewish nation as a whole was poor, humble, and oppressed, and, therefore, as a whole eventually would be elevated and enriched. As I see it, the apocalypses that foretell the ultimate overthrow of the rich and powerful and the elevation and vindication of the poor and humble are the product of the bitter sufferings and the undaunted hopes of a considerable section of the Jewish population, an unorganized group that differed in many particulars as to the methods and practical results of God's expected intervention, but were one in the faith that he was certain eventually to right the wrongs of the world. Like the springs and pools that appear here and there in the course of a subterranean stream, these documents represent the welling up again of the ancient faith in the basic justice of the universe.

The refreshing stream of love for social justice was never entirely lost from Judaism. It shows itself in different ways at different periods, but it is still present. And that very fact tends to lessen the force of the arguments for a "party of the poor" in the Psalms and apocalypses. As Katz has shown, "the religious principles of justice and righteousness advocated by the prophets were duly and zealously upheld by the scribes and rabbis and by them duly incorporated into the Talmudic codes."[17] The rabbinic interpretations of the Torah were calculated to sharpen and render more effective its provisions for the protection of the poor. They provided legislation on behalf of skilled and unskilled laborers, Jewish and non-Jewish slaves, minors, women, debtors, and tenants, and ordered for each Jewish community a committee to collect and distribute poor-relief, beside enforcing the Old Testament regulations with regard to the gleanings of fields and vineyards and the giving of a tithe every third year to the poor. The rabbis attempted to adjust their standards to developing commerce and industry, but they tried to prevent profiteering and even to exclude the

[17] Mordecai Katz, *Protection of the Weak in the Talmud* (Columbia Univ. Oriental Series, XXIV), New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1925, p. 84.

middleman. They did not protest against economic injustice in the impassioned language of the prophets, but they do show a sincere desire to protect the poor and the helpless from the rapacity of the rich and the strong.

There is still difference of opinion as to the messianic consciousness and the eschatological views of Jesus. But, whatever his method of applying apocalyptic eschatology, there is, I think, no longer any doubt that he used it, there is no longer any ground for serious doubt that he stood in direct succession not only to the Hebrew prophets, but also to the Jewish apocalyptists. He used their language and their ideas. One is almost compelled to believe that at least some of the apocalyptic literature mentioned above was known to him and his hearers. What he says, therefore, must be interpreted in the light of these documents. They in turn must be interpreted in the light of the ancient traditions of Babylon and Egypt as well as of Israel. When one puts together all these multitudinous elements which must enter into the solution of the problem of interpreting Jesus, the preponderance of evidence seems to me to point clearly in one direction. A distinct tradition as to divine justice and protection for the poor and the weak is traceable thru three thousand years of history. Are we to suppose that Jesus suddenly steps aside from it, that he restricts the hope of the poor to even narrower limits than the Jewish apocalyptists had done, that he is less sensitive to social wrong and economic injustice than the patesis of Sumer or the social prophets of Egypt or the rabbis of the Talmud?

Against this larger background some interpretations that have been put upon the Beatitudes are clearly seen to be mistaken. This is certainly true of the 'spiritualizing interpretations,' first and foremost among which stands Matthew's version. It is instructive to discover that C. F. Burney, tho he decides that Matthew usually preserved better than Luke an exact translation of the words of Jesus, concludes that in the first and third Beatitudes the probable rhythm of the Aramaic favors the omission of τῷ πνεύματι and τὴν δικαιοσύνην, with Luke.[18]

[18] *The Poetry of our Lord*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925, pp. 166 f.

Indeed nearly all recent commentators on the Beatitudes agree that Luke represents the original words of Jesus.[19] But many argue that Matthew more correctly reproduces the idea of Jesus, that the word *'aniyyîm* in the long course of Jewish history had gathered connotations which are not represented in simple πτωχός. "It compressed a complicated Hebrew train of thot in a Greek word which would be misunderstood if literally interpreted."[20] This is doubtless true. But πωτχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι translates *'anâwîm*, not *'aniyyîm*, and while the latter means "oppressed poor" by both derivation and usage, is it right to insist that it must always mean the "godly oppressed?" Moreover there is no evidence that Jesus used *'ânî*. Burney prefers *miskên*.[21] In any case the smaller background of the Psalms, which sometimes seem to imply that poverty and piety are identical, must be seen in the light of the wider tradition, common to all the ancient Orient and reflected especially in the prophets, which maintained that God favors the poor not because they are pious but because he loves justice. If they are both poor and pious, so much the better perhaps, but the few who combine both qualities must not be allowed to obscure the much larger number whose only claim on God's thot was the injustice from which they suffered.

To be sure Jesus was not a leader of the proletariat against the economic exploitation of Rome. His basic interest was religious; his remedy for the ills of society was a moral and religious regeneration. He believed that God stood ready to reward humility, teachableness, and aspiration, as the Beatitudes of Matthew insist, but that was not his only theme, as repeated references to the evils of wealth prove. And that was not the

[19] So C. W. Votaw in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. V, pp. 17 f.: Alfred Plummer, *St. Luke* in *International Critical Commentary*, 6 ed., New York: Scribner, 1903, p. 179; C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, London: Macmillan, 1909, Vol. II, p. 477; J. Weiss in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, hersgg. von W. Bousset und W. Heitmüller, 3. Aufl., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1917, Band I, S. 252.

[20] W. C. Allen, *St. Matthew* in *International Critical Commentary*, New York: Scribner, 1907, p. 39.

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 166, following, I suppose, the Syriac versions.

theme of the Beatitudes, if Luke's form best represents the original, and if we may trust the ancient and consistent tradition that is to be discovered in the Near East. Jesus would hardly depart from this tradition so far as to maintain the obvious falsehood that poverty, hunger, and sorrow were happy states, nor would he declare that these conditions, however inescapable for many and however capable of transmutation in the alembic of fortitude and faith, were the necessary and sole preparation for the kingdom of God. Such asceticism does not belong to Judaism or to Jesus. Neither was Jesus addressing himself to a particular sect or group, for none such existed. Still less was he speaking only to his own disciples proclaiming that the kingdom of God belonged to them as poor disciples. Neither in Matthew nor Luke does the context require such a restriction of his audience. Rather he was thinking of that great multitude who thru long generations had waited for the restoration of all things.

In the atmosphere of the ancient Orient with its century-long tradition as to divine justice, the Beatitudes and the complementary Woes of Luke's Gospel are thoroly authentic. They fit easily and completely into the picture. The contacts of Jesus with the rich, Zacchaeus, for example, prove that he did not harbor the class-conscious hatred of the prosperous which stains some of the apocalypses, even as he rose above their narrow particularism. But other passages in the records of both Mark and the Second Source show how strongly he felt as to the evils of wealth. The wrongs and injustices that flowed from the oppression and pride of the rich and powerful must cease when God reigned on earth. Then would come to an end the immemorial injustice which Uru-kagina had attempted to overcome; the oppression and exploitation which the Egyptian moralists had decried and the Hebrew prophets and Jewish apocalyptists had denounced would cease. How far the eschatological elements in Jesus' thot affect the permanent value of his hopes and how his ideals are to be applied to the problems of our civilization are questions that lie beyond the scope of this paper. But in any case our modern 'practical interpretation' of Jesus' sayings must be based upon the 'scientific exegesis'

and clear comprehension of what he actually meant. Toward this the comparison of the ideals of the ancient world makes a distinct contribution.[22]

[22] Julius Boehmer, "Die erste Seligpreisung," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 45 (1926), pp. 298–304, presents a suggestive and satisfactory interpretation of the first beatitude in the form in which the Gospel of Matthew has handed it down, but his arguments do not seem to me to touch the claim of the Lukan form to priority.

ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, MARK 16 8[1]

MORTON S. ENSLIN
CROZER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

FEW tasks are more instructive for the student of history than the tracing of an idea, all but universally held in his day, to its source. One thing he will usually discover: viz., as successive writers treat the subject anew, but not afresh, their effort to avoid plagiarism consists too often merely in deleting the "apparently's," or "possibly's" or "not improbably's." And so ofttimes without a fresh reworking a judgment, originally expressed with caution, becomes the "tested result of criticism." Why the mere fact of repetition should remove doubts is hard to say. Perhaps it is but a reflection of the "*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum, etc.*"

Few better illustrations of this evolution of certainty can be found than in the attitude of scholarship to the so-called "mutilated ending of Mark." Everyone seems to know that the author could not have ended with the words ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. Personally I always feel it a bit rash to state what an author could or could not do, especially if he were writing in what is to us a more or less painfully acquired book-language.

Is not our certainty that the gospel did not originally end as it now does colored by the convincing case against the

[1] Since writing this article my attention has been called to the note εφοβουντο γαρ *Mark XVI 8* by R. R. Ottley in *J. T. S.*, July 1925, pp. 407—409. It need hardly be said that the two are completely independent. I quite disagree with his concluding paragraph in which he expresses his opinion that the imperfect ἐφοβοῦντο is not as "conclusive" as would have been the aorist, *v. infra.*

genuineness of the endings now in existence? One would indeed be rash to question the findings here. On textual and internal grounds alike the present endings must be seen as early attempts to complete the original gospel. But the point often ignored is: what was the fancied need? Was it of form or content?

In a most fair discussion of the problem Hort wrote: "It is incredible that the Evangelist deliberately concluded either a paragraph with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, or the Gospel with a petty detail of a secondary event, leaving his narrative hanging in the air" (p. 46). Both of these points must be considered.

First, that from style. Some time ago while re-reading Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* I discovered that he did not know the prohibition against a final γάρ, for he concluded the first section of Chap. XXXII with the words ἐσταυρώθη γάρ. Interested, I dipped into some other Greek authors. In the LXX it is said of Sarah (Gen. 18 15), ἠρνήσατο δὲ Σάρρα λέγουσα οὐκ ἐγέλασα, ἐφοβήθη γάρ. Not the end of a paragraph, but the end of a sentence. This is a most interesting parallel to the 'impossible' sentence of Mark. Nor is the change of tense (ἐφοβήθη instead of ἐφοβεῖτο) significant as we shall see below. ἐφοβήθη γάρ is the translation of כִּי יָרֵאָה. This same phrase (except that it is masculine) is translated in 1 Chr. 10 4 ὅτι ἐφοβεῖτο. Other examples of final γάρ in the LXX are ἐταράχθησαν γάρ (Gen. 45 3), and καὶ ἐρεῖ οὐ δύναμαι ἀναγνῶναι, ἐσφράγισται γάρ (Is. 29 11).

In the New Testament we find ὑμεῖς φωνεῖτέ με ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος, καὶ καλῶς λέγετε, εἰμὶ γάρ (John 13 13). In Rom. 3 3 and Phil. 1 18 Paul writes τί γάρ;—a phrase by no means uncommon in classic Greek. In the space of nine lines Sophocles uses the phrase three times (*O. C.* 539, 542, 547), while I discovered it as well in Plato (*Theaet.* 209 B) and Menander (*Epitrep.* 44).

In the rapid dialogue of Plato it is hard to discover a page where some sentence does not end with γάρ. A few illustrations of many taken almost at random will suffice: ἱκανῶς γάρ (*Rep.* 502 C); ἦ γάρ (*ib.* 371 B, E; 505 D, *et passim*); ἔχει γάρ (*Phaedr.* 268 A). In the *Institutio Cyri* Xenophon

wrote *ὑμεῖς δ' ἔφη, ὦ Γαδάτα καὶ Γωβρύα, δείκνυτε τὰς ὁδούς· ἴστε γάρ.* (7. 5. 24, Teubner 1877, ed. Dindorf). A brief examination of Menander revealed 3 cases (in addition to the *τί γάρ* mentioned above), in all of which the final *γάρ* was not even in its usual second place. *ἐν ταύτῃ περιφέρεις γάρ* (*Epitrep.* 147); *καὶ σὺ γάρ* (*Samia* 233), *σοὶ λαλῶ, ἧττον μεθύεις γάρ* (*Perikeir.* 221). And the casual nature of my search convinces me that I happened upon but a few.[2]

To be sure only the example from Justin closed a formal section, though all concluded sentences, and several of them paragraphs in dialogue. It is interesting to observe that no less a writer than Plato ended not only what is now a chapter (*Rep.* V. *cap.* VI, p. 457 B) but also Book V itself (480 A) with the phrase *παντάπασι μὲν οὖν*. Is it so much more elegant to end a book with *οὖν* than with *γάρ*?

But it is often objected, that not only the *γάρ* but the *ἐφοβοῦντο* is strange; that the sentence is not really concluded, for *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* should not mean "for they were afraid," but "for they were afraid of" with an expected object. This objection is not valid. Aside from the passage under discussion forms of *φοβέομαι* occur 11 times in Mark. In 5 of these it is used absolutely, i. e. with no complement such as object, infinitive, clause, or phrase. These may be listed:

5 15 *θεωροῦσιν τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον καθήμενον . . . καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν.*
5 33 *ἡ δὲ γυνὴ φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τρέμουσα . . . ἦλθεν.*
5 36 *μὴ φόβου μόνον πίστευε.*
6 50 *ἐγώ εἰμι μὴ φοβεῖσθε.*
10 32 *οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο.*

The remaining 6 occurrences are as follows:

(1) with cognate accusative *once,* 4 41,
(2) with other direct object *4 times,* 6 20; 11 18, 32; 12 12,
(3) with complementary infinitive *once,* 9 32.

[2] Since writing this paragraph I opened the *Republic* at random and discovered 6 cases on the two opened pages; cf. also the additional illustrations listed by Ottley, *op. cit.*

No example of the so-called Hebraism, i. e. φοβέομαι + ἀπό, occurs in Mark. This, however, is not such weighty proof of the Greek origin of the gospel as might be imagined, for of the 426 cases where forms of φοβέομαι occur in the LXX only 42, if my hasty counting was accurate, are followed by ἀπό. No example of the complementary clause introduced by μή or μή πως occurs.[3]

In the light of this the objection that ἐφοβοῦντο must originally have had an object collapses, especially in the light of 10 32 and numerous examples from the LXX. In 10 32 ἐφοβοῦντο occurs without an object, while in 11 18 it takes the object αὐτόν. The LXX provides numerous cases evidencing with what indifference the two constructions were used.

Again the change from imperfect to aorist is of no consequence in this matter. ἐφοβήθησαν is used absolutely in 5 15, but with the object τὸν ὄχλον in 12 12. The same thing occurs in the LXX, e. g. (1) ἐφοβήθη γάρ (without object, Gen. 18 15); (2) ἐφοβήθη Δανεὶδ τὸν Θεόν (1 Chr. 13 12).

The result of this phase of the study would seem to justify a word of caution. In the light of the freedom that masters of Greek style such as Plato and the poets exercised, it is perhaps unwise for us to be too certain as to what a man who really knew Greek could or could not do. Again, in the light of the many places in Mark that seem rough to us,—only 4 verses before our case he had been satisfied with ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα[4]—need we feel that on purely literary grounds ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ would have offended his ear?

It should also be noted that what is perhaps not the most elegant of Greek idiom, may yet if it is passable Greek

[3] In the light of this fact Streeter's comment (*The Four Gospels*, p. 337) seems a bit rash: "Indeed, the words ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ in Greek may not even be the end of a sentence; they lead us to expect a clause beginning with μή, 'They were afraid lest they be thought mad,' or something to that effect."

[4] Nor is this exceptional. Mark is very fond of concluding a statement with a brief clause introduced by γάρ. E. g. ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλεεῖς (1 16); ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη (3 21); ἐκφοβοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο (9 6); ἦν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα πολλά (10 22); καὶ γὰρ Γαλιλαῖος εἶ (14 70). Cf. also 1 22; 5 28; 6 14; and especially 16 4.

represent a perfectly good Aramaic equivalent. Without desiring to discuss the question of an Aramaic original (which nevertheless seems to me far more probable than the pronouncements of many would indicate), it is perhaps worth while to ask how a literal translator of the Aramaic equivalent of כִּי יָרְאוּ[5] would have avoided ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. This point may not be without value to Aramaic students, and would perhaps strengthen the case for these words being final; but it is to be remarked that the instances cited from writers certainly not translating from a Semitic original are unaffected by the verdict of the professional Aramaists on this question.

One further point with regard to the literary problem remains. It should be observed that if our gospel is mutilated, whatever may have been the cause, the final γάρ does not seem to have caused any disturbance. Horrid indeed must have been the heresy of the next word if the critic hewed it away though his soul was sore within him at the resultant final γάρ. To assume that a page ended with this phrase demands that the one who suppressed the last page felt that the result was intelligible Greek and a tolerable ending. Finally, when attempts were made to complete the gospel there is no evidence that any effort was made to smooth out the barbarism of a γάρ concluding a paragraph. Accordingly on purely stylistic grounds it is most unwise to assert that the gospel could not have ended as it does now.

With regard to the second part of Hort's statement, viz., concerning Mark's ending his gospel "with a petty detail of a secondary event, leaving his narrative hanging in the air," I am not attempting any exhaustive discussion. My interest was chiefly concerned with the question of form. But one or two observations may not be out of place.

Would this ending be any more abrupt than the beginning? May not the feeling of some early Christians—and of us too—that the account is incomplete be due to familiarity with the resurrection appearances as told in the other gospels?

[5] Perhaps אֲרֵי דְּחִילִן.

Other accounts in Mark seemed incomplete to later Christians, and they amplified them. This, however, does not affect the fact that for Mark they were not incomplete. The case of the relation of John and Jesus at the baptism, or the attitude of Jesus toward Peter at the famous confession near Caesarea Philippi are instructive.

The plausibility of this suggestion is heightened by the fact that the so-called longer conclusion is hardly more than a catena of passages from Matthew, Luke, and John. With the fondness that Mark shows for ending an incident with an explanatory phrase it may not have seemed to him that he ended with a petty detail or left his narrative hanging in the air. On the contrary 16 1–8 makes an admirable climax for the sketch of the critical period of Jesus' life, during which he labored amid ever-increasing difficulties which resulted in his death. But short though the conclusion is it definitely states the triumph of Jesus' opponents was only temporary, and that God's power had been vindicated (v. 6). The words of v. 7 *προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε, καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν* are often cited as conclusive proof that a statement of Galilee appearances—perhaps akin to those of Matthew or of the appendix to John—originally followed. Need the words, however, be more than an echo of 14 28 *ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*? From his sources, or elsewhere, he had learned of appearances in Galilee, but either because his information was limited or through choice he did not give it in detail, but merely referred to it in this intriguing way. Nor is this bare reference any more difficult than the cryptic phrase in Luke 24 34 *ἠγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὤφθη Σίμωνι.*

If these suggestions be discounted and it be held that the gospel did have a different ending, one needs try to find a tolerable explanation of the excision. Suggestions that the author came to the end of his roll prematurely, or stopped with the intention of writing Volume II a little later, or fell sick ere he finished are too ridiculous for consideration. Nor is the view tenable that a last sheet was lost. The only possible justification for such a view would be that the sheet

was lost at so early a date that not only had it never been copied, but that no one was sufficiently familiar with the writing to restore it from memory.

The usual argument is that the ending was intentionally deleted because it was offensive to certain Christians. There is more plausibility to this argument, yet it is by no means completely satisfactory. It would require a tremendously early date for this act of vandalism to account for no vestige of the early ending being preserved anywhere. And it would require an extraordinary unanimity of thought on the part of the Christians familiar with the book to see them all acquiescing without a single discordant voice. Surely this was not the case when Marcion a few years later deleted the books he accepted, or when Serapion sought to suppress the Gospel of Peter after his trip to Rhossus. These acts of censorship may be performed with ease in theory; in practice the matter is somewhat more difficult. If any one thing is clear from our knowledge of our early brethren, it is that unanimity of opinion was not one of their conspicuous virtues.

I am not trying to prove that the gospel could not—or for that matter did not—end differently. My object has been to point out how tenuous the evidence is, and that one of the sheet anchors (to introduce a figure) has never grappled bottom.

SOME ARAMAISMS IN THE GOSPELS AND ACTS.[1]

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

MT. 1 19: 'Joseph her husband being *δίκαιος* and not willing to make an example of her.' It is to be objected against the usual translation of *δ.* as 'righteous' that the husband *qua* righteous should have made an example of his erring wife. But the term means, after its later peculiar development, 'kind, merciful, benevolent'; cf. 𝔊 *ἔλεος* = צדקה, and s. Skinner, *DB* 4, 281 b, Ropes, *JBL* 1903, 216 ff., both of whom give other references. Note also Arabic *ṣadīḳ* 'true friend.' Translate therefore: 'Joseph being a kind man.'

Mt. 21 41: *κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς.* I had diagnosed the first two words as = Syr. ביש ביש 'very ill,' and so I find all the Syr. VSS translating, through their divination of the true background of the Greek idiom. Possibly original *κακῶς κακῶς* as barbarous was early changed to the present form.

Mk. 1 24: Variant text between *οἶδα* and *οἴδαμεν.* The latter may be based on reading of ידע(א)נא as ידענא; cf. בעינא Dan. 2 33, translated by Θ with *ἠξιώσαμεν*, but by 𝔊 with *ἠξίωσα.*

Mk. 1 43: *ἐμβριμησάμενος* = Mt. 9 30. A case of the exaggerated translation of the original verb, which was probably כאא with sense 'bid one shut up.' The same verb lies behind *ἐπιτιμᾶν* at 8 30, 32, 33, where the Standard Version translates 1° with 'charge,' 2° and 3° with 'rebuke.' (In the first case it is an injunction of silence about Jesus' Messiahship, not a rebuke of the claim.) The Syriac translators translate both verbs with

[1] In presenting these few notes the writer takes pleasure in acknowledging his great indebtedness to Professor Torrey's several distinguished contributions to the general subject.

כאא. The difficulty of ἐπιτιμᾶν was felt by one tradition of text of Mt. 16 20, which replaced it with διαστέλλειν.

Mk. 4 8, 20: WH reads εἰς τριάκοντα κ. ἐν ἑξήκοντα κ. ἐν ἑκατόν, with variants in marg. proposing εἰς or ἕν throughout. At v. 20 WH reads ἐν . . . [ἐν] . . . [ἐν] . . ., with marg. variant ἓν in all three cases. Of the VSS OLat. and 𝔓 read ἕν, *unum*, consistently in both citations. In the first case there is required either εις or εν throughout, like the consistent εν in the second. These variations of tradition indicate that the idiom of the original text in the repeated passage was not immediately sensible, however plausibly we may explain any one of the several readings. I would propose that in the original Aramaic there was the multiplicative expression known in the BAram., Dan. 3 19, 'one seven' = seven times. (For the continuance of this idiom in later Aram., I note its occurrence in the Syr. to Dan. 11 8, 13.) This would equally explain both εις and εν as = Aram. חד, the former possibly having been original in v. 8.

Mk. 6 8: παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδὲν αἴρωσιν . . . ἀλλὰ ὑποδεδεμένους σανδάλια, κ. μὴ ἐνδύσασθαι δύο χιτῶνας. In this case of syncretism of construction the second clause is the easily recognized nominal participial clause of the Semitic. In the third is the resolution of the finite construction into the infinitive, common in late Heb. and Aram.; cf. Dan. 2 16, 5 15, and the interplay of these constructions in Dan. 1 5, 2 17 f.

Mk. 6 48: ἤθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς. The sense is fairly well met by AV, 'he would have passed by them,' or better 'he was for passing by them'; but θέλειν hardly has this meaning. The original verb is to be found in בעא, used in Targ. to Jonah 1 4, where the interesting Heb. idiom האניה חִשְּׁבָה להשבר 'the ship calculated to break up' is translated with אלפא בעיא לאתברא, 'the ship was seeking to break up.'

Mk. 8 24: βλέπω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅτι ὡς δένδρα ὁρῶ περιπατοῦντας. The sense is perfectly clear: 'I see men walking like trees.' The original idiom is evident from the Syr. here, 'I see men as trees that [they are] walking,' or as it might also be put, 'I see men that as trees [they are] walking.' The verb ὁρῶ appears to have been introduced to give construction to the bald participle of the original.

Mk. 9 15: 'All the multitude seeing him ἐξεθαμβήθησαν. We are naturally puzzled by a verb which means 'were scared.' And the same verb is used of the Lord's anguish in the Garden, 14 33, along with ἀδημονεῖν. It is a case of translation of some Semitic psychological term with several shades of meaning. Thus the usually very strong root שמם has in Dan. 4 22 (19) the mere sense of being 'embarrassed.' (Cf. the French development in 'désolé'.) I suggest that the original Aram. was תוה or תמה, used here in the sense of being 'surprised,' and that ἐκθαμβεῖν was chosen for its assonance with the Sem. root, as frequently in the Gr. translations.

Mk. 12 6: ἔτι ἕνα εἶχεν, υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν. The Standard Version's translation, 'he had yet one, a beloved son' is literal but clumsy, correcting the AV, which treats ἕνα as an indefinite article. The numeral doubtless represents the Heb. and Aram. יחיד, with its Gr. translation μονογενής for the only son or daughter (e. g. Jud. 11 34), even as in the Syr. VSS of the Gospels the same word is used to translate the Johannine μονογενής, epithet of the Lord, the Sem. background of which is necessary to the exegesis of it. The original form may have been את הוא לה יחיד ידיד. The translator nicely separated the two appositives, or else the numeral would have been taken as merely the indefinite article.

Mk. 15 22: Γολγοθὰν τόπον. The appositive τ. has given trouble; s. a long discussion on it by Vincent, in his *Jérusalem*, 2, 92 f. It is simply the Aramaic אתרא 'place' used after placenames. See a discussion of the term in my monograph, *Origin of the Gospel According to St. John*, 1923, 15.

Lu. 12 20: Ἄφρων, ταυτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχήν σου αἰτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σού. The indefinite pl. act. (*n. b.* also the present tense) is the construction common in BAram. in place of the passive; e. g. notably Dan. 4 22, 'with the dew of heaven they (will) wet thee,' לך מצבעין. There is no need therefore with some to postulate here avenging angels or demons as subject.

Jn. 4 6; 13 25: 'Jesus was sitting so (οὕτως) by the well;' 13 25 'He reclining so (οὕτως) upon Jesus' breast.' The adverb has always given trouble. Cf. a mere suggestion of mine in the monograph on St. John, p. 21, where I proposed that it =

Aram. כדו (*kadû*) in the sense, 'as he was.' But in reading the 14th century text of the Life of Mar Yaballaha III (ed. Bedjan, 1895), I have come upon another sense of *kadû* which might be applicable here. There, always with the conj., *lâ wĕkadû* frequently appears in adversative clauses as 'not only,' opposed to *'ella* 'but also;' and this idiom is noticed by Payne Smith, *Thes.*, *s. v.* But I find an instance in Mar Yaballaha where *kadû* is used absolutely, as 'only,' p. 105, l. 5 *ab inf.*: 'Two questions he asked him, Whence art thou, and, What is thy name, only (*wĕkadû*).'' Now this sense of 'only, alone' would capitally suit the Gospel cases: Jesus sitting *alone* by the well, the disciple reclining *alone* upon Jesus' breast. The particle will then have developed from the sense of 'just as it is' to 'only so.' The chief objection to this explanation would be that the Syriac example is taken from a late document. I may notice the similar Arabic vocable *faḳaṭ*, used also at the end of the phrase in the sense 'only' and 'alone.'

Acts 5 4: *οὐχὶ μένον σοὶ ἔμενεν καὶ πραθὲν ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ὑπῆρχεν*; I am inclined to think that in this perplexing passage *μένον* represents an abs. inf. in the original, i. e. לא מהוא הוא לך (הוא often = *μένειν*), the abs. inf. appearing abundantly in early Syriac literature. The meaning appears to be: 'Did it not remain yours and even when sold continue in your power?'. By some kind of casuistry, comparable with the process with the *ḳurbân*, the guilty pair tried to evade the communistic appropriation of their real estate by turning it into cash.

Acts 5 12: *διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγίνετο*. The prepositional phrase probably represents ביד = 'through,' *per*, and does not involve physical contact.

Acts 6 5: *ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους*. The idiom is that in Dan. 6 2 (1) שפר קדם דריוש, and Θ translates as here.

Acts 9 19: *ἐγένετο μετὰ τῶν . . . μαθητῶν ἡμέρας τινάς*. I. e., he 'remained with them.' The nuance is different from Lu. 2 13, 'there came to be with the angel.' *γίνεσθαι* here translates הוא; s. note on 5 4.

Acts 10 3: *ὡσεὶ περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην*. Why *about* the ninth hour? Time, *per se*, was not taken in those watchless days. Now the

ninth hour was significant in the case of both Cornelius' and Peter's prayers because it was the great prayer-time of the day ('the time of the evening oblation' Dan. 9 21); and in 10 30 we have the exact ritual expression, *τὴν ἐνάτην προσευχόμενος*, 'praying the nine o'clock prayers.' And so in our verse we expect time *at which*. The original had evidently this, expressing it after common Heb. and Aram. use with כ, the very prep. which is found in the passage cited from Dan., which most translators erroneously render 'about.' And so Θ translates there, *ὡσεὶ ὥραν θυσίας ἑσπερινῆς*, even as our translator renders here with *ὡσεὶ περί*.

Acts 13 39; *ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε . . . δικαιωθῆναι . . . πᾶς . . . δικαιοῦται*. The clumsy relative clause is cleared up if we take *ὧν* as representing the indefinite relative conjunction דִּי (and so אשר in Heb.), *anglice*, 'and from all things, as you could not be justified in the law of M., every one is justified.'

Acts 15 27: *ἀναγγέλλοντας*. Ppl. with future sense, as common in Aram., and so e. g., 2 47 *τοὺς σωζομένους*. Cf. my monograph on St. John, p. 18, and add to instances cited there Jn. 13 11, *τὸν παραδίδοντα αὐτόν*.

I may add here a note on a Gr. verb in Acts 13 48: *ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*. Translators and commentators have felt bound to stick to the usual meaning of *τάσσειν* 'order,' and so 𝔙 with a theological touch, *praeordinati*, followed with a fortunate amelioration by the EVV 'ordained.' But *τάσσειν* appears as the translation of רשם 'inscribe, sign' in Θ to Dan. 6 13 (12), and that it is not an error is evident from its repetition in a Hexaplaric plus in the same verse, e. g. in Cod. A. We have here some Hellenistic use of *τάσσειν*, doubtless with *ἐντάσσειν* 'register' (e. g. Θ Dan. 5 24) in mind. Translate here, as we might expect, 'those who were registered for eternal life;' cf. Dan. 12 1; Phil. 4 3; Rev. 13 8, etc.

EVIDENCE FOR THE MARTYRDOM OF PETER AND PAUL IN ROME

F. J. FOAKES JACKSON
UNION THELOGICAL SEMINARY

THE questions as to whether Peter and Paul were martyred together in the city of Rome, in what sense they can be said to have founded the church there, and whether Peter ever visited Rome are for many reasons highly controversial. Indeed they may be said to be battlegrounds on which the great debate on the authority of the Roman see has been repeatedly fought. But the purpose of this paper is in no sense controversial, its object being to raise the point as to the comparative value of tradition and documentary evidence, and my reason for selecting so dangerous a topic is that it is exceptionally useful because the voice of tradition is well nigh unanimous, and the evidence itself exceptionally weak.

By the close of the second century these were accepted facts. (1) that Peter and Paul had founded the church of Rome and made Linus its first bishop. This is the statement of Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, an Asiatic who had visited Rome. If he, as is supposed, was in Rome at the time of the martyrdom of Polycarp, i. e. the middle of the second century, his information must have been due to a much earlier belief. This tradition must consequently be admitted as good. (2) A little later the tombs of Peter on the Vatican and of Paul on the Ostian way were shown to visitors to Rome. This we learn from Eusebius on the authority of Gaius, who may possibly be Hippolytus. (3) That Peter was at Rome, and that Mark embodied his teaching in his Gospel. This, as is well

known, is the testimony of Clement of Alexandria. (4) That Peter was crucified and Paul beheaded as Tertullian records. (5) That Peter was, according to Origen who visited Rome, crucified head downwards. Admitting that the tradition is satisfactory, we may acknowledge that it was regarded as an accepted fact that Peter and Paul had founded the Roman church, that they had both been crowned with Martyrdom, and that their tombs were believed to be outside the City. And not only so; but no other place has laid claim to be the scene of the sufferings of the great Apostles. As this was the belief of the Christian church in most parts of the world at the close of the second century, there is no need to discuss any later testimony. It must further be conceded that these beliefs were not new at the time they were received.

Granted, however, that the tradition is a good one, we may now proceed to trace it backward from Irenaeus and see how far it can be substantiated by the documentary evidence at our disposal.

The widespread and popular belief was that Peter went to Rome to refute Simon Magus, the first enemy of the Faith, who had endeavoured to corrupt it by his own claim to divinity, and to pervert it into a gnostic system. Every writer against Gnosticism singled out Simon for special refutation, not only because he is mentioned in Acts, but as the most dangerous of heretics. Any one who had even a hearsay knowledge of Peter's refutation of Simon at Rome would be sure to mention it. Yet Justin Martyr, who tells of the statue of Simon (i. e. the god Semo Sancus) which he had seen at Rome, says nothing of his encounter with Peter, nor does Irenaeus, who obviously copied Justin, and probably had his lost work on heresies before him.

From Justin Martyr we may go back a generation or so to Ignatius who, like Justin, suffered in Rome. The most learned students of church history have regarded his statement in the letter to the Romans as a proof that Peter was at Rome. But let us recall the exact words. They are not easy to translate and the whole letter is entirely rhetorical. Noble as is the writers yearning to lay down his life for his

Lord, it must be admitted that his zeal is expressed in the turgid words of unrestrained enthusiasm. Ignatius fears that the mistaken zeal of the Roman church may by their intercession deprive him of the glory of martyrdom. They must not save his life by any "unseasonable kindness," they must rather entice the beasts to consume him. Let them become his tomb, etc.

> I do not lay any command on you as a Peter or a Paul. They were Apostles, I am a condemned criminal. They were free, thus far I am but a slave. But if I suffer I shall be the freedman of Jesus Christ.

This is taken as evidence to prove that Ignatius believed that the Romans must have known that Peter und Paul were at Rome and were martyrs there, or he would not have mentioned them. But of whom else could he have spoken? He himself was going to be a conspicuous martyr. Throughout his long journey he had been respectfully received by the churches. The authorities had singled him out to testify openly to Christ at Rome; even his own church at Antioch had been left unmolested when he was removed. Well may he have warned his friends at Rome that he was not able to speak as the two greatest apostles of whom all the Christian world had heard. And mark, he does not say "Peter and Paul, who, as I am about to do, suffered in your city." Surely it is straining the point to maintain that this is evidence.

Then we come to the so called first epistle of Clement which is popularly attributed to this father, but is written in the name of the Roman church. Here we need to question neither the genuineness nor the date. We may assume that it belongs to the age of the so called Domitian persecution and was therefore written to the Corinthians before A. D. 96. But granting this, does it prove any more than the statement of Ignatius that both Peter and Paul died the death of Martyrs at Rome? The letter, if less turgid in style than that of Ignatius, is as rhetorical. The writers are warning their correspondents against a faction whose jealousy is ruining their church. They are heaping up examples of the harm it has done. The factious spirit of jealousy has overthrown cities and uprooted nations. In the Old Testament 'jealousy' caused

all the troubles of the righteous. Abel, Jacob, Moses all suffered because of the jealousy of others. Aaron and Miriam, Dathan and Abiram were punished for indulging in this sin. David endured not only the jealousy of strangers but of Saul. Peter and Paul were the victims of 'jealousy'.

> On account of unholy jealousy Peter did not endure one nor two, but many trials, and passed as a martyr (*μαρτυρήσας*) to the place of glory as his due.

Notice the vagueness of the language. There is no hint as to how Peter suffered or where; and it is quite possible the Romans did not know. Of Paul the letter is more explicit. He was seven times in bonds; he was stoned; he became a herald of the Gospel in East and West; in the utmost limits of the West he gave his testimony before rulers and passed from the world—the great example of patient long suffering. The letter shows a knowledge of Paul and of his Epistles, and yet is vague as to the place of his death. Taken literally it might imply that he suffered in Spain! But we know Paul went to Rome: and it is most likely he was martyred there; for, whether the Pastoral Epistles are his or not, II. Timothy antedates I. Clement, and was accepted as by Paul very early. Yet the testimony of this letter, which may be regarded as the last testament of Paul, makes it more difficult than ever to prove that Peter and Paul ever met in the imperial city. Of Paul's silence in his undoubted epistles nothing need here be said.

Lastly, there is the testimony of archaeology; and here almost every one follows Lanciani, who declares that the testimony of the catacombs conclusively proves that Peter visited Rome but produces no real evidence of the fact. He goes in truth just as far as this paper goes and no further, by proving that before the second century had closed the entire Christian world admitted that the church of Rome was the foundation of SS. Peter and Paul.

Thus we find side by side the strength of tradition and the weakness of the evidence. Are we to reject the general belief of the Christian world held since, say, AD 150 or earlier? One thing is certain, the tradition is not the result of Roman

ambition. Irenaeus, Dionysius of Corinth, Hegesippus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen are all foreigners. The two Roman names, Gaius and Hippolytus, are somewhat shadowy—even Eusebius did not know where Hippolytus' see was. As for Clement, his so called epistle was hardly noticed by the Roman church, but was highly honoured in the East. The Clement of legend came from Rome, it is true, but he was with Peter in Syria. The same obscurity hangs over the whole history of the Roman church. What we know of any of its bishops down to the peace of the church is from outside. Not one martyr's name in the Neronian or Domitian persecution is known, and few indeed before the days of Decius, 251. How the church rose to power is as doubtful, as that it did attain to a supremacy is certain. Yet the catacombs bear witness to the extent and even the high social position of Roman Christianity. That Peter and Paul jointly founded the church is well nigh incredible: that they appointed a man so little known as Linus is from his very obscurity highly probable. That Peter never went to Rome was asserted even in the uncritical days of the fourteenth century. But there is an epigram which may be even earlier. In the days when offices were bought and sold, some one wrote:

> An Petrus Romae fuerit sub iudice lis est,
> Simonem Romae nemo fuisse negat.
>
> Peter ne'er was at Rome there are some who declare,
> But no one denies that a Simon (sc. Magus?) was there.

A COMPARISON OF SOME FEATURES OF HEBREW AND BABYLONIAN RITUAL

GEORGE A. BARTON
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

HOWEVER varied and manifold the religious ideas of early men may be, there is a considerable element that is substantially the same in all the early religions of the world. This common element is naturally larger in peoples that have, at least in part, a common ancestry. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to some features common to the sacrificial ritual of the Hebrews and the Babylonians—features that were developed differently among the two peoples, but which, if not derived from the influences of a common ancestry, indicate a similar psychological reaction to the facts of life.

The features which will be especially compared are: the idea that sacrifice was food offered to the gods: that the materials offered were those which constituted the food of the worshippers: that certain portions of these sacrifices were thought to act in some mysterious way to protect the worshipper from violations of taboo, conscious or unconscious: that other portions of them were apportioned to the priests and became the substance of their living: and that in both countries a feature of the sacrifice was the "waving" or "heaving" of parts of the sacrifice as an important part of the ritual. This corresponded in form to the "Elevation of the Host" in Christian ritual. While we can trace it in Babylonia, we cannot trace its details as clearly as in the Old Testament.

The Hebrew sources of information for our study are the various strata of the Priestly Law in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. It is not necessary for our present purpose to

distinguish between the different strata of this ritual. For the Babylonian ritual we have no such body of codified regulations; for the various rituals for the casting out of demons, although they afford some interesting illustrative material, hardly belong to legitimate temple worship. We have, nevertheless, in the historical inscriptions of four early Babylonian monarchs descriptions of sacrifices and of sacrificial material which afford some basis of comparison. It will be convenient first to adduce evidence to show that both people regarded sacrifice as food, and that they each had a sin-offering, and after that review in some detail certain great Hebrew ritual regulations, and then some Babylonian regulations and sacrificial provisions.

That Hebrews had regarded sacrifice as food offered to God is made evident by the language of the 50th Psalm. The author of this Psalm had outgrown the view, but many of his contemporaries had not and he sought by means of irony to make them see the absurdity of their belief. He represents God as saying:

> "If I were hungry, I would not tell thee;
> For the world is mine, and the fullness thereof.
> Will I eat the flesh of bulls,
> Or drink the blood of goats?
> Offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving;
> And pay thy vows unto the Most High;
> And call upon me in the day of trouble:
> I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."

As one does not employ sarcasm against bootleggers where bootleggers are unknown, so the irony of this passage is a guarantee of the fact that Hebrew thought had passed through a stage in which sacrifice was regarded as food given to God to supply his needs. This view of sacrifices has left other traces on the pages of the Old Testament. It underlies the phrase employed in connection with sacrifices, "Yahweh smelled the sweet savor" or "odor,"[1] which we find in Gen. 8 21 in connection with the sacrifice of Noah, and which is found in a large number

[1] Yahweh, now regarded as too spiritual actually to eat flesh, was thought to inhale his portion as an odor.

of sacrifices in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. The idea also underlies the statement in Ex. 24 10, 11, "They"—Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy elders—"saw God and ate and drank." All this is well known. W. Robertson Smith and Professor Toy called attention to these facts forty years ago.

That the same conception existed among the early Babylonians is clear from the following passage in Eannatum's Stele of the Vultures; *dutu lugal-zal-sig-ga-ka ara^{ki} ê-bàr-bàr ninda-gud-šù an-kú dutu lug[al]-mu-[ra]*: "Utu"—i. e., the sun-god—"king of abundant brilliance, at Larsa, in Ebarbar, with a captured bullock I fed.—For Utu, my king." The last phrase is probably a ritual phrase pronounced over the beast. The identity of this conception of sacrifice with the Hebrew conception set forth above needs no demonstration. It is in much cruder form than the Hebrew, but it comes from a much earlier time—about 3000 B. C. Similarly Gudea, after describing in Cylinder B the food which he collected in the newly rebuilt temple of Eninnu, calls it *gar kú dingir-ri-ne-kam*, "food for the eating of the gods." This same view, though not so definitely expressed, underlies the presentation of large quantities of food to deities by other Babylonian rulers, of which mention will be made later.

The daily sacrifices of the Israelites consisted of food materials: bullocks, rams, lambs, and goats with fine flour mingled with oil. At the Passover a lamb was offered, $^3/_{10}$ of an Ephah of fine flour mingled with oil, and $^1/_4$ of a hin of wine (Lev. 23 10 11). A later addition to the Priests' Code (Nu. 28) provides that every day of the seven-day festival two young bullocks, one ram, and seven male yearling lambs, with their meal-offerings of fine flour mingled with oil, shall be offered (Nu. 28 16–24). At the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost the offering according to Lev. 23 15–21 was 2 loaves containing a certain quantity of flour, 7 yearling he-lambs, a bullock and 2 rams with their meal offerings and drink-offerings of wine (Lev. 23 17, 18). In Nu. 28 27 this law is changed to 2 bullocks, one ram, and 7 he-lambs. The sacrifices for the Feast of Succoth in the seventh month are not definitely specified in Lev. 23, but the supplementary law of Nu. 29 elaborately supplies the deficiency. Preceding the Feast there were two

holy assemblies, one on the 1st of the month and the other on the 10th, at each of which the offering was 1 bullock, 1 ram, and 7 yearling he-lambs. During the Feast itself, which lasted 7 days and began on the 15th day of the month, the sacrifices were as follows: on the first day 13 bullocks, 2 rams and 14 yearling he-lambs with their meal-offerings. On the second day 12 bullocks and the same number of rams and lambs as before. Each succeeding day of the Feast the number of bullocks was diminished by one until, on the 7th day of the Feast, only 7 bullocks were offered, the number of rams and lambs remaining constant throughout. On the 18th day one bullock, one ram, and 7 yearling he-lambs were offered, this being the ordinary daily offering. All these offerings consisted of food such as the worshippers enjoyed.

In addition to these there were other offerings. Every morning and evening a lamb was slaughtered and burned. This was the עֹלָה or ascending-offering, translated burnt-offering. It was consumed by fire and ascended as smoke. Along with it an offering of fine flour mingled with oil was also burned (cf. Nu. 28 1–10).

Still in addition to all these was the sin- or trespass-offering. This was originally an offering to placate the deity for the conscious or unconscious violation of taboo, as is made clear by the fifth chapter of Leviticus. It was then called אָשָׁם (Lev. 7 1). Later it was connected with more moral delinquencies and the name was changed to חַטָּאת (so throughout Nu. 28 and 29). The transition can be traced in Leviticus 4 and 5, where the verbs אָשַׁם and חָטָא are employed as synonyms. The materials for this offering varied according to the status, nature, and wealth of the perpetrator of the deed, and in some respects as time passed were apparently modified, when the sinner was the whole congregation, but in every instance the offering was an animal that could be eaten. Thus for the violation of a taboo, whether by an individual or the whole congregation, the offering was at first a bullock (Lev. 4 3, 4, 14); later the offering became in the case of a נָשִׂיא (prince, or wealthy man) a he-goat (Lev. 4 22ff.); in the case of a common man, a she-goat (Lev. 4 27ff.); and for a poor person, two turtle-doves or two

young pigeons (Lev. 5 6ff.). In the later legislation of Nu. 28 and 29 a sin-offering is to be offered on each especially holy day in addition to the offerings prescribed for that day and, although the offering is apparently made in behalf of the entire assembly, it consists, according to this legislation, uniformly of a he-goat (see Nu. 28 15, 30 and 29 4, 11, 18, 20, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38).

Still another offering was the שְׁלָמִים (regularly used in the plural), the object of which appears to have been to re-establish friendly relations with the deity, when these were known to have been sundered, or fear was entertained that they might have been interrupted; this sacrifice also commemorated victories, the consecration of kings and sanctuaries, and the re-establishment of peace. Thus Joshua offered שלמים or peace-offerings after the victory at Ai (Josh. 8 31). This sacrifice was offered when Israel had nearly wiped out the tribe of Benjamin (Jud. 20 26), and again when they decided to make peace with that tribe (Jud. 21 4). It was offered when Saul was consecrated king (1 Sam. 10 8; 11 15); when David brought the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6 17), and when he consecrated to Yahweh the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite (2 Sam. 24 25); and Solomon offered it when consecrated king at Gibeon (1 Kgs. 3 15), when he consecrated the Temple (1 Kgs. 8 63), and ordained that it should be offered thrice each year (1 Kgs. 9 25). It was also a part of the ritual by which a vow was discharged (Nu. 6 14). The offerings consisted of oxen (שׁוֹרִים), rams, or goats, together with a bloodless offering of unleavened cakes mingled with oil and fine flour (Lev. 9 18; 7 12, 13). The fat of the שלמים was burned (Lev. 7 22ff.), but the flesh eaten. The regular rule was that the flesh should be eaten the day it was offered (Lev. 7 15); it might, however, be eaten on the second day, but, if any of it remained until the third day, it had to be burned (Lev. 7 16, 17). This sacrifice, then, was clearly commensal.

Further, when priests were consecrated there was a special sacrifice, which consisted of a bullock, two rams, and bread with unleavened cakes mingled with oil, and wafers unleavened, anointed with oil (Ex. 29 1, 2). In connection with vows, there were two kinds of sacrifice. A man under a vow bound himself to observe various taboos: he must drink no wine, eat no grapes

in any form, let his hair remain uncut, and keep clear of all contact with a dead body. If by accidental contact with any dead thing he violated a taboo, he must offer two turtle doves or two young pigeons, and bring a yearling male lamb for an אָשָׁם, and shall begin again the period he had vowed to observe the taboos. When the period of the vow had been successfully discharged, he was required to offer a yearling male lamb as an עֹלָה, a yearling ewe as a חַטָּאת, and a ram as a שְׁלָמִים. This last was accompanied with unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, wafers anointed with oil, and drink-offerings, presumably of wine (see Nu. 6 9–12, 13–15). Once more, when a woman was suspected of infidelity to her husband, she brought an offering of $^1/_{10}$ ephah of barley meal as an offering with which the sacred instrument which constituted her ordeal was to be prepared (Nu. 5 15).

In the period when Hebrew ritual was fully developed, the priests offered these sacrifices, and as a reward for their services received a portion of certain offerings. These constituted their living, or, at least, a portion of it. In the case of the אָשָׁם the fat, the tail, the fat on the inwards, the kidneys, caul, and liver were burned; the rest, together with the accompanying bread and oil offering, the priests ate (Lev. 7 6–10). In case of a שְׁלָמִים, the priest had the breast and the right thigh (Lev. 7 30–34). Similarly, when priests were consecrated, the priests had the breast and the thigh as well as the flesh of the ram, together with the bread-offering (Lev. 7 26–32). Also, when the Nazarite discharged his vow, the priest had a boiled shoulder, the "wave-breast" and the "heave-thigh" as his portion. Apparently all of the meal offering brought by a woman suspected of adultery, except what was sprinkled on the water that she was made to drink and a handful that was burned on the altar, became the priest's.

In connection with these portions which the priests received the laws enjoin one interesting bit of ritual—they are to be "waved" (הֲנִיף from נוּף "shake to and fro") or "heaved" (הוּרַם, the Hophal of רוּם, "be high"). This interesting bit of ritual, analogous to the elevation of the Host and the presentation of offerings, can be traced in Babylonia, as we shall see.

Another interesting bit of Hebrew ritual consisted in placing on a table before the symbol of Yahweh a number of loaves of bread. These were called לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים, "bread of the presence," translated in our English Bibles "show-bread." It was God's bread and could be eaten only by priests (Matt. 12 4). All this Hebrew ritual illumines for us Babylonian ritual, and is in turn illumined by it.

Turning now to Babylonia, the sources of our information for Babylonian religious ritual are certain of the royal inscriptions of its early kings and patesis, especially those of Eannatum, Urkagina, Manishtusu, and Gudea. The last three of these rulers have left long lists of offerings, which abundantly prove that the sacrifices consisted of food. It will tend to clarity briefly to summarize each of these.

Urkagina, who was king of Lagash about 2800 B. C., found his people suffering from a number of oppressive exactions, and tells in three or four of his inscriptions of the reforms which he instituted in the interest of the people. One of these reforms was a reduction in the number and cost of the offerings exacted in connection with deaths and funerals.[2] The amount of the exactions and the percentage of reduction which the record contains are not of interest here. What is of interest is that the offerings consisted of beer, bread, meal, ears of corn, a garment, a turban, a kafiyeh(?) and a bed. Specified quantities of certain things went to certain priests. What these were and how they were treated, will be noted later.

Manishtusu, of the dynasty of Agade and Kish, who lived about a hundred years later, tells in his cruciform inscription how he doubled the daily offerings to the god Shamash and his consort Malkatu. Formerly a bullock had been allowed for a feast of three days; he increased it to a bullock a day. The offerings which he mentions consisted of bullocks, sheep, meal of the various kinds of grain, dates, oil, milk, reed—cane, honey, and various vestments and turbans for different seasons of the year.[3]

[2] Urkagine, Cones B & C, col. vi, 4—29; col. ix, 35—xi, 1.

[3] Cruciform Monument, col. v, 16—col. xii, 2.

Two hundred and fifty years later Gudea, who in many inscriptions refers to his rebuilding of the temple Eninnu at Lagash, gives in two inscriptions the details of the offering which he provided for the festival of the New Year.[4] He calls this offering the marriage portion of the goddess Bau. The festival of the New Year coincided approximately with the beginning of the annual rise of the Tigris river. This was followed by the rise of the Euphrates, and on the fructifying power of these waters the fertility of Babylonia depended. Water was regarded as the spermatozoa of the gods; it flowed, therefore, as the result of a marital union between god and goddess. Such a marital union Gudea frankly describes as having taken place in the bridal chamber of his new temple.[5] It was doubtless this conception which gave the name to this offering. The offering itself consisted of a fat bullock, a fat sheep, 3 corn-fed sheep, 6 rams, 2 lambs, 7 rations of dates, 7 jars of butter, 7 palm-tree hearts, fig-cakes, birds which may have been ducks and drakes, 15 cranes, quantities of fish, and quantities of vegetables and aromatic wood.

Special sacrifices for other occasions also consisted of food. Thus in Cylinder A Gudea tells us that, when he offered a prayer to a god for a special oracle, "bringing an unblemished bullock and an unblemished kid he sacrificed them."[6]

This is sufficient proof that in Babylonia as in Israel the materials of the sacrifices consisted of food-stuffs. The evidence for this could be indefinitely extended, not only from the temple and palace archives of Lagash, but from those of other cities.

Another analogy with the Hebrew ritual is the fact that the Babylonian priests received certain parts of the offerings as their reward for performing the services. This we learn from the account of Urkagina's reform. He says that, at a burial, a priest who poured the libation received 60 qas of grain. The magician received 420 loaves and 7 jars of beer — 3 after the

[4] Statue E, vi, 19—vii, 15; Statue G, col. iii, 8—17.

[5] Cylinder B, col. xvii, 2—12.

[6] Col. xviii, 7: *gud-dŭ maš-dŭ tŭm giš-ne-tak*. Cyl. B, vii, 4 ff. adds to the bullock and kid: *udu še gar-ud-da ga maš-lulim-ma*: "a sheep, grain, white bread and the milk of young *lulim*-sheep."

reform. One of the oppressive customs which Urkagina abolished was the habit that another class of priests (the *pašišu*, or anointing-priests) had of going into a man's field and measuring the standing grain and taking a part of it. They would also compel people to give them sacrificial lambs to sell. They impressed men and asses into their service. These oppressive customs Urkagina abolished, but he left the priests a legitimate portion of the offerings. In the Museum Journal for September 1926 M. Legrain reports the finding of the temple kitchen in the temple of Ningal at Ur. It was equipped with ovens for roasting and kettles for boiling in a way that reminds one of the boiling of the sacrifice in Ephraim in the days of Eli and the preference of Eli's sons for roast meat rather than boiled.

Again: as in Israel the priests' portions were elevated, "heaved," or "waved" before the priests appropriated them, so in Babylonia. Thus Urkagina says[7] that the attendants elevated (*il-la*) the portion of grain for the libation-pourer at a burial and took it away. The "wife of the god" (the chief priestess) had as a part of her portion "one large loaf for a heave-offering" (*i gar-sag-lal-sal*).[8] Among the items which the chief magician took were "5 loaves for the wave-offering" (*v gar lù-zi(g)-ga-ka;* cf. *OBW*, no. 91 [30]).[9] That a part of the ritual consisted in elevating the offering is also shown by a passage in Gudea's Cylinder B.[10] In describing the great ceremony by which Ningirsu, the principal god of Lagash was inducted into his new temple, Gudea represents the other gods of his pantheon as performing many parts of the ritual, and he describes the portion of the service performed by the goddess Nina in these words: "The princess of protective oracles, Nina, sang a holy song—she sang it in the temple; she placed the mark on a black, pregnant ewe; she raised it up to heaven and shut it in the fold." (*nin-garza-kal-la-gè* ^{d}*nina sìr-azag gú-zu ê-a ba-an-gú ganam-gìg-gi dubbin mi-ni-ib-kin im-ma-al an-na-gè amaš ši-ba-an-ni-ib-sá*).

Another institution common to the Babylonians and the

[7] Col. vii, 26 ff.
[8] Col. x, 8 ff.
[9] Col. x, 18.
[10] Col. iv, 6—9.

Hebrews was the table of "Show Bread." The evidence for this comes from the inscription of Urkagina already referred to. Thus in Cones B and C, col. x, 12—17, after stating that 420 loaves of *bī-bī*-bread were placed as food, he says "40 hard-baked loaves were set in the presence; 1 loaf was for the table." The phrase translated "were set in the presence" is *nī gub-ba-an*, in which *nī* is the Sumerian for the Akkadian *appu* or *panū* "face."[11] The phrase recalls the Hebrew לֶחֶם פָּנִים applied to the show-bread. Both phrases imply that the bread was placed in the presence of a god. True, there were differences in the two rituals. The Hebrews had twelve loaves, all of which were placed on the sacred table; the Babylonians had 40 loaves for the "presence" and only one for the table.

The Hebrew classification of sacrifices as אָשָׁם, שְׁלָמִים etc., has been noticed above. To this distinction I have noted in the royal inscriptions no complete Babylonian parallel. There seems, however, to be a parallel to the אָשָׁם in Eannatum's Stele of the Vultures. In connection with the oaths which he made the men of Umma swear he mentions several times[12] the offering of doves in the presence of the gods. Sometimes 2 were offered; sometimes 4. He describes the sacrifice by a compound sign for which as yet no ideographic meaning is known; it is *BI* + *SÎG*. As doves were one of the possible sin-offerings among the Hebrews, it seems fair to suppose that *BI* + *SÎG* indicated a sin-offering. Eannatum's formula is: *tuḫu ii-nam igi-ba bi* + *sîg ba-ni-gar dûl-sag-ba ni-mi-dù*: "2 doves before them I offered as a sin-offering; their necks and heads I offered as incense."

This brief article but touches the surface of a vast subject.[13]

[11] *OBW*, 15 4 and 24.

[12] See, e. g., Obverse, col. xviii, 2 ff.; Rev. 1, 35 ff.

[13] In the comparison made above care has been taken to draw material only from sources which reveal the public religious ritual of the Babylonians. The incantation texts which deal with the casting out of demons, whether they be demons of disease or not, have been purposely avoided, for the simple reason that the object of the paper was to compare Hebrew religious ritual with Babylonian religious ritual, and magic is not religion. Broadly speaking magic is a system of compulsion of supernatural spirits; religion is a system of supplication and persuasion of them. Magic is no more religion than turning on an electric current

Were the writer to permit himself to go into other matters, such as taboos, many other parallels could be presented. The purpose of this paper was to call attention to a field little explored hitherto. The complete exploration the writer must leave to others.

to produce light, or giving an antitoxin to kill germs, is religion. Magic is a system of compulsion; religion is a system of fellowship—fellowship with beings or a being beyond man's comprehension and beyond his control—beings therefore which call forth in him admiration, awe, wonder, homage, love. It is quite true that in practice religion and magic often coalesce. In many religions sacrifices have been offered to cure disease, just as in Babylonian magic, rites which amount to sacrifices are employed to expel the demons of sickness. Some modern Christians seem to regard prayer and the Holy Communion as similar instruments for the cure of disease. Doubtless, too, the Hebrew אשם, employed for the removal of the consequences of breaking a taboo, was thought to act automatically in a magic-like manner. Many parallels to this type of sacrifice can be found in Babylonian texts. Nevertheless it seems fairer to compare the official and conscious religion of the one people with the conscious and official religion of the other. Only in a detailed and exhaustive study of the meaning of individual sacrifices could comparison rightly be made, in the judgment of the writer, between Hebrew material and that of the incantation texts.

KUHN AND KOHELETH

MILLAR BURROWS
BROWN UNIVERSITY

IN the forty-third *Beiheft* of the *ZATW* Gottfried Kuhn offers an interpretation of Ecclesiastes which deserves serious consideration, if for no other reason, because it is based neither upon conjectural emendations of the text nor upon that radical source-analysis which doth so easily beset us. Several emendations are proposed, but the main argument does not hinge upon them. Transposition of verses is resorted to more freely, yet not to an extent that can be called extreme.

Koheleth is here presented to us, not as a disillusioned old man who can see little good in this life and nothing beyond it, but as a man of deep faith, who enjoys the most intimate communion with God (p. 10). He frankly admits the inscrutability of God's ways, but his whole book leads up to and closes upon the note of the fear of the Lord (p. 53), and we are not left entirely in the dark as to the meaning of it all. The uniform hopelessness of all human endeavor, for the good and the wicked alike, has been divinely decreed (1 13; 3 19), and therefore is permanent (3 14) and good (3 11); its purpose is to test men (3 18), to show them that of themselves they are mere cattle, and so to place religion on the right basis by leaving no footing for that false religiosity which looks for earthly rewards (pp. 7—9).

This is not pessimism. Only when regarded as an end in itself is the world all vanity. To one who sees in it a manifestation of God's goodness it becomes a means of knowing Him (p. 10). The trouble which God has decreed for mankind

is surpassed (2 22–26) by His good pleasure toward those who receive their trials with submission (p. 17). The wise man has joy in the midst of trouble (pp. 16 f., 19); he prefers sorrow to laughter and the house of mourning to the house of feasting (7 1–6), because in the presence of death man's thoughts are transferred from things that are fleeting to the things that abide (pp. 33 ff.).

The right attitude to the world gives not only peace but also something to do which is not mere vanity (p. 11). Koheleth's counsel is not only to enjoy life but to do good (3 12), and to do it with your might (9 10); *to rejoice and to do good* means to do good gladly (p. 19). To be sure there is such a thing as excessive zeal (7 15–18), but wisdom (8 5 f.) observes time and judgment (p. 37).

Not only does Koheleth find a positive satisfaction and purpose in life; he even looks forward to the life to come. Passages which emphasize man's ignorance of any life beyond the grave, like those concerning the futility of worldly pursuits, are intended to show men their weakness and dependence. Since everything that God does is permanent and unalterable (3 14), the relationship with Himself which He grants to His elect must be eternal (pp. 10, 17, 20). The experience of God's goodness, Kuhn says (p. 12), *must* have brought Koheleth to the conclusion that the righteous have an unconditioned, unending reward. Many indications of this faith are discovered in the book.[1]

[1] The statement that God judges sin (3 17; 8 12 f.; 12 11), with the clear disclosure of the injustice of the present life, necessarily implies future retribution (p. 12). Furthermore, since God has made everything fair in its time and has set eternity in man's heart (3 11), making permanence the standard of all value (p. 18), the thought that everything has its appropriate time and all things go by cycles (3 1-8) suggests that the present time of trouble and injustice will be followed by a time of rest and justice, impossible as it is for man to know anything about this now (pp. 19 f.). The very question, *Who knows what is good for man in this futile life?* (6 12), points to another life beyond the present (p. 32), and the fact that God has made adversity along with prosperity (7 14) indicates that the trials of this existence may have significance for a time which now lies hidden from man's sight (p. 35). Again, when

The evidence can hardly be called convincing. Questionable exegesis and an uncritical use of doubtful passages and readings are apparent at every turn.[2] But Kuhn does not claim to have given convincing proof of this positive teaching in Ecclesiastes; indeed, according to his view, to look for explicit statements of these things would be to mistake entirely the purpose of the book. Koheleth knows more than he is willing to tell, and the reason for his reticence is inherent in the function indicated by his name. The feminine form points to Solomon as the mouthpiece of Wisdom (חכמה being feminine). But *Koheleth* represents only a partial revelation of Wisdom, having to do with *Kahal*, the open assembly, and therefore embracing only what is *under the sun*. The secrets of the spiritual world, which is not under the sun, belong only to a small circle of the faithful (pp. 1–5). In her true form, as she reveals herself to the elect, Wisdom is known by another name, *Shulamith*, the beloved bride of the Song of Songs (pp. 1f.).

Now this is rather confusing. If Shulamith is the true, esoteric wisdom, Solomon ought to be the believer or the community of believers, but Kuhn himself speaks of the Song of Songs as picturing the bond between the elect community and its King (p. 4), making Shulamith the true Israel and Solomon the Lord. As a matter of fact it is far from certain that the Song of Songs was allegorically interpreted in any sense in the time of Koheleth.

Quite apart from any connection with Shulamith, however, is it likely that Koholeth knew a wisdom not of this world

Koheleth speaks of *the time wherein one man hath power over another* (8 9), the echo of 3 1-8 suggests a future time when God alone will rule, thus giving "an intimation of the Messianic time" (p. 43). And if death comes alike to the wise and the foolish, the good and the wicked (9 1-3), then the good man's hope (9 4) cannot end with death. Even in the symbols of the last chapter Kuhn discerns what we may call intimations of immortality from old age (p. 52).

[2] In 3 17 the word שם is taken as pointing to the other world. The המה להם at the end of the next verse is understood to mean *they of themselves*. In 3 22 Kuhn holds that לראות is emphatic, the point being that the hereafter can be known only by faith, not by sight. Similar explanations are given in other passages.

which he could speak among them that were perfect? Kuhn's view reminds us of the reason given in the Synoptic gospels (Mk. 4 10–12 and parallels) for Jesus' use of parables. There may have been some kind of esoteric wisdom among the Jews in Koheleth's time,[3] but if he refers to it at all, he does not give it a very hearty recommendation. If his book is indeed the veiled expression of a mystery, it is strange that for so many centuries Biblical scholars have seen and not perceived and have heard and not understood. Many indeed have been the prophets and righteous men who have not seen what Kuhn has seen.

Of course Kuhn's interpretation has not all been made, as we say, out of his own head. Just how original it is cannot be judged without a very wide knowledge of the literature on Ecclesiastes, for Kuhn does not give specific references to other commentators. Older scholars, who can remember the now discarded theories of an earlier generation, may recognize many ideas which seem quite new to one acquainted only with the more recent commentaries. Certainly there is no novelty in the attempt to make Koheleth's condemnation of this world an intimation of the contrast between it and the world to come. This much, at least, of Kuhn's view is found already in the Targum. So far as I am aware, however, the idea that Koheleth was prevented from disclosing the deeper wisdom by his function as teacher of the *Kahal* is a new one, and such

[3] The Rabbinic use of the word mystery (מסטירין), of course, is much later, and the Greek word suggests that the idea was imported; furthermore it is not an inner circle that is spoken of as possessing the mystery, but Israel as against the nations, or the righteous against the ungodly. Greek conceptions, however, were known in Israel in Koheleth's day. There was also a pre-Christian Jewish Gnosticism, the Essenes are said to have had esoteric doctrines, and the medieval Cabala may have been rooted in very ancient soil. It is a curious fact that in the Cabala an expression from Ecclesiastes was used to designate the elect: they were known as the יודעי חן (cp. Eccl. 9 11), the word חן being taken as an anagram for the חכמה נסתרה. But in Ecclesiastes we have ידעים, not יודעי, and חן is not the object but the subject; moreover Koheleth lists the ידעים among those who have no monopoly or certainty of success in life but are as dependent as other men upon *time and chance.*

seems to be Kuhn's own feeling, for at the very beginning of his discussion he gives his interpretation of the name *Koheleth* as the foundation of his whole exposition.

What could have suggested such a theory? Apparently it was inspired by the desire to make Koheleth as nearly as possible a Christian saint. More and more, as we follow Kuhn's thought, the suspicion creeps over us that his primary interest is not exposition but edification.

If it were so, it were a grievous fault.

Edification and scholarship need not be mutually exclusive, to be sure, but we do not expect the homiletic interest to dominate a *Beiheft* of the *ZATW*. Undoubtedly Kuhn has made a thorough study of the book. Evidences of the most minute research are apparent on every page, and at the end we find not only references to N. T. passages which Kuhn regards as dependent upon Ecclesiastes, but also more than two pages giving explanations and emendations of various readings in the LXX, Peschitta, and Targum. Any future commentator ought to consider on its own merits each of Kuhn's emendations and transpositions. The central argument, however, has been too much controlled by the practical, pastoral motive, and Kuhn seems to have forgotten that a bad example may be as profitable as a good one.

Without attempting a more detailed criticism of Kuhn's position, let me state briefly what seems to me to be the true meaning of Ecclesiastes. As regards the form of the book I should say that it may have originated, like some of the prophetic books, in a disciple's notes of his master's sayings. There may be some dislocation, and there may also be some interpolation, but both of these hypotheses have been worked for more than they are worth. Modern commentators retain many verses which have no apparent relation to the main theme of the book and delete passages for whose interpolation we can imagine no satisfactory reason.[4] If we suppose that a

[4] It is said, of course, that all wise sayings came to be attributed to Solomon and so might be copied into a book supposed to have been written by him; but why then should they have been inserted all

devoted follower—an ancient Boswell, if you please—has from time to time written down notes of his teacher's discourses on various themes, we can readily understand the lack of orderly arrangement, the frequent recurrence of similar ideas, and the presence here and there of epigrammatic remarks having no direct connection with what precedes or what follows them. The words, *says Koheleth* (1 2; 7 27; 12 8), and the concluding tribute to Koheleth and summary of the practical implications of his teaching (12 9–14) may be attributed to the same hand. A certain degree of inconsistency may be explained by the student's failure to understand his teacher or to agree with him fully, just as apparent discrepancies in the teaching of Jesus are laid to the account of those who reported his sayings. We must not forget, however, that this book did not grow out of an academic investigation but out of a soul's experience in the stress of life, and consequently can be understood only from the psychological point of view, which does not expect logical consistency.

Koheleth is neither a Gnostic nor a philosopher, but a true Hebrew sage. His interest, his point of view, his approach to the questions he discusses are distinctly those of the wise men of Israel. But his teaching has received a distinctly individual coloring from his own experience and temperament. His words reveal a sensitive soul, sensitive alike to the joys of life and to its disheartening and inexplicable disappointments. There is much that is very youthful in his outlook and temperament. He is not a cynic. He does not look with supercilious scorn upon the folly of his fellow-men: he feels as they do. He wants to be happy and feels that he ought to be happy, but finds it very hard in such a world as this, and like an impulsive child he rebels at finding his exuberance curbed and thwarted on every hand. He cannot take the futility of human endeavor with philosophic calm: it is *a sore evil.*[5] Not only is he sensitive to personal joys and pains; he feels keenly the wrongs

through the book at points where they have no connection with the context?

[5] Eccl. 5 12, 15.

of the social order in which he lives. Oppression,[6] bribery,[7] misgovernment,[8] and the inequitable distribution of life's blessings[9] hurt him as much as does the frustration of his own desires.

But he is no reformer. He has nothing of the flaming indignation of an Amos, nothing of the crusading spirit. He is not tough-minded. He cannot even blame corrupt officials: it is the system that is at fault, and the individual is helpless.[10] It has always been so and always will be.[11] The wise man knows that there is no use being *too* righteous.[12] Even a man's own destiny is beyond his control. Righteousness cannot prevent poverty, old age, and death.[13]

Unable to find satisfaction in hopeless pursuits, Koheleth racks his brain to find why things are as they are.[14] The world seems so attractive! Youth is sweet,[15] the light of the sun is pleasant,[16] friendship is good;[17] yes, wisdom is better than folly, and virtue is better than vice[18]—they *must* be so! Why then does everything go wrong? It is a dark mystery. God has put ignorance in man's heart; he cannot see what is to come of it all.[19] Searching for hidden causes and purposes is one of the most futile of all life's futilities.[20] But one thing seems clear: the trouble is largely in man himself. God made men upright, but they have not been satisfied with what He has given them.[21] If they would avoid disappointment, they must get rid of their inordinate desires.[22]

The resemblance between Koheleth's thought and some of the doctrines of both Stoicism and Epicureanism has often been pointed out. His spiritual kinship with Gotama Buddha also has not been unnoticed. I do not know whether any scholar has found traces of Taoism in Ecclesiastes, but there is a very real affinity between Koheleth and Lao-tze. The significance of these similarities lies in their testimony to the universal character of Koheleth's experience. As suggestive

[6] 4 1; 7 7. [7] 7 7. [8] 3 16; 8 11; 10 5.
[9] 7 15; 8 14. [10] 5 7; 10 20. [11] 1 15; 3 14 f.; 7 13.
[12] 7 16. [13] 2 15; 8 8; 9 2 f. [14] 7 25. [15] 11 9.
[16] 11 7. [17] 4 9-12. [18] 2 13. [19] 3 11.
[20] 7 23-25; 8 16 f. [21] 7 29. [22] 2 2-5; 4 6.

as any of them is the picture of the emperor Diocletian, peacefully enjoying his little cabbage-patch and refusing to be drawn back into the mad whirlpool of politics and war.

One other parallel may be mentioned. Koheleth would agree with Socrates and J. S. Mill that it is better to be a man dissatisfied than a pig satisfied. To him, as to the ancient Egyptian who wrote the *Dialogue of a Misanthrope with his own Soul,* the pursuit of pleasure is as unsatisfying as the pursuit of wealth. Even when he tries wine, his wisdom is still with him[23]—he cannot for the life of him just tear loose and step on the gas! The fact that he cannot only shows his utter sincerity. His nature is too fine to be satisfied with anything that is coarse. Whether or not he can see what advantage the wise man has over the fool, wisdom is preferable to folly. This becomes doubly significant when we recall that for his perception of the inequity of this life he had as compensation neither the hope of immortality nor that other hope which takes its place for many people today, the hope of social progress.

If we ask what definite religious faith he had, we must at least admit that there is something akin to faith in this loyalty to wisdom even when he can see no advantage in it. But we must give him credit for more than that. He was reverent, sincerely reverent.[24] Furthermore, he never lost his ingrained feeling that a man could and ought to be happy. The joys of youth and friendship, of home and garden, are fleeting, but after all they are real, and in spite of all the sorrow in the world we need not hesitate to enjoy them while they last: they are God's gifts.[25] Koheleth has not a satisfying philosophy of life. He has very little theology. He does have, however, something which in its intense earnestness and its stedfast allegiance to both reason and conscience, both mind and heart, well deserves to be called faith.

[23] 2 2.

[24] 5 1-6. Koheleth always speaks reverently of God, and there is no injustice ascribed to Him as in Job; His ways and purposes are dark but not evil.

[25] 2 24; 3 13; 5 18 f.; 8 15; 9 7.

BORROWING BETWEEN RELIGIONS

IRVING F. WOOD
SMITH COLLEGE

TO a student of the laws of the evolution of religion the problem of religious borrowing is important. I am not now speaking of synthetic religions, formed from the elements of their environment, like Gnosticism or Sikhism, or, in the modern world, Theosophy. The problem there is relatively easy. I mean borrowing by an already established religion of elements which it proceeds to assimilate into its own structure. The problems of relationship in such cases are often extremely difficult. There has been too little work done on the conditioning circumstances, to try to determine when borrowing is or is not probable.

Mere general likeness does not prove borrowing. The human mind has a great deal of uniformity. It often reacts to kindred situations in kindred ways. The same guess as to what will please an angry god, or similar myths of creation, do not prove borrowing. Two further conditions must be satisfied: (1) There must be at least some likeness of detail. (2) The relations of the contact between the two religions must be such as to make borrowing probable. This paper deals with an attempt to formulate the conditions of such relations.

The justification for bringing the subject to this Society is that before the exile a large part of the history of Hebrew religion is concerned with either accepting or repelling elements from other religions, and after the exile the relationship with Zoroastrianism presents one of the most intricate and interesting problems in the history of religion.

Borrowing between religions may take place under the following conditions of contact:

1. When a weaker, smaller or younger religious community is immersed in a stronger, larger or older community. In that case, some measure of borrowing by the first almost always occurs. Examples are the early Hebrews among the Canaanites, the early Christians in the Greco-Roman community, Buddhism in China.

2. When a religion, newly risen or newly migrant, absorbs members from other religions, the new members bring with them certain elements which are taken up by the adopted religion. Examples are Christmas and Easter customs in Europe, much of the philosophical background of Christianity, the worship of nats in Burmese Buddhism, the reverence of many of the welis and saints by Mohammedans in Palestine. Since, after the Hebrew nation was formed, there was little absorption of other peoples, this classification has little application in the Old Testament. Since the New Testament precedes any great influence of Gentile ideas upon Christianity, it has also little application in the New Testament.

3, the opposite of 2. When a vigorous religion, newly risen or newly migrant, is aggressive for converts, the religion with which it competes borrows from it elements which seem valuable for religious education or influence. Illustrations abound in India, China and Japan. One of the most striking cases in the world is in China, where Taoism borrowed temples, images, the monkish order, and many points of detail from Buddhism. A curious instance in our own day is the vogue, a few years ago, of faith healing in some of the orthodox churches, under the influence of certain well known healing cults. A much more interesting modern example is the Buddhist Sunday Schools, Buddhist Young Men's Associations, hymns, and other Christian institutions in Japan.

4. When religions are in incidental, rather than intimate, contact.

(a) Where a non-missionary religion is immersed in a community of another religion. In such cases the religions are much more liable to run in parallel channels without

mingling; for example, the Jews in Christendom, the Parsees in India, the Mohammedans in China. Unconscious borrowing of minor matters may take place in the smaller religion; seldom is there borrowing in the larger, encircling religion. Here lies one of the most fascinating problems in religion: Did Buddhism in China borrow from the small group of Nestorian Christians domiciled in its midst?

(b) Where religions are only incidentally in contact, through the media of travel, trade, general knowledge, or the contact of small communities of one religion with another, borrowing may take place from either side. The element borrowed must, however, make a definite appeal for a definite reason. In some way it must fill a need for which the borrowing religion has no adequate supply. This is the classification of most interest to the biblical student. It is the one into which falls the problem of borrowing between Judaism and Zoroastrianism. An incidental illustration of this class is the rosary in Christianity, probably ultimately derived from Buddhism.

In all cases of suggested derivation of elements of one religion from another, we must always move the previous question; namely, just what were the relations between the two religions? Were they such that borrowing is to be expected? If not, were there special and definite reasons for the borrowing? Unless there were, the internal development of the religion should be studied with care, and the supposition of derivation from the other religion only used as a theory of last resort.

More interesting still is the classification of elements borrowed between religions.

A. Most prominently, ceremonials and cults; sacred places and sacred times; feasts and fasts. Here the Bible furnishes as good examples as any in history, in the agricultural feasts of the Hebrews taken from the Canaanites. When these shepherd tribes came in contact with the agricultural peoples, especially when they themselves became farmers, and had need to insure the fertility of their fields, the feasts of springtime and harvest lay at hand. They did not need to invent;

they could borrow, and borrow they did, seemingly with freedom. Scarcely less apt as illustrations are the feasts of the Christian church, the ceremonies of Christmas and Easter and of saints' days, taken over from the older religions. As to sacred places, the world is full of them, serving each generation as it passes by in the pageant of history. Palestine itself abounds in such cults and sacred places, as was shown by Professor Curtiss twenty five years ago in his *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*. Sometimes the place is sacred to two or more religions at the same time, like the high places of Palestine, serving for sacrifice both to Jahveh and to Baal. In Ceylon, at the top of Adam's Peak, is a depression in a rock which is the footprint of Siva to the Hindus, of Buddha to the Buddhists, and of Adam to the Mohammedans. The most abundant of all borrowing is that of matters connected with the cult.

B. Closely connected with cult and ceremonial are social customs and what might properly be called educational methods; everything which makes religious nurture and propaganda, but which is not distinctly worship. Borrowing in this field is sometimes, but not always, under the influence of competition, as suggested in (3) above. Sometimes it is simply the imitation of an element of recognized value. In ancient Israel the feasts adopted from the agriculturalists were as valuable for what we should call religious education as for worship. Here should probably be placed the feast of Purim, not at first a part of worship, but from the beginning of value for impressing national ideals.

C. Gods, heroes and spirits may be borrowed. The most amazing instance of this in history is the identification of Shinto gods with Buddhist bodhisattvas. Buddhism is ever an adept at such absorption of deities, for reasons which do not concern us here. Hinduism has also a record of borrowed gods. Old aboriginal gods of India were baptised into the Hindu pantheon without stint; as when Puliar, worshipped to this day among the Tamil people, is identified with the Hindu Genesa, son of Siva. Gods, however, are not borrowed as readily as ceremonies. A religion does not

simply annex any god on which it can lay its hands. If there is any question of doubt, a theory of borrowed gods must be ready to present specific reasons why such borrowing was probable. So far as I am aware, such reasons are evident in well authenticated cases; except where the shadows of the dawn of history obscure the facts concerned.

Here lies the problem of the origin of Jahveh. Leaving that aside, the Hebrew religion, as represented by the writers of its literature, presents no such phenomena. It was not, in that sense, an assimilative religion. But the religion, as represented by the people who held it, had quite a different character. All the work of the prophets shows how eager the people were to borrow the gods of the peoples about. They did not give up the worship of Jahveh, but set the other gods by his side. The borrowing of the local Baals was most natural. If the Hebrew farmers wanted a good bean crop, they must propitiate the Lord of the land. By all the principles of the history of religion, the normal thing to do was to worship the Baals, thus adopting them into the national religion. A later wave of borrowing appears when the kings and courts of Israel and Judah brought in the worship of the Tyrian Baal. The vogue of that cult cannot be explained wholly by the dominating personality of Jezebel. The Baal and his worship appealed to the people. Without the prophets the tide would have run to the absorption of this god into the religion. The position of Astarte in Israel seems to have been the same. There is no evidence that the refugees in Egypt, who so contemptuously scorned the protest of Jeremiah against their worship of the Queen of Heaven (Jer. 44 15-19), were prepared to abandon Jahveh. They only claimed the right to worship Astarte also.

We commonly think of the religious problem of Israel as either Jahveh or other gods. So doubtless it was after the exile. Before that time it was not so much "either — or" as "both — and." The foreign colonists of Samaria after the Assyrian captivity solved their problem in the natural way of the history of religion. "They feared Jahveh and served their own gods" (1 Kings 17 32). Among the Hebrews the

prophets interfered with the natural course of religious history by their insistence on the worship of Jahveh only.

D. Abstract religious ideas. This is a field where the problem is much more difficult to handle than in any previously mentioned. Especially difficult is it where the relations between religions are incidental rather than intimate, class 4 of the previous classification. Synthetic religions are made from adopted ideas; like Gnosticism, so much of a conglomerate that it is impossible of analysis with our incomplete knowledge; or Sikhism, compounded of Hinduism and Islam, or modern Theosophy, with its compound of Hindu, Buddhist and Christian ideas. But these present a different situation from that which makes the problem of borrowing.

It is fair to say that in the borrowing of abstract ideas the burden of proof rests upon those who make the claim. First, there is much less of this than of the borrowing of rites and ceremonies, or even of gods. Second, under the influence of kindred circumstances the human mind evolves kindred ideas. The hope of a future life has probably been developed by more tribes than history can reckon. Nor will so abstract a thing as an idea or a theory easily pass from one religion to another. It is not like a cult which can be seen and imitated. An idea is part of a general atmosphere, not to be easily separated from it.

Admittedly, then, the borrowing of ideas is not to be lightly assumed. The presumption is against it. It may occur when two religions are in close and intimate contact, sharing the same general intellectual background, having a common body of fundamental principles to form a bridge over which the ideas may pass. Such was the case, for example, in the Buddhist influence upon Hinduism, and in the influence of Greek philosophy upon Christianity. It may also occur when the idea in question fills some conspicuously empty place. Thus Buddhism gave pictures of life after death to Taoism.

Two of the most fascinating problems in this province are the questions of whether the doctrine of salvation by faith in certain sects of Japanese Buddhism is at all borrowed from Christianity, and of whether Judaism borrowed any of

its ideas from Zoroastrianism. There are four groups of ideas in Judaism which offer such likeness to Zoroastrianism as to raise the question of definite influence, if not of actual borrowing. They are (1) spirits, good and bad; (2) a chief spirit of evil, Satan or Angra Mainyu; (3) resurrection and immortality; (4) the pictures of a future Messianic time, the final outcome of world history.

The resemblances are so many and so various that in no field of religious history is there a greater temptation to leap to the conclusion of borrowing, or at least, of extensive influence. There is, however, one element which bespeaks caution. It is that the relations of the two cultures, at least before the final fall of Jerusalem, during the period when Judaism was taking form, were of the kind described above as incidental rather than intimate (Class 4). Even during the Persian rule the relations were more remote than is usually found where actual transfer of ideas takes place. It is true that the attitude between the two nations was friendly rather than hostile. A feeling of sympathy is indicated by the fact that daily offerings were made in Jerusalem for the Persian government. But a friendly feeling hardly offers in itself ground for the borrowing of ideas, unless at the same time cultural contact is fairly close and intimate. It should require, then, strong evidence before the presumption of borrowing from Zoroastrianism can be assumed.

Further questions must also be raised:

1. Was there such need of the idea that it would be borrowed if not developed in the religion?

2. Are there elements in the Hebrew religion from which the idea would naturally be evolved?

3. Do the germs of the idea exist in the Hebrew religion before contact with the Persian religion?

4. Could the idea, if borrowed, have come from other than Persian sources; from Babylonian, Egyptian or Greek?

5. Can we be sure that the Zoroastrian conception antedates its appearance in Judaism?

The last question is in reality first. Many of the resemblances, and for the most part the closest resemblances, come to us

from the Pehlavi writings, much later than the formation of Judaism. The ideas must be earlier than the present writings which record them, but whether enough earlier to antedate their appearance in Judaism must sometimes be at least doubtful.

The conception of Satan forms a good illustration of some of the principles cited above. The idea itself is a clear case of Hebrew development. The oft noted resemblance to Angra Mainyu is a pseudo-resemblance, not a real likeness. The evil principle of Zoroastrianism first appears in the Gathic hymns. This is early enough to have formed the basis of the Hebrew Satan; but the Persian figure is an abstract force, seemingly not even personified (*Yasna* 30 : 3). Satan appears first in Hebrew literature in a pictorial, anthropomorphic form, as an accuser (Zech. 3 1 f.; Job 1 6 ff.). Angra Mainyu has a cosmic relation. He creates evil (*Vendidad* 1 : 1, 4–10). Satan creates nothing. Angra Mainyu is a force independent of and opposed to Ahura. Satan is at first a member of Jahveh's court. His elevation to a hostile power of evil can be explained by Jewish conceptions of the holiness of Jahveh, without the need of borrowing from Zoroastrianism.

Both religions, when they faced the question of the ultimate end of the present world, were confronted with the problem of what to do at last with this force of evil, now become as personal in the Persian as in the Hebrew religion. The answer of Judaism is found as a detail of the apocalyptic picture. Satan and his hosts will be overcome. The four chief angels will cast them into a burning furnace (Enoch 54 6). Satan shall be cast into a lake of fire and brimstone and be tormented forever and ever (Rev. 20 10). So Angra Mainyu. In the final conflict "the evil doing Angra Mainyu bows and flees, becoming powerless" (*Zemyad Yast* 16 : 96; *S. B. E.* 23 : 308). Many other expressions of the same general idea are found, but whether any of them are early enough to make a basis for the Jewish idea is a matter for detailed study to determine.

This paper only tries to offer certain principles working in the history of religion. If it has illustrated some of the conditions under which borrowing between religions takes place, it has served its purpose.

A TRADITION CURRENT IN THE THIRD CENTURY B. C.

CRANSTON EARL GODDARD
SHEFFIELD, ILLINOIS

IN the year 1923, Mr. C. J. Gadd, assistant in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, discovered a portion of the Babylonian Chronicle between the tenth and the seventeenth years of Nabopolassar (616—609 B. C.). Mr. Gadd has translated the tablet (no. 21, 901) and with transliteration and notes has given us the results of his find in a book entitled "*The Fall of Nineveh*." It is fairly certain from this Chronicle, in spite of its mutilated character, that Nineveh fell not in 607 B. C., as hitherto held, but in 612. From the evidence of this new find Pharaoh-necoh of Egypt is seen to be in league *with* Assyria. Those who wrote on the subject in 1924[1] were led to believe that the Chronicle was a direct contradiction of II Kings 23 29, which in the Revised Version reads: "In his (Josiah's) days Pharaoh-necoh king of Egypt went up *against* the king of Assyria." But the preposition עַל has several meanings, one of which is "on behalf of." In fact, Brown, Driver and Briggs cite "against" as their *last* meaning for the word. Therefore, II Kings 23 29 could very well read: "In his days Pharaoh-necoh king of Egypt went up on behalf of the king of Assyria."

We have here another discovery that throws new light upon the international relations of the period, not before

[1] Welch, *Ex. Times*, Jan. 1924, p. 170ff.: Allis, *Princeton Review*, July 1924, p. 464f.

understood nor suspected. One is only sorry that the Chronicle stopped a half-dozen years short of a very interesting situation. What happened between 609 B. C. (which is the end of the tablet) and 605 B. C. (the defeat of Necho at Carchemish) we do not know, but there is evidence that something did occur. It is our opinion that there is yet more light to break upon these dark years and we venture the suggestion that we possess even now the substructure of our future knowledge in what we may be pleased to call tradition. For instance, there was unquestionably a tradition current in the third century before our era that Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon had come to Judea some time before history concedes that he did come. So stated the author of the Book of Daniel sometime in the second or third century (Dn. 1 1). A seeming echo of the same tradition is II Chronicles 36 6-7, although the Chronicler gives no date. Berossus (a Chaldee historian and priest at Babylon c. 260 B. C.) also gives us an account of an expedition by Nebuchadrezzar made just prior to his father's death. He writes as follows:

"When his father Nebuchodonosor (Nabopolassar) heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt and the places about Celesyria and Phoenicia had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo the hardships (of war), he committed to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was still but a youth, some parts of his army, and sent them against them. So when Nebuchadnezzar had given battle and fought with the rebel, he beat him, and reduced the country from under his subjection, and made it a branch of his own kingdom; but about that time it happened that his father Nebuchodonosor (Nabopolassar) fell ill, and ended his life in the city of Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years; and when he was made sensible, as he was in a little while, that his father Nebuchodonosor (Nabopolassar) was dead, and having settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries, as also those that concerned the "captive jews" and Phoenicians and Syrians and those of the Egyptian nations, and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends, together with the provisions, he went himself hastily, accompanied with a few others, over the desert, and came to Babylon. So he took upon him the management of public affairs and of the kingdom, which had been kept for him by one that was the principal of the Chaldeans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed that WHEN THE CAPTIVES CAME they should be placed as colonies . . ."

It is true that Berossus does not definitely mention a siege of Jerusalem or that the Babylonian Crown Prince had even gone to Judah, but the implications are significant. *Jewish* captives had somewhere been taken. Nebuchadrezzar himself hastens *across* the desert to his dead father. He was, quite probably, far south of Carchemish and much to the west of the river banks. It is not our purpose, however, to press any of Berossus' details, but it is our opinion that he has given us a reference to the same tradition mentioned by the Chronicler and the author of Daniel.

We believe also that it is possible to demonstrate that Berossus refers to the same year that the author of Daniel makes so bold to mention, i. e., the third year of Jehoiakim. If Jeremiah[2] is correct in equating the fourth year of Jehoiakim with the first year of Nebuchadrezzar, then Nabopolassar died before the fourth year of Jehoiakim, probably the latter part of the third, or possibly in the very first part of the fourth. It must be remembered that according to the Babylonian custom of computation, the king's reign did not officially commence until the New Year following his accession. For instance, the first contract tablet of Nebuchadrezzar's reign known to us at present is dated the 14th of Tammuz (July) in his accession year.[3] His first year is not mentioned until the following Nisan (April), which is the Babylonian New Year. Thus their calendar dates from spring to spring. The Jewish calendar, on the other hand, dates probably from autumn to autumn, starting with the month Tishri. If Tammuz 14 is the correct accession date of Nebuchadrezzar, then there were eight months and a half before his real first year would commence. But in the meantime, some six months before, in the month of Tishri, the Jewish year had commenced; therefore, although the first year of Nebuchadrezzar overlaps six months of the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadrezzar really took the throne two months and a half before the fourth year of Jehoiakim had begun. Therefore, it was in the third year of

[2] Jer. 25 1.

[3] See *KB.* iv. p. 181.

Jehoiakim that Nabopolassar died, thus calling Nebuchadrezzar home to assume the throne. Daniel merely states that in "the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem, and besieged it."

It is not impossible, therefore, to demonstrate that Berossus refers to an event that took place in the third year of Jehoiakim. This event is not to be confused with that recorded by Josephus himself. The latter happened *after* the death of Nabopolassar, and therefore in the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim. Of the battle of Carchemish Josephus wrote:

> "Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was on the Euphrates, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neco, king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was." After he had defeated Neco, "he passed over the Euphrates, and took all Syria, as far as Palestine, excepting Judea."[4]

Jeremiah also agrees with Josephus as to the date of this battle. In chapter 46 he begins: "The word of Jehovah which came to Jeremiah the Prophet concerning the nations. Of Egypt: concerning the army of Pharaoh-neco, king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Judah." It is our contention that the battle of Carchemish took place after the death of Nabopolassar, either in the latter part of Nebuchadrezzar's "accession year" or in the first official year itself, and that the campaign Berossus mentions is one that took place even before his accession year.

The present writer is not of course ignorant of previous arguments of scholars, e. g., those of Professor Driver, who has said: "The terms in which Jeremiah speaks not only in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (25 9ff.), but also in his fifth year (36 29), seem to imply that a Chaldaean invasion of Judah was still in the future and that Jehoiakim had not

[4] *Antiquities*, X. vi. 1; cf. Jer. 25 9-11; 18-26; 46 25f.; 2 K. 24 7.

already, in his third year, fallen into Nebuchadnezzar's hands."[5] But this does not necessarily follow. One thing is certain—Jeremiah did not prophesy without reason. There is, in fact, very little prophecy in the old Testament in the sense of forecasting out and out. There is usually some reasonable background for a prophecy, and in this case, the movements of Nebuchadrezzar were in themselves suggestive enough. In his first year (604 B. C.), it is true, he defeated Necho at Carchemish. The conqueror loomed upon the horizon. But is there anything in any of the utterances of the Prophet that would contradict the assumption that Nebuchadrezzar had previously been to Jerusalem? On the other hand, he speaks quite naturally of an event that might occur again. As a matter of fact, it did not occur until 596 B. C., and through the intervening years Jeremiah thundered forth his warnings. Can it be that there is more history back of those warnings than we have hitherto known?

This much may be said in conclusion. A forecast is no more history than a tradition, but either one *may* become history over night. And if it is true, as it is, that Jeremiah's forecast came true, it is also true that this third century tradition, put forth by probably three contemporaries, may some day be established as true, not in the details of these three utterances necessarily, but in the essence and spirit of the tradition itself.

[5] *Cambridge Bible*, p. 2.

THE PROBLEM OF SUFFERING IN THE PRE-EXILIC PROPHETS

LEWIS BAYLES PATON
HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

I. THE ANCIENT THEORY THAT ALL SUFFERING IS PUNISHMENT

a. **Statement of the Theory.**—The earliest theory held by ancient Israel in regard to the meaning of suffering was that it was invariably the punishment of sin. Adam and Eve were banished from Eden because they disobeyed the divine command.[1] Cain was cursed for killing his brother.[2] Men were destroyed by the flood because of their wickedness.[3] Sodom was overthrown on account of its iniquity.[4] Whenever disaster befell the nation or individuals, it was never thought that this was accidental, or that it was inflicted arbitrarily by Yahweh, but always that it was sent in punishment for sin; and inquiry was made through priest or prophet to ascertain the cause of the divine displeasure. Thus the defeat at Ai was found to be due to the fact that Achan had violated the ban.[5] The failure of Saul to obtain a favorable oracle was because Jonathan had broken the tabu on food.[6] The pestilence that visited Jerusalem was in consequence of David's numbering of the people.[7] The famine in the days of David was a punishment for Saul's killing the Gibeonites.[8]

To those who kept his commandments Yahweh promised

[1] Gen. 3 16-22. [2] Gen. 4 11-15. [3] Gen. 6 5-8.
[4] Gen. 18 20 f.; 19 24, etc. [5] Jos. 7 11 f. [6] 1 Sam. 14 36 ff.
[7] 2 Sam. 24 15. [8] 2 Sam. 21 1.

THE PATRIARCHIAL IDEA OF GOD

HERBERT GORDON MAY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
OBERLIN COLLEGE

ABSOLUTE skepticism towards the patriarchial narratives as historical records is difficult to maintain today in the light of the materials contemporary with the patriarchial period made available as a result of archaeological research.[1] Whereas it has been thought that patriarchial names are to be interpreted as the names of gods, it is now possible to recover with a certain assurance the gods whom the historic patriarchs, or peoples represented by the patriarchial figures, worshiped.[2] Our first hint comes from the fact that the biblical tradition seems to be

[1] See W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, Baltimore, 1940, 150 ff.; M. Burrows, "The Complaint of Laban's Daughters," *JAOS*, LVII (1937), 259 ff.; Cyrus Gordon, "The Story of Jacob and Laban in the Light of the Nuzi Tablets," *BASOR*, No. 66 (1937), 25 ff., etc.

[2] This is not to deny that names of gods may sometimes be preserved in patriarchial names, although caution should be used before affirming that the persons thus mentioned are devoid of historic existence. A name like Jacob-el is not to be interpreted "Jacob is god," but rather the first part is a verb, of which the last part is the subject. It has been assumed that, since Ur and Harran were the seat of the moon-god, in the light of such patriarchial names as Haran, Laban, and Terah, the story of the migrations of Abraham is in part reminiscent of the spread of the moon-cult from Ur to Harran and into Syria-Palestine: see E. Dhorme, *L'évolution religieuse d'Israël*, I, Brussells, 1937, 69 ff. This can only be the purest conjecture, and it is difficult to see why such a tradition should be associated with Abraham: see A. Lods in *Record and Revelation*, ed. by H. W. Robinson, Oxford, 1938, 200. The case for Terah as a lunar deity has been weakened by the disclosure that the supposed reference to this deity in the Ugaritic texts is inexistent: see, for instance, W. F. Albright, "Was the Patriarch Terah a Canaanite Moon God?" *BASOR*, No. 71 (1938), 35 ff., and Cyrus Gordon, "TRḤ, TN, and NKR in the Ras Shamra Tablets," *JBL*, LVII (1938), 407 ff.

included many of the nation's noblest characters. Such national catastrophes could not fail to raise doubts in regard to the correctness of the penal theory of suffering.

4. *Difficulties that Arose from the Sufferings of the Prophets.* — Even the early prophets who preceded Amos had sometimes to endure persecution. Tradition related that Israel repeatedly rebelled against Moses, and that he was constrained to cry out: "I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me; and if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favor in thy sight, and let me not see my wretchedness."[16] Samuel complained that Israel had rejected him.[17] Ahab and Jezebel slew the prophets of Yahweh,[18] and attempted to capture Elijah.[19] Ahab hated Micaiah because he prophesied evil to him.[20]

The writing prophets of the eighth and of the seventh centuries B. C. were conspicuous for their sufferings. They were hated by the nation, persecuted by the authorities, and opposed by the false prophets. Several of them met martyr-deaths.

Amos agonized over the message of doom that he was sent to preach, and over the unbelief of the nation.[21] He complained that the Israelites had always commanded the prophets not to prophesy,[22] that they hated one who reproved in the gate, and abhorred one who spoke uprightly;[23] and that one who was prudent would keep silence in such a time.[24] He was denounced as a traitor to King Jeroboam II by Amaziah, the high priest; and was forcibly ejected from Bethel.[25]

Hosea bore the misery and shame of the infidelity of a wife whom he deeply loved,[26] and his denunciations seem to indicate that he too suffered from the hostility of the priests, the prophets, and the nation.[27]

Isaiah grieved at the sinfulness of Judah, and at its

[16] Ex. 32 7-10; Num. 11 1-11, 14-15; 16. [17] 1 Sam. 8 4-8.
[18] 1 Ki. 18 4, 13; 19 10, 14. [19] 1 Ki. 18 10, 17; 19 2, 10, 14; 21 20.
[20] 1 Ki. 22 8. [21] Am. 5 1-2; 7 2, 5. [22] Am. 2 12.
[23] Am. 5 10. [24] Am. 5 13. [25] Am. 7 10-17.
[26] Hos. 1—3. [27] Hos. 4 4-10; 7 7-9.

impending ruin.[28] He suffered also because of the hardness of heart that made the nation incapable of heeding his warning.[29] "It is a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the teaching of Yahweh: which say to the seers, See not; and to the prophets, Prophesy not."[30] He declared that Judah was not satisfied with wearing out the patience of the prophets, but was determined to wear out God's patience also.[31] An ancient tradition says that Isaiah was slain by King Manasseh, and this is alluded to in Heb. 11 37. "They were sawn asunder."

Micah says of the people of his day: "Prophesy not, they cry, Thy revilings never cease. No disaster can overtake the house of Jacob. Is Yahweh's temper quick, and does he act thus? Are not his words kind to Israel? ..... The prophet for such a people as this is some empty fellow and liar, who prophesies of wine and strong drink."[32] Micah was opposed by false prophets, who cried, "Peace," when they were well fed.[33]

King Manasseh instituted a fierce persecution of the reforming prophets and their adherents. The Books of Kings and of Jeremiah record that he "shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to the other."[34] A lament of the prophetical party from this time of persecution is perhaps found in Mic. 7 1-10.

Jeremiah was the typical sufferer among the Prophets. The sin of his people distressed him so deeply that it seemed at times as if he could endure it no longer. "Oh that I had in the wilderness a wayfarer's lodge! Then would I leave my people, and go from them! For they be all adulterers, a gang of traitors. And they bend their tongue like a bow for falsehood; and they are grown strong in the land, but not for truth; for they proceed from evil to evil."[35]

His message of the inevitable doom of Judah was a constant torture to Jeremiah.[36] "O my soul, my soul! I writhe! Oh the walls of my heart! My heart is moaning! I cannot

[28] Isa. 6 5, 9-11. [29] Isa. 6 9f.; 28 7-10; 29 9-12, 18; 32 3.
[30] Isa. 30 9-13. [31] Isa. 7 13. [32] Mic. 2 6-7, 11.
[33] Mic. 3 5-7, 11. [34] 2 Ki. 21 16; Jer. 2 34; 15 4.
[35] Jer. 9 2-6; 23 9-11. [36] Jer. 1 10 b; 4 10-18.

hold my peace, for I hear the blare of trumpets and the battle-cry. Crash upon crash is announced, for the whole country is ruined, our tents are laid low in a second, our curtains torn down in a second!" "My sorrow is past healing, my heart is sick within me."[37] "Look at my poor people, moaning far and wide .... Is Yahweh not in Sion? Has her King left her? Summer is over, the harvest is ended—with nothing to keep us alive. My poor people, they are broken, and I am broken-hearted; I go a-mourning, seized with dismay ..... Oh that my head were waters, mine eyes a fount of tears, that I might weep all day and night for the slain of my poor people!"[38]

Jeremiah also suffered keenly through the unwillingness of the nation to receive his message. "Stand at the cross-roads, said Yahweh, and look for the old path, ask for the good road and take it, so shall ye be safe and prosper. But they said, We will not take it. I posted sentinels for them, I bade them listen to the trumpet-blast; they said, We will not listen."[39]

Throughout his entire ministry Jeremiah was exposed to the fierce opposition of the professional prophets, who derided his message, and who prophesied, "Peace, peace, when there was no peace."[40]

The nation and its rulers were not satisfied with merely rejecting Jeremiah's teaching; they also resorted to active persecution. At the time of his call, Jeremiah was told: "Behold, I have made thee this day a fortified city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls against the whole land, against the kings of Judah, against the princes thereof, against the priests thereof, and against the people of the land. And they shall fight against thee."[41]

Jeremiah's own kinsmen of the priestly town of Anathoth were among his bitterest enemies. "I was like a trustful lamb, led out to be slaughtered; I knew not their plot, to cut me

[37] Jer. 4 19-22. [38] Jer. 8 18—9 1; cf. 13 17; 14 17-18; 17 16.
[39] Jer. 6 16-17; cf. 6 10; 17 15; 18 18; 25 3-7; 36 20-25.
[40] Jer. 5 11-14, 30, 31; 6 13, 14; 14 13-16, 18; 23 9-40; 27 9-18; 28 1-17.
[41] Jer. 1 17-19.

down in my full bloom, to cut me off out of the land of the living, that my very name might be forgotten."[42] When Jeremiah announced the destruction of the Temple, the priests and the prophets declared him worthy of death, but the civil authorities and the people rescued him by appealing to the precedent of Hezekiah's toleration of Micah, when he had brought a similar message.[43] When Jeremiah sent Baruch to read in the Temple the roll in which he had gathered all his utterances during the previous twenty years, "then said the officials unto Baruch, Go, hide thee, thou and Jeremiah." King Jehoiakim then burnt the roll, and sent officers to arrest Jeremiah and Baruch, "but Yahweh hid them."[44] After Jeremiah had proclaimed in the Temple the impending destruction of Jerusalem, he was arrested by the chief officer of the Temple, and put into the stocks for the night.[45] When he attempted to leave the city at the time of the raising of Nebuchadrezzar's siege, he was apprehended on the charge of deserting to the Babylonians, and was cast into prison for a long time.[46] His persistent declaration that safety lay only in deserting to the Babylonians, led to his being cast into a miry dungeon, where he would certainly have perished, but for the friendly intervention of an Ethiopian eunuch.[47] He was carried away to Egypt by certain fugitives before the wrath of Nebuchadrezzar.[48] In Egypt he experienced the same persecution at the hands of his fellow-exiles that he had endured in Judea, and tradition records that he was stoned to death by his compatriots in Egypt.[49]

So constant and so fierce was his persecution, that Jeremiah was constrained to cry out: "Alas, my mother! thou hast borne me to contend and to quarrel with all the land! I never lent, I never borrowed money, and yet all curse me."[50]

"Now all day long I am a laughing-stock; men all deride me. Whenever I speak they mock, and they ill-treat me; for

[42] Jer. 11 18-21; 12 5-6. [43] Jer 26 7-19. [44] Jer. 36.
[45] Jer. 20 1-3. [46] Jer. 37 11-21. [47] Jer. 38 4-13.
[48] Jer. 43 1-7. [49] Jerome, Tertullian, Epiphanius.
[50] Jer. 15 10.

uttering Yahweh's word, day after day I am taunted and insulted ..... At every turn I am in terror, for I hear many whispering, Denounce him! Let us denounce him! My friends are on the watch for a false step; Perhaps, they whisper, he will make a slip; and then we have him, then for our revenge."[51] On one occasion at least his depression was so deep that he lamented that he had ever been born.[52]

In view of all these hardships, it is not surprising that Jeremiah shrank from his prophetic ministry, and would have laid it down, had it not been for an inner divine compulsion which forced him to continue, in spite of all opposition. "O Yahweh, thou didst beguile me, and I let myself be beguiled; thou wast too strong for me, thou hast prevailed." "If I say, I will not mention it, I will not speak in his name any more; then I feel within me as it were a fire that burns my very being. I am tired of this, so tired I cannot bear it any longer."[53]

In addition to all his other troubles, Jeremiah led a singularly lonely life. By special divine command he remained unmarried, and he was also forbidden to share in the life of his fellow-citizens. "Thus saith Yahweh, Enter not into the house of mourning, neither go to lament, neither bemoan them; for I have taken away my peace from this people ..... And thou shalt not go into the house of feasting, to sit with them, to eat and to drink." "Therefore, I sat not in the assembly of them that make merry, nor rejoiced: I sat alone because of thy hand, for thou hast filled me with indignation."[54] He seems to have had no intimate friends nor disciples, except his faithful secretary Baruch, who shared in all his hardships,[55] and to whom Jeremiah could promise only that he should escape with his life.[56]

Another prophet, Uriah, a contemporary of Jeremiah, who preached the same message of doom, was brought back from Egypt by King Jehoiakim, and put to death.[57]

[51] Jer. 20 7, 8, 10. [52] Jer. 20 14-18.
[53] Jer. 20 7, 9; cf. 1 6; 6 11; 9 2. [54] Jer. 16 1-9; cf. 17 17-18.
[55] Jer. 32 12-16; 36 4-32; 43 3-6. [56] Jer. 45 1-5.
[57] Jer. 26 20-23.

Ezekiel was one of the exiles carried away with King Jehoiachin in 596.[58] He suffered from a paralysis that rendered him speechless, and deprived him of the use of his limbs. So helpless was he, that he was obliged to resort to symbolic actions in order to convey his message.[59] His wife died suddenly while he was still an invalid.[60] Like his predecessors, he endured the hatred and opposition of his fellow-countrymen, and of a large and influential group of false prophets.[61]

From the point of view of the ancient religion of Israel, the Prophets were great sinners, because they suffered so terribly; but their consciences assured them that they were guiltless. Amos knew that he "spoke uprightly."[62] Isaiah knew that his lips had been touched with fire from the heavenly altar, and that Yahweh had said to him: "Thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin forgiven."[63] Micah knew that he was full of power by the Spirit of Yahweh, and of justice, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin.[64] Jeremiah in particular was keenly conscious of his innocence. "Amen to their curses, O Yahweh, if I be to blame; if I never besought thee in the time of their trouble and straits, for the good of my foes."[65] "Shall evil be recompensed for good? For they have digged a pit for my life."[66]

The Prophets were confident that Yahweh approved their conduct. At the beginning of Jeremiah's ministry he was assured: "Be not afraid because of them, for I am with thee to deliver thee,"[67] and this consolation was repeated at various times in his later career: "I will make thee unto this people a fenced brazen wall; and they shall fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee to save thee, and to deliver thee, saith Yahweh"[68]—an assurance which

58 Ezek. 1 1-3; 3 15, etc.
59 Ezek. 3 14-16, 25-27; 4 1-15; 12 3-7, 18; 33 21 f.
60 Ezek. 24 15-18. 61 Ezek. 13 1-16; 14 4-11; 22 25, 28.
62 Am. 5 10. 63 Isa. 6 7. 64 Mic. 3 8.
65 Jer. 15 10 f., emended text with G. A. Smith, *Jeremiah*.
66 Jer. 18 19-20; cf. 11 19; 15 16; 17 18. 67 Jer. 1 8, 17-19.
68 Jer. 15 20-21.

called forth from Jeremiah the joyous exclamation: "O Yahweh my stronghold, and my refuge in the day of affliction."[69]

The Prophets are so sure of their righteousness that they appeal to Yahweh to vindicate them. Thus Micah at the time of Manasseh's persecution prays: "But as for me, I will look unto Yahweh; I will wait for the God of my salvation: my God will hear me. Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, Yahweh will be a light unto me."[70] Jeremiah also prays: "O Yahweh, thou knowest: remember me, and visit me, and avenge me of my persecutors; take me not away in thy longsuffering." "O Yahweh Ṣebaoth, that judgest righteously, that triest the reins and the heart, let me see thy vengeance on them, for unto thee have I revealed my cause."[71]

The Prophets are so certain that they are right, that they do not hesitate to invoke fearful curses upon their enemies. These are so frequent and so familiar, that they do not call for further elaboration.[72]

And yet, in spite of their righteousness, and in spite of their consciousness of God's approval, the Prophets continued to suffer. When Jeremiah begged the Lord to deliver him, the only answer was that he must endure still greater hardships: "If thou hast run with men on foot, and they have tired thee out, then how canst thou keep up with horses? If thou takest cover in a land of peace, then what wilt thou do in the jungle of Jordan?"[73]

This persistence of suffering in spite of righteousness could not fail to raise in the minds of the Prophets difficult questions in regard to the justice of God's government of the world. At the time when the men of Anathoth were plotting against his life, Jeremiah inquired: "Righteous art thou O Yahweh, when I plead with thee; yet would I reason the cause with thee: wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? wherefore are all they at ease that deal very treacherously? Thou hast

[69] Jer. 16 19; cf. Ezek. 2 6; 3 8 f. [70] Mic. 7 7-9.

[71] Jer. 20 11-12; cf. Jer. 11 20-23; 12 1-3; 15 12, 15-18; 17 14-18; 18 19-23.

[72] Am. 7 16 f.; Isa. 22 15-19; Jer. 6 11; 11 21-23; 20 3-6; 22 18 f.; 28 15-17; 29 31, 32; 38 22 f. [73] Jer. 12 5.

planted them, yea, they have taken root; they grow, yea, they bring forth fruit. Thou art near in their mouth, and far from their reins."[74]

In the eventful year 605 B. C., when Nebuchadrezzar defeated Pharaoh Necoh at Carchemish, and made Babylon the mistress of the world, Habakkuk challenged Yahweh to explain to him the meaning of the affliction of the righteous. "O Yahweh, how long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear? I cry out unto thee of violence, and thou wilt not save. . . . . For the wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore justice goeth forth perverted."[75] The Lord answered him, that the Babylonians were coming to punish the oppressors in Judah;[76] but this did not satisfy the prophet. He did not see the justice of giving the Babylonians victory, when they were wickeder than the sinners in Judah whom they overthrew. "Thou that art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and that canst not look on perverseness, wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy peace when the wicked swalloweth up the man that is more righteous than he?"[77] This was the first time in the history of Israel that a prophet dared to question the justice of the divine rule, and to demand of Yahweh an explanation of his doings.

II. THE THEORY OF DELAYED RETRIBUTION

To meet the difficulties in the way of the theory that all suffering is punishment, another supplementary theory was devised by the early Hebrews, namely, that the divine retribution may be delayed, but that sooner or later it will surely come. The righteous sufferer will be restored to prosperity before he dies, and the wicked will not live out his days, nor come to his grave in peace. "Fret not thyself because of evil doers, neither be thou envious of them that work unrighteousness, for they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither as the green herb."[78]

[74] Jer. 12 1-2. [75] Hab. 1 1-4. [76] Hab. 1 5-11.
[77] Hab. 1 12-17. [78] Ps. 37 1.

Many years elapsed before Joseph's brethren were punished for selling him into slavery; but after Benjamin was arrested, they were forced to confess, "God hath found out our iniquity."[79] Abimelech's murder of his brothers went long unavenged; he made himself king, and seemed to prosper; but eventually he was killed by a millstone cast by a woman. "Thus," says the historian, "God requited the wickedness of Abimelech which he did unto his father in slaying his seventy brethren."[80] The folk-tale in the epilogue of the Book of Job narrates how Job was ultimately vindicated by being restored to health, and receiving twice as many sheep, camels, oxen, and she-asses as he had owned at first, and an equal number of sons and daughters.[81]

The theory of delayed retribution was, however, not always applicable, because unfortunately people often died before they received the reward of their virtue. Abel's sacrifice was acceptable to Yahweh, yet he missed his reward because he was slain by his brother.[82] Jephthah's daughter was guilty of no sin, and showed a beautiful spirit of devotion to her father, yet she had to die in her maidenhood in fulfilment of her father's vow.[83] In all cases where the innocent, like the sons of Gideon, or Naboth, met violent deaths at the hands of tyrants, it was impossible for them ever to be vindicated. The good king Josiah, who carried through the Deuteronomic reformation, was slain in battle at the age of thirty-eight, without receiving any reward for his righteousness.[84] On the other hand, the wicked Manasseh, who did his best to turn Judah back to heathenism, and who shed much innocent blood in Jerusalem, reigned in prosperity for fifty-five years—the longest reign of all the kings of Judah—and came to his grave in peace in a good old age.[85] The contrast between the fates of Manasseh and Josiah led the common people to think that Manasseh was right and Josiah was wrong, and to react against Josiah's reformation.[86] This apparent break-

[79] Gen. 44 16. [80] Jud. 9 56f. [81] Job. 42 10-17.
[82] Gen. 4 4, 8. [83] Jud. 11 39. [84] 2 Ki. 23 29.
[85] 2 Ki. 21 1ff. [86] 2 Ki. 23 30-32; Jer. 11 9f.

down of Yahweh's justice caused the prophets of the period no little distress.[87]

If there had been any belief in retribution beyond the grave, the reward of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked might have been projected into the world to come, and might have been regarded as extreme instances of delayed retribution; but no such conception of immortality existed in pre-exilic Israel that belief in retribution in a future life was possible. Spirits of the dead went down to Sheol, where they led a shadowy, colorless existence that could hardly be called life. The tendency of the prophetic teaching was to strip the dead of all attributes of knowledge, memory, and feeling, and to conceive of Sheol as the eternal sleep. Sheol was a foreign land, presided over by its own gods; and over its borders Yahweh never passed to exert his authority. Since Sheol stood outside of the rule of Yahweh, and since the dead were incapable of remembering their lives on earth, or of experiencing pleasure or pain; rewards or punishments in the world to come were, of course, impossible. The only distinction in the fate of the dead depended upon their burial. Lack of burial prevented rest in Sheol, and lack of burial in the family tomb excluded one from the society of one's relatives; but there is no trace in the whole Old Testament of a division of the dead on the basis of character. The sinner is threatened with Sheol as a punishment, but never with a particular section of Sheol. The righteous Samuel says to the wicked Saul, who has been rejected by Yahweh, "Tomorrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me."[88]

III. THE THEORY OF COLLECTIVE RETRIBUTION

In view of the difficulties in the way of the theory of delayed retribution, still another supplementary theory became necessary to bolster up the traditional doctrine that all suffering is punishment, namely, that the rewards or the punishments

[87] 2 Chr. 35 25.

[88] See L. B. Paton, *Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity*, Chaps. XI–XII.

of individuals might be allotted to the groups to which they belonged. The early Hebrews brought with them into Canaan as an inheritance from primitive Semitic times a strong sense of the solidarity of the family and of the clan. Tribes were spoken of in the singular as Israel, Moab, Ammon; and the identity of the individual was lost in the group. The logical corollary of this conception was the assumption of collective responsibility for the sins of individuals. Saul sought to kill David's relatives on his account,[89] and annihilated the clan of Ahimelech the priest because he had befriended David.[90] David proposed to cut off the entire family of Nabal because of the insolence of the head of the house.[91] The seven sons of Saul were hanged because of his attack on the Gibeonites.[92] The sons of Naboth were slain with him.[93]

It seemed eminently natural, accordingly, that Yahweh should deal with the group rather than the individual; and should bring the punishment of the sinner, or the reward of the righteous, upon his family, his clan, or his nation, rather than upon himself. Yahweh "visited the penalty of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hated him."[94] The Canaanites were enslaved because of the guilt of their remote ancestor.[95] Pharaoh's house was plagued because he had taken Sarah.[96] The wombs of the house of Abimelech were closed for the same offense.[97] The firstborn of Egypt were smitten for the sin of Pharaoh.[98] Amalek was destroyed in the time of Saul because its forefathers attacked Israel at the time of the exodus.[99] David's child died, and the sword never departed from his house, because of his sin.[100] Solomon was told, "I will surely rend the kingdom from thee.... Nevertheless in thy days I will not do it, for David, thy father's sake; but I will rend it out of the hand of thy son."[101]

The social and the religious development in Israel in the

[89] 1 Sam. 22 1, 3 f. [90] 1 Sam. 22 16 f. [91] 1 Sam. 25 22.
[92] 2 Sam. 21 6 ff. [93] 2 Ki. 9 26. [94] Ex. 20 5.
[95] Gen. 9 24 f. [96] Gen. 12 17. [97] Gen. 20 18.
[98] Ex. 12 29. [99] Ex. 17 8-16; 1 Sam. 15 2 f.
[100] 2 Sam. 12 10, 14. [101] 1 Ki. 11 11 f.

times of the Prophets tended to undermine the time-honored belief that the rewards or the punishments of fathers were allotted to their children. In the period of the later monarchy the old tribal organization began to break up, and during the Babylonian exile it disappeared almost entirely. This decay of the ancient social groups created a new sense of the worth of the individual.

The religious experience of the Prophets also fostered individualism. Jeremiah, in particular, was rejected by the nation and by the civil and religious authorities; yet he found communion with God outside of the Visible Church of his day. He was the first thoroughgoing individualist in the history of Israel. A new consciousness of the dignity of the individual found expression in the words of the Lord through Ezekiel: "Behold all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine;"[102] and in the prediction of Jeremiah that in the Messianic age Yahweh would write his teaching in the heart of each Israelite, so that all should know Him from the least unto the greatest.[103]

This prophetic thought left its mark in the legislation of Deuteronomy and of the Holiness Code, which recognize new rights of wives, children, and slaves over against the head of the house, and which prohibit the punishment of children for the crimes of fathers, or of fathers for the crimes of children.[104]

This new conception of the value of the individual made belief in the ancient theory of collective retribution impossible. Punishment of the nation for the sins of its rulers, or of children for the sins of their parents, no longer seemed consistent with Yahweh's righteousness. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel found current among the people the proverb: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are blunted;" that is to say, "We are suffering unjustly the punishment of our ancestors' sins."[105]

To meet this objection Ezekiel formulated the new doctrine

[102] Ezek. 18 4.
[103] Jer. 31 31-34.
[104] Deut. 24 16.
[105] Jer. 31 29; Ezek. 18 2

of a complete rewarding or punishing of each individual in the present life, that necessitated no entail of guilt upon coming generations. Instead of the dogma that the penalty of the parents is visited upon the children, he affirmed "The soul that sinneth it shall die;"[106] and he entered into an elaborate argument to prove that every man received before death the appropriate reward of his deeds.[107]

Thus it appears that, as early as the period of the exile, every element of the traditional theory of suffering was challenged by certain thinkers. It was denied that suffering was always punishment, denied that a just recompense came in the present life, and denied that the sins of the fathers were visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation. Orthodoxy continued frantically to reaffirm the truth of the traditional theory, but an ever-increasing number of heretics questioned its validity.

IV. SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF SUFFERING BY THE PROPHETS

Out of the struggle of the Prophets to explain their own sufferings there slowly emerged the conviction, that they were not being punished for their own sins, nor for the sins of their fathers, nor for the sins of their people; but that they were "servants of Yahweh," who were sharing with him in a sacrificial ministry for the redemption of Israel. They were the first who glimpsed the profound truth of the suffering of God, and through that discovery learned to view their own sufferings in a new light.

a. God Suffers Because He Loves. — Yahweh's love for Israel was known already to Amos, when he represented Yahweh as saying, "You only have I chosen of all the families of the earth."[108] Love was the central element in Hosea's idea of God: "I drew them with man-like bonds, with ties of love."[109] Jeremiah expressed it, in the most

[106] Ezek. 18 4. [107] Ezek. 18 5-32.
[108] Am. 3 2. [109] Hos. 11 4.

beautiful words of the Old Testament, "I have loved thee with an everlasting love; therefore with lovingkindness have I drawn thee."[110]

Sometimes the Prophets pictured the love of God under the figure of a father's love for his son. "I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-born."[111] "Thou art our father, though Abraham knoweth us not."[112]

Less often the Prophets compared the love of Yahweh to a mother's love for her babe. "I taught Ephraim to walk, I bare him on my arms."[113] "O house of Jacob . . . my load since ever you were born, whom I have carried from the womb."[114] "Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, these may forget, yet will not I forget thee."[115] "Ye shall be borne upon the arms, and shall be dandled upon the knees. As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you."[116]

The Prophets' favorite figure for the love of Yahweh was a husband's love for his wife. This originated in the personal experience of Hosea, and was elaborated by all his successors. "I will betroth thee unto me forever; yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, and in justice, and in lovingkindness, and in mercies."[117] "Thy Maker is thy husband . . . For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee."[118] "As the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee."[119]

Since Yahweh loved Israel, the Prophets saw clearly that he suffered in the ingratitude and apostasy of his people. "I brought you up out of the land of Egypt . . . and I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazirites . . . But ye gave the Nazirites wine to drink, and commanded the prophets, saying, Prophesy not."[120] "O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, what shall I do unto thee? for your goodness is as a morning cloud,

110 Jer. 31 3. 111 Jer. 31 9. 112 Isa. 63 16.
113 Hos. 11 3. 114 Isa. 46 3. 115 Isa. 49 15.
116 Isa. 66 12 f. 117 Hos. 2 19. 118 Isa. 54 5-8.
119 Isa. 62 4 f. 120 Am. 2 9-12.

and as the dew that goeth early away."[121] "What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? . . . For the vineyard of Yahweh Ṣebaoth is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant; and he looked for justice, but, behold, oppression; for righteousness, but, behold, a cry."[122]

Yahweh's father-love was wounded by the lovelessness and disobedience of his children. "When Israel was a child, I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. The more I called them, the further they went away. They sacrificed unto the baals, and burned incense to graven images."[123] "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider."[124]

Yahweh's husband-love was grieved by the infidelity of Israel, his wife. Hosea had the tragic personal experience of being forsaken by a wife whom he loved dearly, and this became for him a type of Yahweh's suffering in the defection of Israel. "Yahweh said unto me, Keep on loving a wife, beloved of her lover, and an adulteress; even as Yahweh loveth the children of Israel, though they turn unto other gods."[125]

Yahweh suffered also in the misery which Israel brought upon itself by its waywardness. "I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself . . . For as often as I speak against him, I do earnestly remember him still: therefore my heart is troubled for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith Yahweh." "I repent me of the evil that I have done unto you."[126] "I have given the dearly beloved of my soul into the hand of her enemies . . . Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion under foot. They have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness."[127]

[121] Hos. 6 4. [122] Isa. 5 1-7. [123] Hos. 11 1-2.
[124] Isa. 1 2 f. [125] Hos. 3 1. [126] Jer. 31 18-20; 41 10.
[127] Jer. 12 7-12.

b. The Prophets Suffer with God. — Realizing as they did, that God suffered in the sin and in the punishment of Israel, in order that he might save his people, the Prophets recognized that they were called to share with God in his work of suffering and redemption. Nowhere does this conviction appear more clearly than in Hosea, who realized that his sorrowful experience with his unfaithful wife was sent expressly in order that he might understand Yahweh's experience with apostate Israel.[128] "I was no prophet, nor member of a prophetic guild," said Amos. "I was only a shepherd and a cultivator of sycamore figs; but Yahweh took me from the flock, and Yahweh said to me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel."[129] "The lion hath roared, who will not fear; Yahweh Elohim hath spoken, who can but prophesy?"[130] Hosea knew a definite moment that was the "beginning of Yahweh's speaking to him."[131] Isaiah heard the voice of Yahweh, saying, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" and replied, "Here am I, send me."[132] Micah was conscious that he was "full of power by the Spirit of Yahweh . . . to declare to Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin."[133] Jeremiah in his inaugural vision received from Yahweh the commission: "Before I formed thee in the womb I chose thee; before thou wast born I set thee apart; I have appointed thee a prophet unto the nations . . . To whomsoever I send thee thou shalt go, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak . . . Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth . . . Thou, therefore, gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee."[134]

So confident were the Prophets of a divine commission, that they claimed for themselves the title "servants of Yahweh," or more literally, "slaves of Yahweh," which described them as belonging to Yahweh, acting as his representatives, and doing his work in the world. Thus Amos says: "Surely

[128] Hos. 1 2-9; 3 1-5. [129] Am. 7 14 f. [130] Am. 3 8.
[131] Hos. 1 2. [132] Isa. 6 8. [133] Mic. 3 8.
[134] Jer. 1 4-19.

the Lord Yahweh will do nothing, except he reveal his secret unto his servants the prophets."[135]

Since they were the slaves of Yahweh, and since their Master suffered, the Prophets knew that they must expect to suffer also. When Jeremiah begged the Lord to deliver him from his suffering, he was told that this could not be; but that, if he would accept it manfully, then he should be God's own spokesman. "O Yahweh, thou knowest. Remember me, and visit me, and avenge me of my persecutors; in thy longsuffering take me not away. Know that for thy sake I have suffered reproach. I found thy words, and I did eat them; and thy words were unto me a joy and the rejoicing of my heart; for I am called by thy name, O Yahweh, God of hosts . . . I sat alone because of thy hand, for thou hast filled me with indignation. Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable, which refuseth to be healed? Wilt thou indeed be unto me as a deceitful brook, as waters that fail? This was Yahweh's answer: If thou wilt cease murmuring, I will restore thee to my service; if thou wilt purify thyself from passion, then thou shalt be my spokesman."[136]

c. The Prophets Suffer for Israel. — The Prophets realized that they suffered, not only as servants of God, but also for the sake of their people. As true patriots who loved their nation, they longed to see it escape peril, and to fulfil its destiny. They endured toil and travail, in order to lead it to repentance, and to save it from destruction. "Remember, O Yahweh," says Jeremiah, "how I stood before thee to speak good for them, to turn away thy wrath from them."[137] Jeremiah's declaration: "I was like a trustful lamb, led out to slaughter,"[138] bears a singular resemblance to the description of the suffering Servant of Yahweh in Isa. 53 7: "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter": and it shows the same consciousness of the sacrificial aspect of his ministry.

From all these considerations it is clear that the pre-exilic writing prophets broke away from the traditional interpret-

[135] Am. 3 7. [136] Jer. 15 15-19. [137] Jer. 18 19-20.
[138] Jer. 11 19.

ation of suffering as invariably punishment; and in God's case, and in their own cases, recognized the suffering of love for the salvation of others. Their interpretation of suffering was substantially identical with that of Deutero-Isaiah in Isa. 52 13-53 12. This fact has an important bearing upon the problems of the age and the interpretation of the "Suffering Servant" passages in Second Isaiah. Into the discussion of these questions there is no space to enter here.

This is the profoundest interpretation of the mystery of pain that the Old Testament attained. It is superior to all the speculations of the Wisdom School. It far surpasses the best intellectual efforts of the Greek tragic poets and of the Greek philosophers, and of all other pre-Christian literature. It is transcended only by the life and the teaching of Jesus, who "fulfilled" this conception, as he did all that was greatest and best in the Old Testament.

LEVITICAL LEGEND FROM THE PERSIAN PERIOD

MOSES BAILEY
WELLESLEY COLLEGE

SINCE the publication of Professor C. C. Torrey's *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* in 1896, and *Ezra Studies* in 1910, those scholars who seek accurate historical information in the so-called Memoirs of Ezra and in the second half of the book of Nehemiah have been occupied with self-defense. If literary criticism can convince, we must attribute this material to the Chronicler. Therefore, for accurate information, chronology, and the proper evaluation of events, it is wholly worthless. The following notes, however, call attention to some evidence that the Chronicler used tradition and current Levitical opinion, and so was not merely a composer of fiction.

The return of exiles from Babylon to Jerusalem is the Chronicler's major theme, centering in the coming of some forty-nine thousand in the reign of Cyrus, and of Ezra and his followers in the reign of an Artaxerxes. These pilgrim caravans are magnificently exaggerated. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence of Jewish pilgrimage in Persian times to make it clear that the Chronicler is reporting genuine traditions which have grown fabulous in their oral transmission. In the first place, it is significant that the peculiar name Haggai first appears in this period. The root meaning, "to make a pilgrimage," "to keep a pilgrim feast," is familiar in various Semitic languages; the Arabic حاج is a title conferred upon one who has performed a major pilgrimage. As

a Jewish name the form Haggai (or Haggi?) also occurs in the Elephantine Papyri eleven times as names of different individuals.[1] It is noteworthy that this name, not previously found in extant literature, in the fifth century becomes so common; it points to the growing importance and dignity of pilgrimage in Judaism.

Zechariah has an important message for a group of pilgrims just come from Babylon, and he believes that more will come in the future who will help in the rebuilding of Zion.[2] Nehemiah because of his meeting with pilgrims recently returned from Jerusalem bewails the fate of his sacred city, and makes a journey there himself, armed with a royal *firman* for the repair of the wall.[3]

In the finer imagination of poetry, the prophecies contained in the latter half of the Book of Isaiah—which I take to be a product of the late fifth century—describe the joys of the Jerusalem-bound pilgrims. The hills and the mountains at the Lord's command shall be made level, the wilderness shall become a safe pathway, there shall be abundance of water, even rivers in the desert, and food for those who journey; the march shall be triumphant, like the coming of the Israelites out of Egypt; even the sea shall not be a barrier.[4] The beauty of the hope of these homeward turned exiles is known perhaps as familiarly as any thought from Scripture.

It is quite possible that the poem incorporated in Is. 2 2–4 and Micah 4 1–5 comes from somewhat the same time. Its picture is consistent with that found in the latter part of the book of Isaiah.

The likeness of this ideal return to Jerusalem to the marvellously guarded Exodus from Egypt is the more striking when it is recalled that while these poetic comparisons of the Jerusalem return were being composed, the Priestly Document

[1] As printed by A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, Oxford, 1923.

[2] Zech. 6 10, 15.

[3] Neh. 1 f.

[4] Is. 40 3-5; 41 17-20; 44 26-28; 46 12 f.; 52 1-10; 58 12; 60; 61 4 f.; 62; 66. Cf. various Pss., as, e. g., 87.

of the Hexateuch, with its descriptions of the glorious crossing of the Red Sea and the providential guidance of the Israelites in the Wilderness was being put into its present form. Thus the Zionists of Babylon idealized their own Exodus.

Also significant is the number of Pilgrim Psalms in the Psalter, the processionals, the thrilling descriptions of the events of the Exodus and wilderness wanderings, all told in much the spirit of Second Isaiah; and the joy of arrival in the Holy City, the bringing of vows to the Temple, and the mystic satisfaction that the pilgrims found in the service of the Temple.[5] That these Psalms cannot be convincingly dated does not prevent their being accepted as evidence for the growing custom of pilgrimage in the Persian Period, for, whatever age produced them, their thought was acceptable and caused their preservation.

Some of the interpolated sections in the prophetic books, which of course can not be satisfactorily dated, in their most exalted fancies picture the sifting of the people from the nations,[6] the return from abroad,[7] the dividing of the Nile for the coming of those from Egypt, just as the Red Sea had once been divided,[8] the way through the wilderness,[9] and the highway to Zion,[10] all in contrast to the feeble population of Jerusalem.[11] One writer, perhaps among the latest, conscious of the unfulfilled ideal of the Return, speaks of the coming of Pilgrims to Zion *one by one*.[12]

Religious festival is the usual goal of pilgrimage. The Chronicler, in his legends of the birth of Judaism, describes the rise of certain Jewish festivals to greater prominence: the renewal, as he considers it, of the Feast of Tabernacles,[13] of Passover and Unleavened Bread,[14] and of all the set feasts;[15] and the occasional festivals of the Founding[16] and Dedication[17]

[5] Pss. 66 6; 68 4 (cf. 24 7-10); 68 7; 74 13; 77 20; 78 (especially vv. 13-26); 84 5-8; 95; 96 10-13; 98 7 ff.; 107 2-8; 114; 136 14 ff.; *et passim*.

[6] Amos 9 10. [7] Is. 11 11. [8] Is. 11 15.

[9] Zech. 10 8-12. [10] Is. 34. [11] Mic. 4 6.

[12] Is. 27 12. [13] Ezra 3 4, and Neh. 8 9-18.

[14] Ezra 6 19-22. [15] Ezra 3 5. [16] Ezra 3 8-13.

[17] Ezra 6 16-18.

of the Temple (the latter, though in Aramaic, Torrey assigns to the Chronicler), and of the Dedication of the Wall.[18] These legends of the rise of the great feast days we have only upon the Chronicler's authority; but because the Jewish festivals had received a vigorous new life when first Judaism came into clear historical light these narratives are credible tradition.

In the Chronicler's scheme of history, the continuous stream of pilgrimage is concentrated into two gloriously exaggerated expeditions. Just as the Pentateuchal narratives dramatize the development of the Law as if it were the work of one man, this later author dramatizes the legends he knows concerning the Persian Period. In spite of his peculiar theory of *the* Return, other sources substantiate his tradition that there was an important Zionist movement during the Persian Period. The Chronicler, therefore, is not composing fiction, but is recording valuable Levitical legend.

Through the influence of returning pilgrims, the population of Jerusalem acquired a new character. The Chronicler's story is that Nehemiah found an inadequate population in the city, and that he accordingly cast lots among the people to bring a tenth into the Holy City. "And the people blessed all the men that willingly offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem."[19] Evidently the rewards of living in the Holy City were sentimental rather than material. The story goes on to say that part of these people fled to the country for lack of support.[20] A tax was therefore instituted to make it possible for the Levites to return.[21] Strict rules were made regarding Sabbath observance,[22] and against mingling with the less religious people outside,[23] for Jerusalem must be truly holy. Such is the Chronicler's description of how Jerusalem's inhabitants became Holy; other literature confirms the story in its broader outlines.

Nehemiah's difficulties with Sanballat and his friends were part of the early estrangement of the citizens of the Holy City from the People of the Land. The repaired city wall served

[18] Neh. 12 27-47. [19] Neh. 11. [20] Neh. 13 10 ff.
[21] Neh. 13 10-13. [22] Neh. 13 15-21. [23] Neh. 13 23-30.

to isolate the pious Zionists from their neighbors. In view of the frequent coming of pilgrims from abroad, and also in view of the friction between the inhabitants of the city and other Palestinians, Temple support must necessarily have come rather largely from foreign Jews. Neh. 2 7–9, which is good history, tells of a royal order upon a Persian official to help support Nehemiah's work at Jerusalem. Neh. 10 32 f., regarding the Temple Tax, may be wrongly assigned to Nehemiah's accomplishments, but it is essentially true: it is supported by the Priestly Document[24] which, in its present wording, because it demands a half shekel instead of a third, as in Nehemiah, must be a later statement of the Law than that in the Chronicler's tradition. The other legends from the Chronicler about the bringing of Temple support from abroad are in their setting and strange exaggeration quite impossible;[25] as legendary reflections of real history they are, however, made reasonable by the corresponding passage in the Memoirs of Nehemiah and by the Priestly Code's corroboration of the Temple Tax legend.

Cities whose predominant interests are religious rather than commercial, and whose prestige makes them the goal of the pilgrimages of the pious, are ultra-conservative of ancient ritual and custom. For example, an intellectually alert Muslim can probably modernize his religious thinking elsewhere, but certainly not in Mekka. The Priestly Code, which is the product of Jerusalemite Judaism of the Persian Period, contains just such fossils of former ritual as we should expect from the community whose legends the Chronicler records.[26]

Also, if the account of the conscript population is valuable legend, we may suppose that the inhabitants of Jerusalem were poor. People in prosperous circumstances cannot readily be persuaded to move. The Psalms, which must reflect the ideals of the age in which they were collected, frequently

[24] Ex. 30 11-16; cf. Nu. 3 45-51.

[25] Ezra 1 7-11; 3 7; 7 12-24; 1 Esdras 4 50-57.

[26] Lv. 12; 16; Nu. 5 12-31; cf. G. F. Moore, "The Rise of Normative Judaism," in the *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xvii, no. 4, pp. 307–374.

describe the righteous remnant of Zion as very poor in contrast to their rich neighbors.[27] Those who expressed their piety by living in the Holy City, the Chronicler's legend says, did so at the expense of any prospects of wealth.[28] That such a population could find either means or courage to continue, however, must have been due to the constant coming and going of pilgrims. (Some scribes, perhaps, as an addition to the book of Micah implies,[29] thought that the poverty was only a result of sin.)

There is more or less literature which shows the ideals of this new community. Hatred of the People of the Land, especially of the Edomites, Ammonites, and Samaritans, was bitter;[30] possibly these neighbors had found opportunity to tax or to rob the pilgrims who passed their way.[31] Psalmists described the purity of character required of those who might live in the Holy City.[32] Others referred to the factions within this group, to be expected, perhaps, as the necessary business encroachments conflicted with the religious tranquillity of the city.[33] But a poet's shock at the irreligiously quarrelsome only emphasizes his high ideal for Zion. One Psalm breaks out in heartfelt appreciation of the people's unanimity.[34] The Chronicler in his history of pre-exilic times showed a similar attitude toward Jerusalem.[35]

[27] Pss. 9 18; 10 2, 9; 14 6; 17 14 f.; 22 16–18, 26; 34 2, 6, 9 f.; 37 11, 14, 16, 29; 40 17; 41 1–3; 49 6–12, 16; 52 7; 62 10; 65 4; 68 14–17; 69 7–10, 29, 32 f.; 70 5; 72 2, 4, 12–16; 73 3–7, 12, 17; 74 19, 21; 82 3 f.; 86 1 f.; 102 17; 109 22, 31; 112 9; 113 6–8; 132 15 f.; 149 4.

[28] Neh. 13 10-14.

[29] Micah 7 12 f.

[30] Is. 63 1-6; Pss. 60 6-12; 74 18 (cf. Ecclus. 50 26); Is. 34 2; perhaps Obadiah; Is. 11 13 ff.; Amos 9 12; Joel 4 4; the Chronicler, *passim.*

[31] The story of God's protection for the company of Ezra may imply that there was a temporary truce for pilgrims, or at least that the Chronicler thought that there should be such a truce. History gives an example of this sort of thing in connection with the great festival at Mekka.

[32] Pss. 15; 17 14 f.; 24 3 f.; 26 5 f.; 46 4.

[33] Pss. 55 9-17; 101 8; cf. Neh. 13 15-22.

[34] Ps. 133.

[35] 2 Chr. 5; 11 13 ff.; 15 8–12; 30 1–5; *et cetera.*

In conclusion: It seems that the Persian Period was not only a time when Jewish Pilgrimage became a more important rite, but also when the population of the city of Jerusalem acquired a peculiarly pious quality. Whether or not the Chronicler's story of a conscript citizenship is strictly fact, at least it is a legend containing some credible truth, not merely the author's fictitious composition. The Persian Period of Jewish history is prehistoric in somewhat the same sense that the Mosaic Age is prehistoric. And much as the J Document of Exodus and Numbers relates the legends about Moses, the Chronicler tells the legends current in Levitical circles about the origins of the aristocracy and of the great pilgrimage festivals.

BAUDISSINS VERMÄCHTNIS

KARL BUDDE
UNIVERSITÄT MARBURG

MITTE Oktober 1925 erreichte mich auf der Reise in Mitteldeutschland eine überaus freundliche Einladung meines verehrten Vorgängers in der Marburger Professur, des Grafen Wolf Wilhelm Baudissin, ihn gelegentlich der Rückreise in seiner Sommerfrische in Wilhelmshöhe bei Kassel zu besuchen. Mit Freuden entsprach ich seinem Wunsche und verlebte so am 16. Oktober einen wunderschönen Tag in seiner Gesellschaft, ohne zu ahnen, daß es mein letzter Austausch mit ihm sein sollte; wurde er doch nur ein starkes Vierteljahr später (6. Februar 1926) abgerufen in die ewige Heimat. Bei diesem Zusammensein erhielt ich die erste Kunde von dem umfassenden Werke, das ihn während der letzten Jahre seines Lebens beschäftigte; mit großer Lebhaftigkeit und Anschaulichkeit erzählte er mir auf unsrem Spaziergang durch den herrlichen Park von seinem neuen Buche über Kyrios als Gottesname. Zwei Bände davon seien fertig, und er stehe schon in Verhandlungen, leider bis dahin, angesichts der schweren Zeiten, vergeblichen, über deren Verlag; der dritte müsse noch geschrieben werden, wenn auch die Stoffsammlung dafür vorliege. Ich erzähle das, um eine Vorstellung zu bieten von der Höhe der Arbeitsleistung, die der 78jährige sich zumuten durfte und glücklich erreichte. Denn als er, am Schreibtisch, die Feder in der Hand, einschlief, um nicht wieder aufzuwachen, lag das Manuskript des dritten Bandes fertig vor. Was dem Lebenden Sorge bereitet hatte, das Erscheinen des Ganzen im Druck, das erreicht nun die Pietät

für den Dahingeschiedenen, und das *opus posthumum* wird ihm zum würdigsten Denkmal.

Sein Schüler Otto Eissfeldt, Professor des Alten Testaments in Halle, der Baudissin, wie ich aus dessen Munde weiß, besonders ans Herz gewachsen war, hat die Herausgabe übernommen, Alfred Töpelmann in Gießen, bei dem auch die Festschrift zu Baudissins 70. Geburtstag erschienen war, den Verlag, und schon vor Ende des Jahres haben sie uns die erste von voraussichtlich zwölf Lieferungen des großen Werkes beschert:

Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum
und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte.[1]

Das Werk zerfällt in drei Teile: I. Teil „Der Gebrauch des Gottesnamens Kyrios in Septuaginta", II. Teil „Die Herkunft des Gottesnamens Kyrios der Septuaginta", III. Teil „Der Gottesname Kyrios der Septuaginta und die Entwicklung des Gottesbegriffs in den Religionen der semitischen Völker".

Inhalt und Ziel des Ganzen faßt der Herausgeber, dem allein es bereits vorliegt, in wenigen Sätzen so zusammen:[2] „Die beiden ersten Teile wollen, unter erschöpfender Verwertung des gesamten den Gottesnamen angehenden Sprachgebrauchs im griechischen und im hebräischen Text, zeigen, daß die Aussprache *'adonāj* „Herr" für den nicht mehr ausgesprochenen Namen *jhwh* nicht, wie man allgemein annimmt, das Vorbild des κύριος der Septuaginta bildet, sondern erst auf Grund dieses κύριος, etwa um den Anfang unserer Ära, bei den Schriftverlesungen in den Synagogen aufgekommen und dann auch, das alte *jhwh* ersetzend, vielfach in den Text eingedrungen ist, wobei die Entstehung dieses eigennamartigen *'adonāj* „Herr" durch das Vorhandensein eines alten Vokativs *'adonaj* „mein Herr" begünstigt wurde. Der dritte Teil stellt, unter Heranziehung des gewaltigen Materials von semitischen Gottesnamen und theophoren menschlichen Eigennamen, das

[1] Erste Lieferung, 160 Seiten größtes 8°, Subskriptionspreis 8 M.

[2] Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges. 1926, S. 124, und, etwas abgekürzt, in der Beilage des Verlegers zur ersten Lieferung.

κύριος der Septuaginta und das dadurch veranlaßte hebräische *'adonāj* in größere Zusammenhänge und legt dar, daß beide gleichsam als letzte Glieder der Entwicklung die Quintessenz des semitischen Gottesbegriffs darstellen, jenes in hellenistischer Form, dieses in spezifisch jüdischer Färbung."

Sehr schön hat Eissfeldt in dem angeführten Aufsatz der ZDMG, „Vom Lebenswerk eines Religionshistorikers", nachgewiesen, wie dieses Kyrios-Werk die Krönung und den Abschluß der Lebensarbeit Baudissins darstellt. „Es ist keineswegs Zufall," sagt er dort (S. 105), „daß B. bei seinen wichtigeren Arbeiten immer die Linien bis ins Christentum hineinzieht, sondern das ist die notwendige Folge des tief in seinem Wesen begründeten und auch sonst zu beobachtenden Strebens, den Äußerungen des religiösen Lebens bis zu den lichten Höhen ihres Aufstieges nachzugehen und auf diesen Höhen andächtig bei ihnen zu verweilen." In der Tat ist B. nicht ein Religionshistoriker gewöhnlichen Schlages, dem es wesentlich auf die weite Peripherie ankommt, dessen Arbeit vornehmlich in Statistik aufgeht, sondern seine Forschung hat überall einen systematischen Untergrund, eine geradezu metaphysische Abzielung. Und nun zeigt uns Eissfeldt (S. 118 ff.), wie B. bei der Ergründung des alttestamentlichen Gottesbegriffs, auf dem der des Christentums beruht, zwei Gottesideen nebeneinander fand, die von der Gottheit, die im besonderen Sinne Leben ist, ihrem Verehrer Leben spendet und erhält, und die andre von Gott als dem Herrn, dem Herrn des Stammes und der einzelnen Stammesglieder. Die erste knüpft ihm an die Gottesidee der Phönizier und Kanaanäer an, die zweite ist ihm die eigentlich und ursprünglich semitische. Den Entwicklungsgang der ersteren hat B. in seinem großen Werke „Adonis und Esmun" von 1911 verfolgt, den der zweiten, der ursprünglich semitischen, legt sein letztes und umfassendstes Buch über „Kyrios als Gottesname" dar. Dem nun Vollendeten war es wie nur ganz Wenigen vergönnt, bis in das hohe Alter immer neue, und grade die größten Schritte in seiner eigenen wissenschaftlichen Entwickelung zu tun; mit rührender Bescheidenheit spricht er (S. 109 bei Eissfeldt) davon, wie viel schwerer das ihm geworden

ist als manchem andren. Wir dürfen ihn glücklich preisen, daß er in diesem Werke seiner Lebensarbeit noch die Krone hat aufsetzen dürfen.

Und nun die erste Lieferung des großen Werks, die jetzt als Anzahlung gleichsam in unsrer Hand liegt. Sie ist wahrlich nicht darauf berechnet, Leser und Käufer anzulocken, wie das denn dem Verfasser auch so fern lag wie irgend möglich. Schon die Inhaltsangabe der drei Teile zeigt ja, daß die Anziehungskraft des Gegenstandes mit jedem Teile sich steigern muß und erst im letzten den Gipfel erreichen kann. Der erste Teil verfolgt eine Frage von scheinbar winzigem Umfang auf schier endlos langer Linie und häuft so eine Unsumme von minutiösen Beobachtungen. Es handelt sich weit überwiegend um den Gebrauch von κύριος mit oder ohne Artikel; dadurch soll entschieden werden, inwieweit κύριος bei Septuaginta als Eigenname gedacht ist oder nicht. Die Erste Abteilung dieser Untersuchung, „κύριος in Septuaginta an Stelle von *jhwh* und anderen Gottesbenennungen des masoretischen Textes mit Ausschluß der Namen *ādōn, ădonīm, ădonāj*", bringt unsere Lieferung bis zum Ende der Nebi'im rischonim; die Untersuchung des Buches Jesaja beginnt auf S. 156. Mit gewohnter Bescheidenheit sagt B. auf S. 16, es werde für die weitläufige Behandlung der aufgeworfenen Frage ein großes Maß von Geduld in Anspruch genommen. Daß es dessen bedarf, ist wohl nicht nur in der Sache begründet, sondern ein wenig auch in B.'s Verfahren. Vielleicht hätte, was zu erheben war, auf weite Strecken tabellarische Darstellung zugelassen; die Übersichtlichkeit hätte dabei gewonnen, manche Wiederholung wäre vermieden worden. Aber solches Verfahren lag B. nicht; er mußte, was er zu sagen hatte, stets in voller Ausführlichkeit darlegen. Das hat denn auch wieder den Vorzug, daß wir seinen Gedankengang auf Schritt und Tritt begleiten und überall einen unmittelbaren, persönlichen Eindruck erhalten. Es ist ein ganzer, ein echter Baudissin, was uns hier geboten wird; wie er leibte und lebte, so steht er vor uns.

Besonders schön tritt seine Besonnenheit und Selbstlosigkeit in dem zusammenfassenden Abschnitt S. 94ff. zutage. So

fest B. überzeugt ist, daß die Setzung oder Nichtsetzung des Artikels bei κύριος stets einen Grund und Sinn hat, der sich durch Regeln muß festlegen lassen, so hebt er doch dort (S. 95) aufs Entschiedenste hervor, wie er nicht an bestimmte Regeln denke, die den Übersetzern vorgeschwebt hätten, sondern an ein gewisses Gefühl, das sie leitete, und zwar durchaus nicht ständig leitete. Aber er könne das nicht anders ausdrücken, als indem er seinerseits aus dem vorliegenden Material Regeln zu extrahieren versuche. Dasselbe in andrer Fassung auch S. 98. Und nun folgt die Heerschau der zahllos verschiedenen Gründe, die dabei bestimmend mitgewirkt haben mögen, bis hin zu den Zufälligkeiten, Gedankenlosigkeit der Abschreiber und — „wahrscheinlich zum Teil schon Inkonsequenz der Übersetzer". Es ist bewundernswürdig, wie B. sich durch dieses Labyrinth hindurchfindet und endlich doch zu einem wahrscheinlichen und bedeutsamen Ergebnis gelangt.

Ich verzichte darauf, kleine Beobachtungen und Bedenken den Anfängen eines so groß angelegten Werkes gegenüber geltend zu machen. Jeder Fachgenosse muß sich selbst den Weg hindurch bahnen, um des vorbildlichen Mannes und seines hochgesteckten Zieles willen. Zum Schluß sei noch aufmerksam gemacht auf die schöne Übersicht des Inhalts des ganzen Werkes, die Otto Eissfeldt in der Orientalistischen Literaturzeitung vom Oktober 1926, Spalte 783—788, darbietet. Auf die weiteren Lieferungen gedenke ich an dieser Stelle regelmäßig hinzuweisen.

Zwischen Niederschrift und Korrektur erschien schon die zweite Lieferung, die die begonnene Untersuchung bis fast zum Kanonende fortführt.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The *hemzah-h* in the Semitic

IN this JOURNAL for 1926, pp. 323–5, Mr. G. S. Driver has advanced the argument for the derivation of יהוה from original יו by the suggestion that ה was inserted as a vowel letter or letter of prolongation in the biliteral form; i. e. *yaų* = *ya(h)ų*, which then came to be 'improperly read and pronounced' *yahû(-ô)*, a final ה being subsequently added 'under the influence of a religious interpretation' and 'to support the final vowel.' For the inserted ה Mr. Driver might well have appealed to the 'graphic *h*' which appears so often and in as yet unexplained ways, in South Arabic. And the writer fully agrees with him that *h* in אברהם is just such a letter, which came later to induce a new syllable, 'Abraham.' Also note Moabite מהדבא along with Biblical מידבא. Along with this phenomenon goes the earlier spelling of the name of the patriarch's wife, שרי (= שרה), which is the well-known Arabic spelling of certain feminine nouns. This combination of Arabian spellings opens up some interesting vistas into early Arabian scripts, and is a proof of the intimate relation of early Hebrew tradition with Arabia. Despite this assent the writer still remains unconvinced as to the monosyllabic origin of יהוה. He would observe *en passant* the early names Ya-wi-^{d}Dagan and Ya-wi-^{d}AN listed by Theo Bauer in his *Ostkanaanäer* (1926), p. 31, in which the author finds the element יהוה (cf. pp. 56, 63). He disposes of the identification of Yaum, famous in the Babel-Bible controversy as though = יהו, by interpreting it, e. g. in Ia-u-um-AN as meaning 'God is mine.' Ya-wi he interprets by 'he causes to exist.' But indeed so many names in the Akkadian implying absolute existence of the deity are found (probably so the

element *ya-kun*) that we may not categorically deny that יהוה may mean 'the being one.'[1]

But I think that Mr. Driver goes too far in claiming that root formations like Aram. רהט, בהת, Heb. כהן, קהל, were developed out of ע"ו roots through the orthographic expression of the internal long vowel in the script by the vowel-letter ה, which ensued in the mispronunciation of the root רוט as רהט, etc. This argues for too vast an influence of script upon language in the early days of writing, when orthography was most phonetic. But the explanation, I believe, is as follows. Just as there is the well-known exchange of *w*, *y*, ' in weak roots, so also *h* appears at times as a corresponding element along with those variants. Thus we have בוש (בות), באש and בהת; so also the related roots כול, יכל, כהל; so also חטא = Aram. חטה, and Arabic חטא along with חטי. So the primary noun שם developed a denominative verb: in Arab. *sammî*, but in Aram. *šammeh*. That is, the slight aspirate *h* was used in radical developments even as *w*, *y*, and the *hemza*. For the phonetics cf. the equivalents in the causative stem, *haktala* and *'aktala*.

There is another field in which this inorganic aspirate appears, in the extension of nominal forms, and all in primitive nouns. The phenomenon exists in several plurals in the Aram., e. g. שמהא, from שם, etc.; in the unique Heb. אמהות, and in several Arabic plurals, e. g. *'abahât* 'parents,' *'ummahât* 'mothers' (similarly JAram. אימהתא), *šifâh*, from *šafat* 'lip' (cf. JAram. סְפָוָן). In the first of these *h* is the survival of the generally assumed third radical *w*, i. e. *'abawât*, which with the loss of *w* between the vowels might have become *'aba'ât*, but actually it took the variant phonetic form *'abahât*. *'Ummahât* may be an analogy-formation; or is it analogous to Heb. and JAram. *'amahât*? And there is the interesting exchange of *h* with *w* and *y* in the ancient Sem. word for 'water', along with מַיִם. Akk.

[1] Withal *n. b.* W. R. Arnold's article in the Journal, 1905, 107—165, 'The Divine Name in Exodus iii, 14,' which well demonstrates that the theological explanation of the Name in that verse is a very late intrusion into the E Narrative. Dr. Arnold's thesis might help Mr. Driver's contention, but if the theological development is late, how can we explain יהוה on the Moabite Stone?

mê, modern Arab. *mô* (doubtless very ancient as the early etymology of מואב proves), Arab. *mâ'un* or *mâh^{un}*, with the pl. based on *h* as radical, *miyâh^{un}* or *'amwâh^{un}*. We have thus for variants of the basal monosyllable, *may*, *maj*, *mâh*, *mâ'*. The first two would be the elder forms, with subsequent weakening into *h* and finally '. And so in the cases in the papyri which Mr. Driver cites in proof of his contention for a mere graphic *h*, בגוהי, דריהוש, דריוהוש, I have come to consider the *h* as an actual aspiration separating the two vowels, for which ʾ might also have been used. (Cf. the early Biblical Latin Israhel for Israel.) Their occurrence is too late for the postulation of the very antique graphic *h*.[2]

Accordingly, because of this parity of *h* with ʾ (an inorganic phenomenon which is found in other languages) I am accustomed to call it the *hemza-h*.

University of Pennsylvania JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

On the Use of the Word Jehovah in Translating the Old Testament

Conclusions based on forty years experience in the Hebrew classroom

In the Authorized version of the Old Testament the English word Lord is used to represent two quite different words in the Hebrew. For the one word it is printed Lord, and for the other LORD or GOD. The explanation is given that the latter printing indicates that it stands for the Hebrew word designating the covenant God of Israel, and is a proper name. The proper assimilation of this fact rarely occurs. In all cases the words carry the idea, Master, Ruler. Neither of them after four centuries of use has acquired the connotations that are desired.

In order to secure the proper idea in the mind of the student the custom was adopted in the early years of teaching to require him to give the rendering Yahweh when the Hebrew IHWH occurred. Gradually it came to be felt that this method

[2] There may also be noticed in this connection the occasional expression in Akkadian of intervocalic ʾ by *ḫ*; e. g. A-bi-ḫi-el = אביאל; s. Bauer, *op. cit.* 63.

savored of pedantry rather than scholarship. And plainly the desired result was not secured. Not only was it a literary barbarism, but it was a word empty of meaning which needed generations of use before it could be filled with the proper meaning. Its use was abandoned.

Classroom needs demanded some word. The only hopeful candidate was the word Jehovah. The following considerations led to its adoption.

Unquestionably it is an erroneous form. Other forms equally erroneous are unchallenged. Isaiah and Jeremiah, to name no others, would, if correctly printed, be as much barbarisms as Yahweh. The difference between them and Jehovah is that there was once a famous controversy and the facts about the word Jehovah were made public knowledge. Isaiah and Jeremiah received no such publicity.

Jehovah misrepresents Yahweh no more than Jeremiah misrepresents Yirmeyahu. The settled connotations of Isaiah and Jeremiah forbid questioning their right. Usage has given them the connotations proper for designating the personalities which these words represent.

Much the same thing is true of Jehovah. It is not a barbarism. It has already many of the connotations needed for the proper name of the covenant God of Israel. There is no other word which can faintly compare with it. For four centuries it has been gathering these connotations.

In the sixteenth century Protestant and Roman Catholic scholars alike began to use this word freely. At the outset they believed that the Hebrew points were correctly used. The word thus launched into literature was not wholly relinquished when the facts became known. For one reason, it filled a felt need. The literature of devotion appropriated it more and more as time went on. Few collections of hymns are without the one beginning:

Guide me, O thou great Jehovah.

Almost as many have that beginning:

Before Jehovah's awful throne.

In half a dozen hymn books used by three different denominations the following first lines are found:

Call Jehovah thy salvation.
Jehovah God the Father.
Jehovah! thy gracious power.
Jehovah reigns, he dwells in light.
Jehovah reigns, his throne is high.
Jehovah reigns, let all the earth rejoice.
Jehovah speaks, let Israel.
Praise ye Jehovah!
Praise ye Jehovah's name!
Sing to the great Jehovah's praise.
Sing to the Lord Jehovah's name.
Thank and praise Jehovah's name.
The Lord Jehovah reigns. And royal.
The Lord Jehovah reigns. His throne.

These occurrences give only first lines, but the use is not confined to first lines. These suffice to show the fact of usage and the meaning which usage gives. They show it to be a personal name with associations of reverence and trust and affection such as befit the name of the covenant God of Israel. These are the qualities upon which the Psalmists of Israel love to dwell. In fact the use of this word in our devotional literature especially adapts it for use in the Psalter, and also in the prophets.

No other word approaches this name in the fulness of associations required. The use of any other word falls so far short of the proper ideas that it is a serious blemish in a translation.

The result of the use in the classroom was satisfactory. The habit received strong support from the publication of the American Revision. During the twenty-five years since the publication of this revision its use in family worship has steadily increased the conviction that this is the one word to secure to the general reader of the Old Testament the conception which its adoption was designed to secure. In Psalms and Prophets alike it is helpful beyond expression. The words of the Revisers in their preface are fully justified:

"The change first recommended in the Appendix (of the English Revision of 1885)—that which substitutes 'Jehovah' for 'LORD' and 'GOD'—is one which will be unwelcome to many, because of the frequency and familiarity of the terms displaced. But the American Revisers, after a careful consideration, were brought to the unanimous conviction that a Jewish superstition, which regarded the Divine name

as too sacred to be uttered, ought no longer to dominate the English or any other version of the Old Testament, as it fortunately does not in the numerous versions made by modern missionaries. This Memorial Name, explained in Ex. 3 14, 15, and emphasized as such over and over in the original text of the Old Testament, designates God as the personal God, as the covenant God, the God of revelation, the Deliverer, the Friend of his people;—not merely the abstract 'Eternal' One of many French translations, but the ever living Helper of those who are in trouble. This personal name, with its wealth of sacred associations, it now restored to its place in the sacred text to which it has an unquestionable claim."

It is well to record the fact that the American Revisers were not pioneers in using the word. The earlier translators themselves apparently felt that in some instances its use was imperative. It is said to have appeared in the Pentateuch translated by Tyndale (1530). The Geneva Bible (1560) and Bishop's Bible (1568) used it in Ex. 6 3 and Psa. 83 18. A. V. (1611) followed these bibles and added it in Is. 12 2; 26 4. The 1885 Revision added to these four Ex. 6 6, 7, 8; Psa. 68 20; Isa. 49 14; Jer. 16 21 and Hab. 3 19. The compounds Jehovah Jireh, Gen. 22 14; Jehovah Nissi, Ex. 17 15, and Jehovah Shalom, Jud. 6 24 are given in the Geneva Bible and in the versions of 1611 and 1885, though not in the Bishop's Bible.

In some of these passages, as Jer. 16 21, a personal name is fairly demanded: "And they shall know that my name is Jehovah." Others where no change was made call as loudly as Isa. 42 8: "I am the LORD: that is my name." The virtue of the American Revisers was that they missed no passage of this sort nor any other where the Hebrew IHWH occurred.

Bangor, Maine FRANCIS B. DENIO

Society for Old Testament Study

An exceedingly interesting meeting of the British "Society for Old Testament Study" is to be held at Oxford University this year from Sept. 27th to 30th. Papers will be read by British and Continental scholars of renown. To this meeting American scholars who expect to be abroad are cordially invited. Inquiries should be directed to the Rev. Professor T. H. Robinson, D. D., Lynwood, Llanishen, Cardiff, Wales.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Economic Background of the Gospels. By Frederick C. Grant. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. Pp. 156. $ 2.50.

Preaching in Theory and Practice. By Samuel McComb. With an Introduction by Harry Emerson Fosdick. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. Pp. XIII + 231.

Monografia del Departamento de Guatemala. By J. Antonio Villacorta C. Guatemala: Tipografia Nacional, 1926. Pp. XII + 378.

The Apocrypha in the Revised Version. (The World's Classics.) New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. Pp. 433. $ —.75.

Israel: Its Life and Culture, I—II. By Johs. Pedersen. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. Pp. X + 578. $ 5.00.

Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann in Giessen:

Einführung in das Alte Testament. By Johannes Meinhold. 2d ed. 1926. Pp. VIII + 350. Marks 7.40 (Bound, Marks 9.—).

Das Reich Gottes in amerikanischer und in deutscher Theologie der Gegenwart. By Heinrich Frick. 1926. Pp. 22. Mark 1.—.

Mystik, Spiritualismus und die Anfänge des Pietismus im Luthertum. By Heinrich Bornkamm. 1926. Pp. 27. Marks 1.20.

Hebräisches Wörterbuch zu Jeremia. By Wilhelm Rudolph. 1927. Pp. 46. Marks 2.—.

Studien zur Geschichte der Wirtschaftlichen und Sozialen Verhältnisse im Israelitisch-Jüdischen Reiche. (Beiheft zur Z. A. W.) By M. Lurje. 1927. Pp. 64. Marks 3.40.

Konfessionskunde, II. Hälfte. (Die Theologie im Abriß, Band 5.) By Hermann Mulert. 1927. Marks 8.50, geb. Marks 14.—.

Der Dekalog. By Hans Meinhold. 1927. Marks 1.30.

THE NAMES "ISRAEL" AND "JUDAH" WITH AN EXCURSUS ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF TÔDÂH AND TÔRÂH

W. F. ALBRIGHT
AMERICAN SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, JERUSALEM

THE casual student may be surprised to discover that many of the most familiar and most important personal and tribal names of the Bible are veiled in an almost impenetrable obscurity, so far as their morphology and exact meaning are concerned. Up to recently, the consensus of scholarship, that amorphous and perhaps over-docile body of learning, has been content to copy what has come down to us from the Hebrew grammarians and lexicographers of the past. Now, however, with the rapidly growing mass of materials from the Ancient Orient, this attitude is fast becoming an anachronism, as fully realized by the most progressive spirits.

Before utilizing the materials made available by cuneiform, hieroglyphic, South Arabian, Canaanite and Aramaic inscriptions already published, it is important to understand the elements of comparative Semitic philology, as this science has been and is still being developed by a devoted band of students. One need only mention the names of Brockelmann, Bergsträsser,[1]

[1] Bergsträsser is probably the best all-around comparative Semitic philologist of the present day. To a thoroughly scientific approach to the ancient Semitic languages he adds an excellent phonetic training and a mastery of the modern Arabic dialects. When the edition of Gesenius's *Hebrew Grammar* being prepared by him is complete we shall have a standard handbook at last. In this paper I have consistently referred to Bauer and Leander's grammar, because of its historical point of view, which is of vital importance for researches in the philology of proper names.

Littmann, Lidzbarski, Bauer, Leander, Meissner, Zimmern, Ungnad, among others, to realize the difficulty and the brilliance of the researches which they have carried on in the last few years, building on the foundations of Gesenius, Barth and Haupt.[2] But there are few scholars with the necessary preliminary training to enable them to understand just what is meant by "comparative philological method." There are still fewer who enjoy the training and natural endowments of a Johannes Friedrich, who represents the highest point yet attained by the Orientalist in this field. Trained in both Semitic and Indo-European philology, his studies in the Phoenician and Aramaean inscriptions[3] rank with his researches in Hittite as the high-water mark of scientific method in both linguistic groups. It should be recognized that with the proper training and willingness to work one may do better in two or more specialties than another who lacks these prerequisites can do in the narrowest field. Semitic philology is a rich and productive territory, with very few who are willing to settle in it. We can only plead for more workers, so that this phase of oriental and biblical science may not continue to be neglected.

Before taking up the discussion of the names "Israel" and "Judah," it may be well to sketch briefly the method employed. It is now recognized by all Hebrew philologists of note, such as Bergsträsser, Bauer and Leander, Margolis, that we can no longer content ourselves with a blind following of Massoretic

[2] The importance of Haupt's researches in the comparative phonology and morphology of Assyrian and Hebrew is still very great. In his brilliant monographs and papers on these subjects, published between 1880 and 1895, he laid the foundations of scientific Assyrian grammar, as fully recognized by Delitzsch and Brockelmann. An account of his work has been given by the present writer, who happens to be his pupil, in the *Haupt Anniversary Volume*, and an analysis of his contributions to Semitic philology has also been prepared for the forthcoming volume of the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, to consist largely of papers by Haupt himself.

[3] Cf. his papers in the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, Vol. I, 3–14; II, 1–10. They show what can be done by a penetrating analysis of consonantal texts for their vocalization, and also what a sound method in historical philology can accomplish for our knowledge of the Canaanite dialects related to Hebrew.

rules for vocalization. We must compare the Egyptian (B) and revised (A) recensions of the Greek Bible, for which the Hexaplaric material studied especially by Margolis is of the greatest value. Yet we must not fall into the opposite danger of disregarding the vowel-points, on penalty of finding our last state worse than our first. We must compare the cuneiform materials with the utmost care, taking the precaution of distinguishing sharply between the dialects and languages represented, and paying the closest attention to the laws governing transcription in different periods and dialectic territories.[4] Want of care in these details has spoiled many promising efforts to make use of the rich data from cuneiform sources. We must understand the principles of Egyptian phonology, as worked out by Sethe and the present writer,[5] and must be able to apply them to the increasingly numerous hieroglyphic transliterations of West Semitic personal names. Last, but by no means least, we must be able to apply the methods of modern comparative philology, as emphasized above. It is of vital importance to understand the laws governing the reconstruction of the basic Semitic forms and their appearance in the later written languages. Classical Arabic still remains fundamental, since it is the only fully known Semitic language which preserves the original phonetic system virtually without modification. This applies to consonants, vowels and accentuation alike, as we know from the fact that a scientific

[4] To claim, as used to be done by Naville, for example, that transcriptions are not bound by philological law, is simply to exhibit an extraordinary ignorance of what this expression means. It does not mean, as he seems to have thought, that *soi-disant* philologists apply hypothetical "laws" governing the etymological relation of words in languages of the same group to sporadic transcriptions of words from some foreign tongue. "Philological law" is simply induction from a body of facts of the same class, like any other scientific law. Even in language everything is subject to law, but linguistic laws cannot be enunciated *a priori*, nor can we expect satisfactory results by restricting our induction to a selected series of facts. The same logical principles hold in all scientific reasoning.

[5] See Sethe, *ZDMG* LXXVII (1925), 171 ff. and *Nachschrift*; the writer, *Recueil de Travaux* XL (1923), 66 ff.; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (JEA)* X, 6 ff., XII, 186 ff.; *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, Vol. LXII, 64; Spiegelberg, *JEA* XII, 34; Gardiner, in an appendix to his new *Egyptian Grammar*.

comparison of the other Semitic tongues almost invariably leads us to assume forms which are practically identical with the corresponding ones in Arabic. Naturally, blind reliance upon Arabic forms is equally bad, since the morphology of the language has unquestionably changed much more than its phonology.

A. THE NAME "ISRAEL"

The original form and etymology of Heb. יִשְׂרָאֵל have been made the subject of extended discussion recently by Sachsse and Caspari. Sachsse's study may be found in his article *Die Etymologie und älteste Aussprache des Namens* ישראל, *ZATW* XXXIV (1914), 1–16, while Caspari's refutation was published under the title *Sprachliche und religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Namens Israel,* in the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik,* Vol. III (1924), pp. 194–211. Sachsse's study is in some respects excellent, and his conclusions have been accepted, e. g., by Sellin, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 26. The present writer does not agree fully with either Sachsse or Caspari, as will be seen, considering both as philologically weak.

Sachsse gives an interesting and practically exhaustive list of nine different explanations of the name ישראל in ancient and modern times. Five of these are ancient, being either biblical or postbiblical, while four are modern. One of each group, the fourth and the ninth, drop out at once, because of their obvious improbability, and need not be repeated here. The rest may be described briefly, in the order given by Sachsse, with additional comments, where needed.

In the story of Jacob's wrestling with the "angel" (Gen. 32) it is related that the latter gave the former a new name, *Yiśrā'ēl*, as a memorial of his partly successful struggle, with the explanation כי שרית עם אלהים ועם אנשים ותוכל. In Hos. 12 4–5 there is an important poetic description of the same contest, in the course of a recital of Jacob's history:

בבטן עקב אחיו ובאונו שרה את־אלהים
וַיָּשַׂר אל מלאך ויוכל בכה ויתחנן־לו

Marti and others think that 5 a is a gloss to 4 b, but this is improbable for two reasons. First, the "gloss" is more difficult

to understand than the "original text"; and secondly, the metrical form and parallelism are now quite satisfactory, and would be destroyed if Marti's view were adopted. That there are difficulties must be admitted. The most serious one is that we do not know the true rendering of the verb שׂרה, which only occurs in these two passages, nor whether וַיִּשַׂר is correctly pointed or not. Before taking up the translation of the passage in Hosea it will be well to discuss the stems in Semitic which contain the strong consonants *šr* (Arab. *šr*, Heb. *śr*, Aram. *sr*, Assyr. *šr*). The discussion must be rather summary, however, since this is not the place for a full analysis, which will appear elsewhere.

First we find the root-meaning, "cut, saw," illustrated by Arabic *wášara*, "to saw," and Eth. *wašára*, while in Assyrian we have *mašâru* (for *wašâru*), "to cut," and *šaššaru* (for **šaršaru*), "saw." The Aram. *nesár* and Arab. *nášara*, "to saw," are both secondary denominatives from a noun corresponding to Heb. *maśśôr*, from which Aram. *massârâ* and Arab. *minšâr* are borrowed, perhaps from a still unknown Assyrian synonym of *šaššaru*. The original Semitic form of the noun is shown by Eth. *môšart*, for **mawšart*.[6] Assyr. *mašâru*, *wašâru*, with the intensive *ušširu*, *mušširu*, also belongs with this root-meaning, since its significations, "be free" (intr.), and "let free, let go, abandon, send away, give over, entrust," clearly go back to "sever."

Another important root-meaning of *šr* is "to shine, be brilliant," illustrated by Assyr. *šarâru* = Arab. *šarra* = *šárâ* = *šawwara*, etc. It may be that the words *šarru*, "king," *śar*, "prince," belong here, since *šarâru* and *śarár*, "be king, rule," are in any case denominatives, like *malák* and Arab. *málaka*, while *malku*, *mêlek*, *málik* are derived, as well known, from the stem *malâku*, "consult, plan, decide," in which case we may connect *šarru* with Arab. *'ašâra*, "counsel," *mušîr*, "counsellor." While the Arab. stem *šarra* has apparently not preserved this meaning, it interchanges otherwise with *šárâ*, *šawwara*. Eth.

[6] This Ethiopic form is most certainly not due to a secondary dissimilation, as suggested by Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, p. 226. Nor is the Eth. *wašára* denominated from it, as he thought, oblivious for the moment of the Arabic and Accadian situation.

šarâra, "to be high," may, however, be the true stem of *šarru*, though it is impossible to be sure of the sibilant in Ethiopic, owing to the early confusion of all four *s*-sounds. At all events, Eth. *šârâra*, "to found, establish," certainly should have a *sin*, not a *šin*, since it belongs with Aram. שרר, Syr. *šar*, "be firm," just as the closely related *šerâ* and Assyr. *šurrû* mean "to found, establish," while Eth. *šerw* (properly *serw*) is "foundation, root, tendon" (connected with Assyr. *šir'ânu*, Heb. partially reduplicated *šóreš*). The meaning "shine" is presumably connected ultimately with "cut," a very common semantic relationship, which does not concern us here, however, since it belongs rather to the field of linguistic origins.

The Arabic stem *šárâ* (شرى) introduces some more difficult semantic considerations, but most of its rather multifarious meanings may be satisfactorily related to one another. The meaning of the first form is both "buy" and "sell," while the eighth means simply "buy." The fourth has the sense "put discord between" (*'ášrâ bain*), while the third (*šárâ*) means "persist in contention with, vie with," and the tenth "persist (in), be devoted (to something), etc." The nouns *šára* and *šarîyah* mean, respectively "road," and "way, mode of doing or acting." Arab. *šarwâ* is "the like (of a thing)," its equivalent. The situation will become clearer if we compare the stem which appears in Assyrian as *šanânu*, "be like, counterpart," *šitnunu*, "vie, contend, struggle," *šinnatu*, "likeness, form" while in Ethiopic we have *tasannána*, "rival, contend," and *sen* (= *šen*), "form, beauty." The word *šárâ* may be explained in the same way; first we have "be like, correspond," from which the sense of "try to equalize, negotiate, buy and sell" arises. The fourth form means simply "cause to vie with, cause to contend," while the third corresponds exactly to *šitnunu*. The meaning of the tenth is secondary, as usual, and is derived from the third in the sense "strive, contend for something in one's own interest." There are other meanings of the stem which belong elsewhere, such as *šárâ*, "flash, shine," *šárâ*, "be angry," perhaps a conflation of the two stem-meanings, and *tašarrâ*, "be dispersed, scattered," which has a wholly different origin, belonging ultimately with *nášara*, "scatter," and its congeners. It is quite

likely that the new root-meaning "be like," which we have deduced, is ultimately related to "shine," through "reflect," but this possibility is no further concern of ours here.

Among the less common stem-meanings which have fallen together in the *šr* category is one which is particularly interesting to us, and may be discussed briefly here. In Ethiopic *šaráya* means "to cure, heal." The stem has been connected with *saráya*, "to remit sins," but the ideas are not at all identical, and *saráya* belongs with Aram. *šerâ*, Arab. *sárâ*, "to loosen," in Aramaic also "to remit, absolve," while *šaráya* cannot be separated from Arab. *nášara*, "revive, resuscitate (a sick man), provide (a patient) with amulets."[7] The nouns *našr* and *nušūr* mean "life, resurrection." As is well known, there is in all Semitic languages, but especially in West and South Semitic, a constant interchange between stems *primae waw* and *primae nûn*, due to morphological contamination, as pointed out by Nöldeke.[8] We are, therefore, justified in assuming an original Arabic stem **wášara*, in this sense, just as *nášara*, "to saw," goes back to *wášara*, with the same meaning. The stem *nášara* has its own established sense in Arabic, "to scatter," a fact which is sufficient to suggest that *nášara*, "to cure," is not original. Just how the meaning "to cure" arose is not easy to answer, especially since words of this type frequently have a rather less transparent derivation than less specialized verbs.

Returning to the passage of Hosea which is under discussion, it is evident at once that there is only one meaning occurring in related stems in the other Semitic languages which will fit the two occurrences of the verb *śarâh*: "vie with, contend against (in rivalry)." That this fits the context admirably is clear. Arab. *šárâ* and Heb. *śarâh* are thus identical both in form and in primary meaning. Gen. 32 29 should be rendered: For thou hast contended in rivalry with God and with men, and hast prevailed. The first stichos of the couplet which we have been considering may be rendered:

(Already) in the womb he tricked his brother,
And in his (manly) strength he vied with God.

[7] See Dillmann, *Lexicon*, col. 245.

[8] Cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, on Arab. *wgd* (*wájada*) = Eth. *ngd*.

Just what the Massoretes had in mind when they pointed the next word וַיִּשַׂר is hard to say, since the stem שׂור is a *hapax legomenon*. Josephus believed it to mean "oppose," while Symmachus, Aquila and Onkelos derived it from שׂרר, "to rule." It is, at all events, clear that none of these interpreters had any other stems than *śarâh* and *śarár* in mind. If one were to solve the Gordian knot by the usual method of emendation, it might be suggested that we read as follows:

וַיְשַׂר־אֵל מִלְכֹת וַיּוֹכֶל בְּכֶה וַיִּתְחַנֶּן־לוֹ

This could be rendered, by pointing וַיְשַׂר, from נשׂר*, Assyr. *našâru*:

And he prevented God from going; He wept, and (God) forgave him.

However, this is dangerous, not least because of the secondary meaning of *našâru*, properly "to check, reduce," which we would have to assume. It is better to leave the stichos unexplained, except to insist that אל is not the preposition, but means "God," since the play on the name ישׂראל can hardly be accidental.

The second and third explanations of the name listed by Sachsse, those given by Josephus, Symmachus, Aquila and Onkelos, have already been mentioned, and need not be repeated. The fourth is the well-known patristic analysis of ישׂראל as איש ראה אל, which is first found in Philo. For centuries no scholars have taken it seriously. The fifth explanation is that of Jerome (who inveighs against it in another place, however), who derived the verbal element from *yašár*, "to be straight, right." Since the sibilant is entirely different, we should hardly be justified in taking this view into consideration at all, were it not for the fact that it was adopted by Renan, from whom it has come down to more recent students, including Sachsse himself and Sellin, as already noted. The former makes no attempt, however, to justify the change in sibilant, apparently not regarding it as important. It is true that there are dialectic variations and loan-words which occasionally produce apparent violations of the laws regarding the sibilants in Semitic,[9] but in this case

[9] As an illustration of the importance of a correct treatment of the sibilants cf. the writer's review of Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, vol. III, pp. 123ff. The subject of loan-words is only

there can be no question of a loan-word, or of a dialectic peculiarity, since "Israel" is the name of the entire people, and not that of a remote or insignificant subdivision of it.

Coming down to recent times, we find that virtually all the old explanations are abandoned. In his work, *Die israelitischen Eigennamen,* written more than fifty years ago, Nestle pointed out that the divine element in theophorous names is always subject, and never the object. It is true that, as Sachsse observes, there is an occasional exception, like *Yehallel-el* (2 Chr. 29 12), in Hebrew, but the exception only proves the rule. In Accadian we also have the same rule, also with a few exceptions, like *Atánah-ilî,* "I cry unto the gods," an exceedingly popular name in the third millennium and the beginning of the second. But, of course, no personal name could ever mean "He contends with God," so the old popular etymology must drop out. All later students recognize this and follow Nestle's position that the divine name is the sub-

beginning to be studied scientifically on the foundations laid by Fränkel, Haupt and Zimmern. A very fine illustration of the results of a sound method is the case of the Heb. *šîr,* "poem," long thought by many scholars to have some anomalous etymological connection with Arabic *ši'r,* "poem." The true explanation of the relation was discovered by Zimmern, who found that there was an Old Babylonian (Accadian) word *šîru, šêru,* "stanza, poem," which is the regular equivalent of Arabic *ši'r.* The Hebrew word has simply been derived from the Accadian. But at what time? Since the Babylonian sibilants, which are identical with the Canaanite (Phoenician and probably North Israelite; the Jewish series has a *śin,* pronounced like the Aramaic equivalent, *samek;* cf. *JPOS* VI, 83) were reversed in the Assyrian dialect, it follows that *šîr* was borrowed from Babylonian, not from Assyrian. But the specifically Assyrian, or North Mesopotamian pronunciation of the sibilants is known from the cuneiform transcriptions of Egyptian words and other sources to go far back into the second millennium, if it is not even older in part than the Babylonian. It thus covers not only the age of the Assyrian Empire, when northern influences were dominant in Syria and Palestine, but also the Late Bronze Age, when the West was under the sway of the Ḫurri culture of North Mesopotamia. The natural conclusion is that the word *šîr* was borrowed in the Old Accadian or Old Babylonian age, that is, before 1800 B. C., since it cannot have been borrowed as late as the Neo-Babylonian period, the only other one in which Babylonian influence prevailed over North Mesopotamian.

ject. Nestle and most of his successors render "Gott kämpft." Against this a number of arguments may, however, be brought. In the first place, as we have seen, there is no evidence for any rendering of *śarâh* except "to vie with, to contend in rivalry." It probably does not mean "to wrestle," and there is no basis whatever for the view that the story of the wrestling is aetiologically drawn from the name יִשְׂרָאֵל. In all likelihood the story of the wrestling is derived from a natural popular etymology of the name "Jabbok," as though it were יאבק instead of יבק.[10] The verb אבק is the very word used of the wrestling match on the banks of the Jabbok. If, as we have seen, the first element of the name "Israel" bore a related meaning, it is only natural that the name was connected with the story, but this is no indication that they were originally related. Now, returning to Nestle's theory, it is impossible to translate the name "God contends (in rivalry)," since God has no rivals with whom to contend. Such a name is unparalleled, and, so far as the writer can see, almost unthinkable.

Eduard Meyer's slight modification of Nestle's view, found in his *Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme,* p. 252, does not affect the theory. He renders "Der, welcher streitet, ist Gott," emphasizing the detachability of the verbal element, which in the early period is often found without the divine name. Morphologically, Meyer's interpretation is forced, since the imperfects were used alone as hypocoristica, perhaps in part because of a certain fear of using the divine name too freely, or in unpropitious ways. But it cannot be denied that the imperfects did assume an independent value as the statement of a quality or a characteristic, and were used commonly as divine appellations by themselves, so that Meyer's view is largely justified. But it does not help the case to render "He who contends (in rivalry) is God."

The suggestion of Vollers, *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte,* Vol. IX (1906), pp. 176–184, that ישראל is to be connected with *śârâ,* "to shine," and means "God shines," with especial reference to the solar character of the early Hebrew religion,

[10] See Nathaniel Schmidt, *JBL* XLV (1926), 273.

is of a different type. Sachsse's objection that *šârâ* does not actually mean "to shine, of the sun" in Arabic is hardly valid, since the related stems listed above do have this specific meaning, which, moreover, survives in a secondary use in Arab. *šârâ*, "to expose to the sun." But it is rare in early Semitic to find natural phenomena referred to in theophorous names, which are nearly always social or individual in their applications. Moreover, the solar religion of the early Hebrews is only an unprovable assumption, just as obscure as their supposed lunar inclinations, and not nearly so easy to establish as an original Hadad or Storm-Baal cult.

Having gone through the list of previous views, Sachsse proceeds to analyze the vocalization of the name יִשְׂרָאֵל. Here he is quite unsuccessful, though he has given us some useful suggestions, which will be duly appreciated. We shall have to go our own way, however.

The vocalization of יִשְׂרָאֵל in 𝔐 is not directly paralleled in any other name. Otherwise the rule is that the second consonant in the stem of an imperfect which precedes the substantive element in a compound name receives a *šewâ* when the verb is ל״ו, ל״א or ל״ע. We should expect the pointing יִשְׂרָאֵל*. As examples of this rule we may cite יִבְנְאֵל and יַחְצִיאֵל for ל״ו verbs in composition, יִרְפְּאֵל for ל״א verbs, and יִזְרְעֶאל for ל״ע verbs. There is at least one interesting case where a פ״ו verb is treated in the same way, which is only natural. This is יִבְלְעָם, for * *Yibil'am* < * *Yabil-'am*. In a paper to appear in *AJSL*, attention has been called to this name, in connection with the explanation of *Bildad* as standing for * *Yabil-dad*, like *Bil'am* for *Yabil-'am*. Among the Amorite names of the First Dynasty of Babylon we also find the name *Yabil-werra*, literally "Wêr (the name of Hadad or Rammân in the Upper Euphrates country) produces (crops, offspring)." In hypocoristic formations the imperative often replaces the full imperfect and even the jussive, itself essentially of the same nature when found in proper names.[11]

There are some exceptions to the general rule which has

[11] Cf. *Annual of Am. School of Or. Res.*, Vols. II—III, p. 24, n. 10.

been given in the previous paragraph. We have one name which is really a good parallel to יִשְׂרָאֵל, but which differs from it superficially, in that the vowel of the second syllable of the imperfect is protected by the final *'ayin:* יִשְׁמָעֵאל. The Chronicler also offers a number of cases where a *yôd* is inserted, e. g.: יַחְזִיאֵל, יַחְדִּיאֵל, יַעֲשִׂיאֵל. Sachsse very correctly observes that these anomalous spellings are due to the fact that the Chronicler wrote at the time when *plene* writing was coming into general use, and the later redactors, following their custom of respecting whatever was in the text, did not disturb them, though they did not insert the *yôd* in corresponding names in other parts of the Bible which had received their final form before the Chronicler's time. When the Massoretes came to vocalize the text, they naturally had to follow the consonantal text. Sachsse thinks that the form *yigli'ēl* is, therefore, older than the Massoretic *yigle'el*. In this view he is certainly wrong, since the former vocalization is wholly out of harmony with the development of Hebrew morphology, and the Greek transcriptions prove, as we shall see, that the final vowel of the verbal element had an *a* coloring, not an *i* coloring at all. The fact that the transcriptions in 𝔊 of the *yigli'ēl* type of name in Chronicles also exhibit an *i* only confirms the age of the *plene* spelling; the Greek scribes behaved just as the Massoretes did later when confronted with the same situation. The true explanation of these forms in the Chronicler's work is simply that he wrote in an Aramaic milieu,[12] before the Hebrew reaction was strong enough to be thoroughly self-conscious, and so he employed numerous Aramaic name-forms. Nothing could be simpler or clearer.

The explanation of the *a* vowel in *Yiśrā'el* is furnished by a study of the Septuagintal and Hexaplaric transcriptions of the *šewâ* in names of this type. Thus 𝔊 writes Ισραηλ, but also Ιεζραηλ; Ιβλααμ (A) and Ιεβλααμ (so for the Εκβλααμ, etc., of B), as well as Βαλααμ for the shortened form בלעם; Ιερφαηλ, to give only a few clear examples. Just what this

[12] For the date of the Chronicler see *JBL* XL, 104 ff., and *JPOS* VI, 98 ff.

means is explained by the careful analysis of the new Hexaplaric transcriptions which has been published by Margolis.[13] According to this it is only when the *šewâ* is followed by a laryngeal that we have an *a* vowel in Greek, as in *βαεζραθι* for בְּעֶזְרָתִי, *λααβδ* for לְעֶבֶד, and so on. The fact is that we have only the elements *'ēl* and *'ām,* as well as *yáhû,* after the imperfect verb in composite names of the type we are interested in. The first two begin with laryngeals, while the third begins with a *y,* which habitually assimilates a preceding vowel, so is not of value for this study.

From the preceding paragraph it becomes clear that our *šewâ* had an *a* coloring before a weak laryngeal in the pre-Massoretic age, from the third century B. C. to the third century A. D., regardless of whether it belonged originally to a ל״א, ל״ו or פ״ו imperfect. The latter case proves conclusively that it is a secondary development under the influence of the laryngeal. Under the influence of Aramaic the Massoretes reduced what then amounted to a short *a* vowel in an open syllable to *šewâ,* except in the case of the two best known, and constantly used names, *Yiśra'ēl* and *Yišmā'ēl,* where the *a* was so well established that it could not be eliminated easily, and was, therefore changed to tone-long *a,* or *qāmeṣ,* the only other possibility in the Massoretic system.

The Massoretes have preserved the *a* vowel correctly in a number of clipped forms, that is, in hypocoristica with the substantive element dropped, but with its original presence still betrayed by the vocalization. We are referring to such personal names as יוֹרָה, יוֹשָׁה, יִמְנָה, יִמְלָה, יְהוּדָה, etc., the vocalization of which is supported by the Greek Ιεμνα, Ιουδα, etc. The original names from which they have been clipped were naturally **Yôr'ēl* > **Yôr'ēl,* **Yᵉhûd'ēl* > **Yᵉhûd'ēl,* etc. Had they been preserved we should have had the Septuagintal spelling *Ιωραηλ and *Ιουδαηλ, while the Massoretes would have given us יוֹרְאֵל* and יְהוּדְאֵל*, or more probably, in the latter case, on the analogy of יִשְׂרְאֵל, יְהוּדְאֵל*. By the side of

[13] In his paper, "The Pronunciation of the שְׁוָא according to New Hexaplaric Material," *AJSL* XXVI (1909–10), p. 66.

these clipped forms there are in Chronicles some Aramaizing ones like יוֹרַי, which are strictly on a par with the well-known Aramaizing hypocoristica *Yannai* for *Yônatán* and *Ḥonnai* for *Yôḥanán*, etc., which become so common in the Maccabaean age.

The attempts of Sachsse and Caspari to explain the *a* vowel in *Yiśrā'ēl* are no better than De Lagarde's suggestion in his *Bildung der Nomina*, p. 131, endorsed and further complicated by Caspari.[14] De Lagarde maintained that the length of the vowel was due to an archaic preservation of the original verbal form of the *rāḍiya-yarḍâ* (**šáriya-yašrâ*) type in names of important eponymous heroes. Sachsse's objection is mainly that commonly used names are just as likely to exhibit advanced phonetic decay as artificially retained archaism. He forgets, however, that Biblical forms tend to show a conscious, literary archaism, which would be most likely to appear in important names, where the tradition was best preserved. He rather evades the question of the *a* vowel by telling us (p. 5): "Das jiqṭol von שׂרה = יִשְׂרָה[!], verschmolzen mit dem Gottesnamen אֵל ergibt יִשְׂרָאֵל ohne weiteres." This remarkable statement is maintained by showing that apocopated names of *yiqṭol* form regularly have the vocalization *i—a*, except in a few archaic forms like יַעֲקֹב and יִשְׁבַּח. He neglects, however, to make a distinction between the *qāmeṣ* which represents a tone-long *paṭaḥ* and the *qāmeṣ* which represents short *o*, properly a *qāmeṣ ḥaṭûf*, though the Massoretic system is far from consistent in its treatment of the short *o*. That these forms were originally clipped from the full composite names, and preserve the shortened vocalization, has been shown above. With their shortened vocalization they became indistinguishable from jussive forms, and were actually treated as such.[15] One

[14] Caspari has not only cited the wrong page of De Lagarde's book, but he has completely misunderstood him. On p. 195 of his article he ascribes to him the extraordinary view "daß der Name Israel noch lange als Satz, aus Subjekt und Prädikat, also zwei Worten, bestehend, aufgefaßt worden sei." Such treatment is unjust to a very great scholar.

[15] See *JBL* XLIII, 373.

cannot, however, extend the analogy of strong verbs and verbs *tertiae laryngalis* to verbs *tertiae infirmae* "ohne weiteres," without being guilty of the most serious philological *non sequitur*. Caspari, on the other hand, while completely misunderstanding De Lagarde, correctly insists on the comparison of Ιερφαηλ. It is only strange that he did not cite the Arabic personal name *Yárfâ* (يَرْفَى),[16] a hypocoristicon from **Yarfâ'il*, where the intransitive verb is actually formed on the model required by De Lagarde for *Yiśrā'ēl*. Of course, we are only setting up this parallel in order to tear it down; in Arabic *yárḍâ* stands for **yárday(a)*, and originated probably in the elision of intervocalic *yôd* in the subjunctive. In Hebrew final *ay* in the imperfect became *ê* (written as an open *segôl* with *hê*), which prevailed over the **î* and **û* of the regular transitive imperfects of verbs ל״י and ל״ו.

Having disposed of the יִשְׂרָאֵל of 𝔐, we are free to derive the verb from שרה (= *śrw* or *śry*), שרא* (= *śr'*), or ישר* (*wśr*). In discussing the semantics of the Hebrew stem *śarâh* = Arab. *šárâ*, we have made it improbable that *Yiśrā'ēl* can be derived from it, since neither the meaning "He contends (in rivalry) with God," nor the better "God contends (in rivalry)" is at all acceptable. If we assume that the verb developed the general meaning "to fight," which is quite without evidence, we still find ourselves faced with a very unusual meaning for an ancient Semitic theophorous name, quite without parallel, so far as the writer knows. Even the elaborate and more or less relevant discussion of Caspari, in the paper to which we have often referred, only succeeds in impressing, not in convincing.

No verb שרא appears to be known, either in Hebrew or in the other Semitic tongues, so we have only the one alternative *wśr*, which has something to be said in its favor, both morphologically and semantically. If it is the true source of the imperfect in which we are interested, we should expect an

[16] For this and similar names cf. the interesting paper of Bräu, *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. XXXII (1925), especially p. 39.

original **Yaśir-'el*, later becoming **Yiśir'el* > **Yᵉśᵉrᵉ'ēl* > *Yiśrᵉ'ēl*, by a perfectly normal and regular Hebrew development, like *Yiblᵉ'ām* for original **Yabilʿam*. The loss of the short vowel between the second and third stem-consonants of the verb is ancient, being paralleled by the old West Semitic name *Binaḥme-el*, by dissimilation for **Minaḥme-el*, for **Minaḥḥim-el*, like Heb. *Yᵉraḥmeʾēl* for **Yiraḥḥim-ʾel*.[17] Originally it was naturally due to the elision of the *'alef* in ordinary conversation, leading to the pronunciation **Minaḥmêl*, **Yᵉraḥmêl*. Since the separate force of the element *'ēl* was always fully understood, this elision of the *'alef* remained sporadic, and never attained the rank of a phonetic law, as we see plainly by the fact that the *'alef* gave the *šewâ* an *a* coloring in later times. By the side of **Yaśir'el* we should expect some indication of a shorter form **Śir'el*, based on the imperative, like *Bilʿām* for *Yiblᵉʿam*, *Šefarʿam* for **Yišpar-ʿam*, *Qabṣᵉ'ēl* for *Yᵉqabṣᵉ'ēl*, *Ḥizqìyáhû* for *Yᵉḥizqᵉyáhû*, etc. As a matter of fact, we do have this very form in Assyrian transcription, just as we have *Yᵉhūd*, the shorter form of the name *Yᵉhūdâh*, also preserved (see below) in Assyrian spelling. In the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, the mention of the name of Ahab is followed by the gentilic *Sir-'i-la-a-a*, i. e., *Sir'ilâ'a*, the man of Sir'il. Since the Assyrians pronounced the Accadian *š* as *s*, and *s* as *š*,[18] the actual pronunciation of the word was *Šir'il* or *Šir'el*. The sibilant in the corresponding Hebrew word could be either שׂ or שׁ, since both are transcribed *s*, i. e., *š*, in Assyrian.[19]

[17] See *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Vol. III, p. 125 b.

[18] Cf. the ample material collected by Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, especially the introduction, p. xviii, and Delaporte, *Épigraphes araméens*. Cf. also the remarks *JEA* XII, 187.

[19] See *JBL* XLIII, 386, and for the explanation of the apparent difficulty *JPOS* VI, 83: in Northern Israel the three *šins* all fell together, as in Babylonian and especially in Phoenician, with which the dialect of Samaria seems to have been essentially identical. In Judah the *śin* was pronounced as *samek*, following Aramaic practise (perhaps due to the fact that the South Judaean tribes actually spoke an Aramaic dialect, as we know from the Shishak List and the traces which have survived of the Edomite language). The Jews were, however, forced to preserve the *śin* because of the powerful influence of

The decision between them is a matter for the Hebraist to decide, and he has not the least difficulty, in spite of Sachsse. Caspari has correctly compared the Assyrian form to the reduced Hebrew names just cited, but without understanding it fully. It is possible that *Šir'il* stands for **Śᵉrᵉ'el*, containing the imperative of a verb *tertiae infirmae*, but in this case the spelling **Si-ri-'i-la-a-a* would be expected. In any case it is impossible to compare *Sir'ilâ'a* directly with the Heb. gentilic *Yiśrᵉ'ēlî*.[20] It is by far the most natural to compare **Śir'el* with *Bil'am*, and to regard the element *śir* as the regular imperative of a stem *wśr*, just as *bil* is the imperative of *wbl*. Sachsse's reconstructed **Yᵉšar'el* exhibits an *a* vowel which is not found in the Assyrian transcription, and is hence quite arbitrary. His further attempt to prove from the Egyptian syllabic spelling in the Merneptaḥ Stele that there was a vowel between the *ś* and the *r* is quite misleading, as correctly pointed out by Caspari, though the effort of the latter to prove from Burchardt that the writing proves just the opposite is equally misleading. As is becoming increasingly certain, now that we know something about the prehistory of the syllabic orthography, and find that Max Müller's derivation of it from cuneiform was wrong, after all, neither vowels nor lack of them are indicated in the Egyptian transcriptions of foreign names. The writing of the sibilant as *s* (bar) in the hieroglyphic form of the name does not prove anything either, since the Egyptians followed Hebrew (Canaanite) and Amorite use of the sibilants quite indiscriminately in their transcriptions.[21]

We have thus made it probable, though not certain, that the original form of the name *Yiśrā'ēl* was **Yaśir-'el*, from a verbal stem ישׁר*. The usual meaning of this stem in the Semitic languages is "to cut, saw," which is not suitable, and

the historical spelling, which had come to them from the more literary North.

20 As has been done by most scholars; cf. Brown, Briggs and Driver, *Hebrew Lexicon*, s. v., and the writer, *JBL* XLIII, 386. The mere fact that the Assyrians employed their own gentilic shows that they were not trying to reproduce the Hebrew gentilic.

21 Cf. *JPOS* VI, 82, n. 15.

has no semantic modifications which fit our requirements. However, we have seen that Arab. *nášara* for **wášara* and Eth. *šaráya* share the significance "to heal (the sick)." Interchange between stems *primae waw* and *tertiae infirmae* has been common in Semitic from the earliest times, being just as frequent in Egyptian[22] as in the Semitic tongues of Asia, so there is no difficulty here. The fact that the stem **yaśár* is not found in Biblical Hebrew is rather in favor of the combination, since its disappearance would explain how the meaning of the name came to be so thoroughly forgotten. "God heals" is a meaning which may be closely paralleled in all the Semitic languages; one need only refer to the familiar Hebrew names *Yirpe'el* and *Rafā'ēl*. Even if we accept the derivation of *Yiśrā'ēl* from a verb *śarâh*, we may translate it in the same way, following Ethiopic *šaráya* directly; cf. the name *śerāyāh*.

If the original meaning of the name "Israel" was "God heals," it follows that it was not primarily a tribal name, as has been often thought, but a personal name, the name of the founder of the tribe, whose later members regarded themselves as his offspring, the *Benê Yiśrā'ēl*. It therefore becomes impossible to regard the name as one assumed by the followers of Moses in Transjordan. The name is pre-Mosaic, and, to judge from the traditions in Genesis, the tribal chief Yiśrā'ēl replaced the tribal chief Ya'qob during the Patriarchal Age. In both cases we may, equally well, say "tribe" instead of "tribal chief."

B. THE NAME "JUDAH"

The name "Judah," יְהוּדָה, is generally considered as decidedly obscure. Certainly one does not gain much confidence as to its etymology from the perusal of the rare attempts which have been seriously made to explain it fully. The lexicographers are usually contented either with a *non liquet* or with a question mark after their "explanation." And yet there is nothing mysterious about the form, as will appear

[22] Cf. *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. XL, pp. 69, 71.

on a careful analysis and comparison of related forms. It is, however, quite true that the explanation of the form is not altogether obvious; at least the writer is not willing to consider it as such on recollection of the devious paths by which he came to his present view, and the erroneous interpretations with which he dallied. So far as we know there has not been any recent discussion of the subject, so we shall have to collect our own list of explanations, without, however, trying to make it as complete as has been done by Sachsse, in his discussion of the name "Israel."

We may distinguish seven explanations of the name יְהוּדָה which have been proposed, beginning with biblical times. Two of these are already found in the book of Genesis. In connection with the birth of Judah, Leah is represented as saying (29 34) הפעם אודה את יהוה, "This time I will praise Yahwêh." In the blessing of Jacob, Judah, not God, is made the object of the blessing:

יהודה — אתה יודוך אחיך ידך בערף איביך

Judah: Thou, thy brethren will praise thee,
While thy hand is on the neck of thy foes.

There is a double paronomasia, once with the verb *yôdû,* and again with the noun *yād* (also pronounced *yôd*). The old explanations are all based on one or the other of these two, and the verb is taken, sometimes as active, sometimes as passive. Up to recently the standard explanation, found in most handbooks, was "Praised(?)." So far as I know, the only serious attempt which has been made to explain the vocalization is that of Haupt, *OLZ* XII, 162 f., *ZDMG* LXIII (1909), 513, n. 1. According to him *Yehûdâh* is a feminine collective of **Yehôdêh,* "Er bekennt," in the sense "He acknowledges allegiance to the religion (of Yahwêh)." **Yehôdêh* is the older form corresponding to the later participle *môdêh,* just as the name *Mē'îr* represents older *Ya'îr.* The expression מלך יהודה is really equivalent to the Arabic *'amîr al-mu'minîn,* "Commander of the Faithful." For the feminine collective Haupt compared GK (Gesenius-Kautzsch) § 122 s, while for the vocalization *ū* instead of the *ô* which we should expect he

referred to GK § 27 n and Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, 143 *δ*. The obvious objection to this extremely ingenious explanation is its artificiality. We do not find names which show any such development in early Western Asia, nor do we find a feminine abstract (or collective) employed as a tribal name. Moreover, it is dangerous to consider the *û* in such a common and well-known name as *Yehûdâh* as being a corruption of *ô*; there can be no question of dissimilation here.

In 1893 (*JBL* XII, 61–72), Morris Jastrow Jr., then at the very outset of his scholarly career, discussed the name in full, though he unfortunately based his treatment upon the erroneous reading of the tribal name "Judah" in the Amarna Tablets. However, his views were original, and are still worthy of consideration. On pp. 68 ff. he discussed the original and derived forms of the name. He pointed out correctly that the Assyrian transliteration *Ya-u-du* can only be the equivalent of *Yᵉhûd* (see below), which is not an Aramaic form, as formerly believed. He also called attention to some old place and personal names which are connected with *Yᵉhûd*, Judah, but since they will all be taken up in due course, we need not dwell on them here. He was, however, inclined to think that, while *Yᵉhûd* and *Yᵉhûdâh* might be originally connected, they are distinct names, belonging probably to distinct tribes, an older one in Northern Palestine and a younger in Southern Palestine. The names were later confounded in form because of the common gentilic *Yᵉhûdî*. He was inclined also to consider *Yᵉhûdâh* as a contraction of the name *Yâhû* and some verbal element, either *yûdâh* (from יָדָה, but the form is not explained), or *dâ'âh*, found in *El-dâ'âh*. For a **Yahû-yûdâh* he compared the similar contraction in *Yᵉhûkâl*, for **Yahû-yûkâl*. This is very ingenious; the writer also first tried to explain the name as either **Yahû-yûdîh*, or preferably **Yahû-hûdâh*, which would become directly **Yahûdâh*, by the simplest type of haplology. However, there is a much better explanation of the name, as we shall see, so it is not necessary to resort to philological gymnastics at all.

In *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 441, Eduard Meyer connected *Yᵉhûdâh* with the noun *hôd*, "majesty," and

rendered the name "Er ist majestätisch." *Y^ehûdâh,* he thought, stood for **Y^ehûdâh-'ēl,* a view in which he was entirely correct, as we shall see. With his usual clear-sightedness Meyer recognized that the previous explanations were defective, and found one which suited ancient nomenclature better, though it must be confessed that he rather passed over the philological exegesis of the name.

We need not linger on the theories which have been advanced from time to time, connecting the name יהודה with the name of the district יאדי, perhaps the Assyrian Yaudi, in Northern Syria. Some of these scholars regard the name as Semitic, others as non-Semitic, while still others connect the name *Yahwêh,* or *Yâhû* with it. None of them have, of course, been propounded by Semitic philologists, and they all serenely disregard scientific method.

The name יְהוּדָה is supported in its vocalism by the Greek transcriptions Ἰούδας for the patriarch, and Ἰουδα for the tribe and kingdom. These transcriptions indicate that the historic spelling no longer represents the actual pronunciation, which was rather contracted to *Yûdâh,* just as we should expect from such parallels as *Yô* from *Yâhû* and *yôdêh* from *y^ehôdêh.* As we have already noted, there is not the least evidence for a possible pronunciation **Y^ehôdâh,* as assumed by Haupt. The Assyrian transcription *Yaudu* (*Ya-u-du*) can only reflect an actual pronunciation *Yahûd* or *Y^ahûd,* as correctly seen in 1893 by Jastrow (cf. above). That *Yaudu* does not represent a possible *Y^ehûdâh* or *Y^ahûdâh* is shown by such cuneiform transcriptions as *Ta-am-na-a, Tamnâ,*[23] for Heb. *Timnâh,* properly *Tamnâh,* like the *Thamna* of the Greek. Were the name Phoenician or North Palestinian we should have the transcription *Tamnat,* but in Judah and Philistia the feminine ending was early changed to *âh,* as proved both by the Egyptian and the Assyrian transcriptions; cf. Eg. *Rbn* for *Libnâh.*[24] A form *Y^ehûdâh* would have to

[23] Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib, II, 83.

[24] See Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches,* Vol. II, p. 114. That *Rbn* is Libnah near Ekron follows from the fact that it precedes the latter in this very list. The Shishak List shows a number of very

be transcribed *Ya-u-da-a*, i. e., *Yaudâ* (which must not be confused with the gentilic *Ya-u da-a-a*, *Yaudâ'a*, found several times in the Assyrian texts). In the period of the Late Assyrian inscriptions the case endings had long since disappeared, and the use of an apparent nominative ending in *Yaudu* means nothing, since it was not pronounced. This is not the place to discuss the possible form *Yaudi*, supposed by most scholars to refer to the North Syrian state of יאדי, when it occurs in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser III. Luckenbill has recently given a strong argument in favor of the identification of Yaudi with Judah,[25] as maintained by all students down to the time of Winckler, but the question is still very obscure. At all events, a possible variant form *Yaudi* would not affect our results in the least, because of the negligible character of the case endings, as just noted.

What is the relation between the forms *Y^ehûdâh* and *Y^ehûd*? It is at first sight tempting to accept the suggestion of Jastrow, that the names are connected through the common gentilic *Y^ehûdî*, formed regularly by both *Y^ehûdâh* (like Arab. *Makkah*, *Makkîy*; Accad. *Subartu*, *Subarû*; Heb. *Timnâh*, *Timnî*) and *Y^ehûd*. Jastrow thought that the two distinct names were thrown together by the common gentilic. It would be more likely that *Y^ehûd* arose as a secondary back-formation, like **Šîlôn* from *Šîlôh* through the gentilic *Šîlônî*; cf. Arab. *Seilûn* from **Šilôn*. Another parallel would be the development of *Efrât* from *Efrâyim* through the gentilic *Efrâtî*. The phenomenon is very common, and many additional examples might easily be given. But this explanation is not necessary, as we shall see.

The explanation of the form *Y^ehûdâh* is rendered simpler if we compare some other ancient personal names containing a similar verbal element. From early Hebrew history two very interesting names have come down to us: *ʿAmmîhûd*, mentioned Num. 1 10. etc., as the name of the father of *Elîšāmāʿ*, official

striking differences in the phonetic system of Hebrew when compared to the lists of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. For one thing, the old *ḫ* and *ḥ* have fallen together, becoming *ḥ*, as has been the situation ever since; cf. *JPOS* VI, 82.

[25] "Azariah of Judah," *AJSL* XLI, 217–232.

representative of Ephraim in the time of Moses; *Abîhûd*, the name of one of the sons (later clans) of Bela' son of Benjamin. We may divide these names so as to obtain from them a noun *hûd*, which might be identical with *hôd*, "majesty," but the names cannot mean "My people is majesty," and "My father is majesty." It is, therefore, only left to us to analyze the names so as to yield verb-forms: *'*Ammî-y'hûd* and **Abî-y'hûd*. Since these forms would, of course, be contracted to the present Hebrew forms, there is no difficulty whatsoever in the way of accepting them. They are clearly jussives of the unused *hof'al* of *hôdâh*, "to praise." In order to bring these forms clearly before our minds, it may be well to present the relevant paradigms of *hôdâh* and the parallel verb *hôrâh*, "to instruct in *tôrâh*," in a skeleton table. The etymology of the verbs will be elucidated in the excursus to this paper.

	Hif'îl		*Hof'âl*	
Perfect	הוֹדָה	הוֹרָה	*הוּדָה	*הוּרָה
Imperfect	יוֹדֶה יְהוֹדֶה	יוֹרֶה	*יוּדֶה *יְהוּדֶה	*יוּרֶה
Jussive	*יוֹד *יְהוֹד	*יוֹר	*יוּד *יְהוּד	*יוּר

From this table it will be seen that *y'hûd* is the regular uncontracted *hof'al* jussive of *hôdâh*, and the names *'Ammihûd* and *Abîhûd* must, accordingly, mean, respectively, "Let my people be praised, Let my father be praised." The uncontracted imperfect of the *hof'al* would be *y'hûdeh*, and its Massoretic form in composition with *'ēl* would be *יְהוּדֶאל, which would appear in the Greek spelling of the Septuagintal period as *Ιουδαηλ. Above, in our discussion of the Massoretic form of the name יִשְׂרָאֵל, Greek Ισραηλ, we showed that the *qāmeṣ* in that name is simply the pretonic lengthening of the traditional short *a* vowel, which originated in the influence of the weak laryngeal *'alef* upon the preceding *šewâ*, giving it an *a* coloring, as proved conclusively by the Septuagintal and Hexaplaric material. When hypocoristica were formed from composite names of this type, the clipped imperfects retained the *a* coloring,

which was lengthened to *qāmeṣ* under the tone, as in *Yôrâh* and *Yôšâh*, etc. This is the natural explanation of the final long *a* in *Yᵉhûdâh*, and the definitive proof as well that *Yᵉhûdâh* is a hypocoristicon of **Yᵉhûdᵉʿēl*, which means either "God is praised," or more probably "Let God be praised." Passive verbs are not nearly so common in proper names as are actives, but this is naturally true of the Hebrew language in general. There are a number of passive verbs in proper names, besides the *ʿAmmîhûd* and *Abîhûd* just cited. We also have *Yᵉfunnêh* (a *puʿal*, which should perhaps be vocalized **Yᵉfunnâh*, however) and especially the group of town names (originally personal names) ending in *'el* and *ʿām: Yoqneʿām, Yorqeʿām* and *Yoqdeʿām* (though the two latter are probably identical, and should be read *Yoqrᵉʿām*),[26] *Yoqteʾel*. *Yoqneʿām* appears in 𝔊 as Ιεκναμ, which suggests a vocalization as *Yiqneʿām*, literally "The people acquires,"[27] but the other forms are probably correctly vocalized.

The town name *Yᵉhûd* in Dan is frequently quoted as connected in some way with *Yᵉhûdâh*. This is, however, erroneous, since a critical study of the versions, in connection with the outside topographical material, shows that the Massoretic text is wrong. 𝔊 offers Αζωρ (B), which has reminded both Alt and the writer independently of the Assyrian Azuru, modern Yazûr near Jaffa.[28] We should read in the Hebrew text יזור* and in 𝔊 *Ιαζωρ. Since the situation of the town is even more suitable to the sequence in the lists of Danite towns than is the site of el-Yahūdîyeh, formerly identified with "Jehud," this correction is absolutely certain. In passing it may be observed that it is an excellent illustration of the great value of the Septuagintal text for the study of Palestinian topography. When some new studies of the writer have been published, probably not until after the appearance of Margolis's edition of the Greek Joshua,

[26] The name *Yoqrᵉʿām* would mean "The people is called (invited)," *sc.* to settle, or the like, which offers a perfectly fitting significance; the present forms of 𝔐 are unintelligible, and 𝔊 does not seem to help.

[27] *Annual*, II–III, 24, n. 10.

[28] See *Palästinajahrbuch*, Vol. XXI (1925), p. 54.

its importance will be even more evident than has previously been the case.[29]

It has been shown above that the cuneiform transcription *Ya-u-du* reflects a Hebrew *Yᵉhûd*, or rather **Yᵃhûd*, where the coloring of the *šewâ* is due to the influence of the weak laryngeal. *Yᵉhûd* was evidently the form employed commonly by the pre-exilic Jews in everyday language, and was still used by the Aramaic speaking Jews after the exile, as we know from the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, where it is frequent, as well as from the Elephantine Papyri (Sachau 7 : 1). Since *Yᵉhûd* is not explicable as an Aramaizing of *Yᵉhûdâh*, it has always been a puzzling form to the student of the relation between Hebrew and Palestinian Aramaic.[30] We have, moreover, a perfect parallel in the fact that the jussive form of the divine name *Yahwêh* was ordinarily used by the Aramaic speaking Jews after the exile, as we know from the Elephantine Papyri and the official stamps of the temple treasury from the fourth century B. C.[31] The jussive *Yâhû* instead of the literary Hebrew *Yahwêh* is exactly on a par with the jussive *Yᵉhûd* in place of the literary *Yᵉhûdâh*.

The parallel between the use of *Yahwêh, Yâhû* on the one hand, and *Yᵉhûdâh, Yᵉhûd* on the other is so significant that it will be of importance to insist on the explanation of the development of the name *Yahwêh* which the writer has already given *JBL* XLIII (1924), 370–8, and XLIV, 158–162. In these papers the following process is defended. First of all we have a regular imperfect of the *hifʿil* of the stem *hwy* (Heb. *hayâh*, "to be"), in the sense "He (who) causes to come into existence," like later Hebrew *mehawwêh*. The element *yakîn*, "cause to exist, create," is found not infrequently in early West Semitic proper names, just as we find the causatives *šubšû* and *šhpr*, "to cause to be," employed in Accadian and Egyptian personal

29 See especially the writer's paper "The Topography of the Tribe of Issachar," *ZATW* XLIV, 225 ff.

30 Gesenius-Buhl considers it a back-formation from *Yᵉhûdî*.

31 For the temple seals see *JPOS* VI, 93 ff., especially p. 101. The views here expressed have been endorsed by Vincent; see *Revue Biblique*, 1926, 635 f.

names from early times. *Yahwêh*, however, is not a hypocoristicon, nor a clipped form (which explains why it was not vocalized *Yahwâh*), but is simply a divine name formed on the then common analogy of names of ancestral tribal deities which arose as hypocoristica of composite names with an imperfect verb as the first element. Our stock of similar early West Semitic names is now being materially increased by the Amorite material from Babylonia,[32] as well as by the West Semitic names found on broken vases of about 2000 B. C., recently published by Sethe.[33] The form of the name offers no difficulty, since doubly weak words with *waw* as a stem consonant often retain it in Hebrew, and do not change it to *y*, just as in Accadian the *waw* of the early languages is often retained (written as *m* = *w*) in doubly weak verbs and forms, like *emû*, "to be," for **hawâyu*, *emû*, "to speak," for **ḥawâyu*, etc. That the same is also true of Amorite was shown by the writer recently.[34] From *Yahwêh*, the jussive *Yâhû* arose regularly, as in the numerous cases gathered by the writer in the first of his two papers. Above we have explained the interchange of hypocoristica of the imperfect and jussive types as originating in composite names where they fell together. Once the confusion had arisen, it was naturally extended by analogy even to imperfect forms which were not abbreviations, and hence show no traces of clipping. However, it is quite possible that the shorter form *Yâhû* was influenced in its spread by theophorous names in which *Yahwêh* was followed by an imperfect verb. Thus the name **Yahwᵉyarîb* (*Yôyarîb*), with a *šewâ*, as we have seen in our discussion of the name "Israel," could not be pronounced otherwise than *Yahûyarîb*, since the *šewâ* is naturally absorbed by the following *yôd*.[35] When the analogy of the jussive was fortified by the actual occurrence of the form *Yâhû* in proper names, the latter naturally became the usual popular

[32] See Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, Leipzig, 1926, and the writer's review, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Vol. III. pp. 124ff.

[33] See Sethe, *Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1926, *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, Nr. 5.

[34] *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Vol. III, p. 125a.

[35] Bauer-Leander, § 17e, p. 201.

pronunciation of the name of the God of Israel. We thus find it becoming the regular form of His name, not only among the common Aramaic speaking Jews of Elephantine, but also among the official circles in Jerusalem, as we know from the fact that it was used on the seals of the temple treasury in the fourth century B. C. After the exile it is safe to suppose that all four forms, *Yahwêh* (= Babyl. *Yâwa*, *Ya-a-ma*), *Yâhû*, *Yah* (in the temple liturgies, etc.) and *Yô* or *Yau* were employed together. The form "*Yᵉhô*" originated with the Massoretes, as the writer pointed out in the two papers referred to above.

The writer's views have been more or less opposed by several scholars recently; we may refer especially to the papers of Burkitt, "On the Name Yahweh" (*JBL* XLIV, 353–6), Driver, "The Aramaic Language" (*JBL* XLV, 323–5) and Waterman, "Method in the Study of the Tetragrammaton" (*AJSL* XLIII, 1–7). The purpose of Burkitt is only to call attention to the theory of Van Hoonacker,[36] which he believed the writer to have overlooked. This happens to be wrong; the writer was interested in the philological side, and saw no reason to quote Van Hoonacker, whose view did not happen to be peculiar to that distinguished scholar. According to the latter, the old name *Yâhû*, then thought erroneously to be attested in cuneiform texts of the third millennium, was transformed by Moses in order to bring the idea "to be" into it. The name *Yahwêh*, not a regular form from היה, is "the result of the transformation of *Yâhû* on the model of *yihyêh*," which explains the presence of the vowel *a* in the preformative and of *w* instead of the radical *y*. This theory requires no further refutation than a request to compare the remarks in the foregoing paragraph.

G. R. Driver's short paper is devoted to the defense of a thesis which has no particular connection with the title. He maintains that both in Aramaic and in Hebrew *hê* is often a *litera prolongationis*, with no consonantal force, in the middle of a word. According to him such forms are found in Hebrew occasionally as early as the ninth century B. C., יהוה being one, and shortly afterwards in Aramaic as well. Even Aram. בהת

[36] *Une communauté judéo-araméenne à Éléphantine*, p. 71.

and רהט are really, he holds, false pronunciations based on misunderstood writing — and in the living language, not in a learned revival! Driver passes over the mass of secondary *h* formations in Arabic and Ethiopic without a word. How thoroughly they are opposed to his results may be seen from the fact that אברהם, which is to him a "misinterpretation of *Abhrā(h)m*," is supported by the Sabaean name *Yhrhm* (*CIS* IV, 394a), compared by the editor with Arabic *'árhama*, "to drizzle." Driver's evolutionary scale for the Israelite divine name has at least the merit of originality: *Yaw* (יו) > *Yā(h)w* (יהו) > *Yahw* > *Yâhû* or *Yĕhō* > יהוה (pronounced *Yāhû*). Even if this development places normal linguistic method upside down, all that is needed in order to obtain perfectly reasonable results is to set it upright again.

Waterman's analysis of the recent discussion of the Tetragrammaton is quite judicious, aside from his preference for an original **Yahwôh*, ascribed by *lapsus calami* to "Albright," instead of "Luckenbill." However, it is a pleasure to read his rational discussion after the paradoxical speculations of the previously quoted scholar.

After this diversion we may return to our consideration of the name "Judah." As we have seen, the name has an early form, belonging with a group of proper names with passive verbal elements, found only in early personal names, as well as in still earlier place-names. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt that *Y^ehûdâh* is a very ancient and probably a pre-Mosaic tribal name.

C. THE ETYMOLOGY OF TÔDÂH AND TÔRÂH

In our discussion of the name "Judah," we had occasion to study the forms of the verbs *hôdâh* and *hôrâh*, paradigms of which we presented in tabular form. In the course of our investigation it became necessary to form a clear idea of the etymology of the former verb, especially in connection with Meyer's derivation of *Y^ehûdâh* from *hôd*, "glory, majesty." To subject *hôdâh* to a philological analysis without also studying the closely parallel *hôrâh* would be manifestly unmethodical,

so the latter was also considered. The analysis has been crowned with success, we believe, in both cases, thus settling one of the most elusive problems facing the Hebrew philologist. We refrain from giving a history of the efforts to relate the words to other Semitic words and roots, since this would unduly prolong the excursus and obscure the main subjects of our paper.

Neither *hôdâh* nor *hôrâh* are accompanied by any other conjugations in Hebrew, a fact which itself indicates strongly that they are both denominatives from the corresponding nouns *tôdâh* and *tôrâh*. It is still more striking to find that neither have any cognates among Semitic verbs derived from the stems *ydy* and *wry*, or related stems. The meaning of these stems is in both cases primarily "cast, throw," with various derived senses. It is true that *tôdâh* has been compared to *dî'ah* < *diyat*, the old Arabic infinitive of the first conjugation of *wádâ*, which means "compensation, blood money," while *tôrâh* has been connected with Arab. *ráwâ*, "to report a tradition, recite a poem," but the comparisons are equally forced. In Jewish Aramaic we have some loan-words, which later passed into Syriac and Arabic, but despite the curious attitude of Bauer and Leander,[37] they are admitted by all other scholars to be loan-words, since they have exactly the same meanings as the Hebrew words, and are totally without Aramaic analogy. From *tôdâh* was borrowed Aramaic and Syriac *taudiṯâ*, while *hôdâh* passed over as the *afʿel ôdî* or *audî*. The reflexive אתודי, "to give thanks for oneself," is derived from Hebrew התודה, and from it comes Arabic استودى. From *tôrâh* Jewish Aramaic borrowed **tôraitâ*, in the sense "law of Moses," but dissimilated it to *ôraitâ*,[38] in which form it passed into Syriac, while the undissimilated

[37] On pp. 495–6 of their grammar they derive *tôrâh* from **taurat*, comparing *'ôraiṯâ*, and *tôdâh* from **taudiṯat*, comparing *taudiṯâ*. The practice of using loan-words to determine the original vocalization of the words from which they have been borrowed is certainly quite foreign to the historical method of the authors, so we may set it down as a slip.

[38] Cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 35, and Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², p. 49a.

form came into Arabic (long before Mohammed!) as *taurât*, "Old Testament."

Having cleared the ground of encumbrances, we would propose the identification of the word *tôdâh* with Accadian (Assyrian) *tânattu*, later *tânittu* (the usual form), "glory, praise, song of praise," having thus the same meanings exactly as the Hebrew word. Heb. *tôrâh* we would identify with Accadian *têrtu* (for **târtu*, like *erṣitu* for **arṣatu*, etc.), "commission, command, oracle, especially of hepatoscopy (the oracle *par excellence*)." Haupt and Zimmern long ago tried to explain *tôrâh* as a loan from the late form *têrtu*, comparing the South Arabian pronunciation *mêrî* for *môrêh*, "teacher," etc. But there is no parallel, and *tôrâh* is too well attested in early sources to be a loan-word of the time of the Babylonian Exile, as they maintained.

Acc. *tânittu* is derived from the stem *na'âdu*, "to praise," and thus stands for **tan'adatu*; the plural is *tânadâti* (not *tanâdâti*, since there is compensatory lengthening of the first *a*). The stem *na'âdu* appears in Ethiopic as *ne'da*, "praise," and Haupt has proposed that the same verb be restored in the Song of Moses.[39] Since Ethiopic is not very accurate in its weak laryngeals, and the verb appears in Arabic as *nhd*, "to swell," it is better to trace the Accadian and Hebrew words back to a stem **nahâdu*, especially since we actually have the noun *hôd* in Hebrew. The etymological associations of the stem have been discussed by the writer in *AJSL* XXXIV, 255, in connection with the treatment of Egyptian *dhn*, which may be a transposition of *nhd*. The original form of the word *tânittu* = *tôdâh* is thus **tânhadatu*, with the accent on the first syllable, as is the rule in parent Semitic.[40] In Assyrian, as in Egyptian, as well as

[39] Ex. 15 2 he read אַנְוֵהוּ. In the notes to his reconstruction, *AJSL* XX, 170–2, Haupt collected much of the material from the cognate languages, but forgot to mention *nê'da*, which he unquestionably had long combined with *na'âdu*. But it is much more likely that we should read simply אוֹרֵהוּ instead of the אנוהו of 𝔐, if an emendation is necessary.

[40] Cf. Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, pp. 72–3; Bauer-Leander, p. 179. While in Classical Arabic there is hardly any stress accent, in parent Semitic there must have been a rather strong accent

some dialects of Modern Arabic, the accent was shifted forward so that it could never fall before the antepenult, counting the case ending, or the penult, disregarding it.[41] The original **tánhadatu* thus became **tan'ádatu* > **tânádtu* (with compensatory lengthening of the first *a* and elision of the short *a* following the accent, in an open syllable) > *tânattu*, *tânittu*. In Hebrew, as in Ethiopic and Aramaic, the accent moved forward to the last syllable, disregarding the original vocalic endings. Accordingly **tánhadatu* became **tanhadát*. But in Hebrew there was always a tendency to assimilate the *nûn* to a following consonant, even a laryngeal. The assimilation of *nûn* to a following laryngeal is most common in a syllable some distance before the accent, as יֶאֱסֹף for **yi"asip* < **yin'asip* < **yan'asipu*, and מֵהָקִיץ for **mihhaqîṣ* < **minhaqîṣ*. Hence **tanhadát* became **tahhadát* > **tâhădát*, and with the elision of an intervocalic *h*, which also is most frequent some distance before the accent, as in יֹדֶה for יְהוֹדֶה, **tâădát*, **tâdát*, from which *tôdâh* is directly derived. Since *tôdâh* *appears* to be a derivative from a פ״י verb, the denominative *hôdâh* was naturally formed on this analogy. As will be seen, there is not the least difficulty in the derivation of *tôdâh* from **tánhadatu*; all the changes are perfectly regular.

The fortunes of language have preserved two nouns from the stem **nhd* in Hebrew: *nôd*, "skin-bottle" (Assyr. *nâdu*), and *hôd*, "glory." The word *nôd* (נאד) may be a direct loan from Assyrian *nâdu*, or it may stand for **nahd*; the Arabic cognate *nahd* means "female breast;" cf. Arab. *waṭb*, which is both "skin-bottle" and "female breast" (*AJSL* XXXIV, 255). Words for "skin-bottle" in Semitic are often derived from verbs meaning "to swell, become large." The second word *hôd*, "glory," with a meaning included in that of Assyr. *tânittu*, is probably the infinitive of נהד*, just as *bûl*, "produce," properly *bôl*, seems to be the infinitive of יבל (cf. Assyr. *biltu*, the correct old infinitive of *wabâlu*, with the same meaning as *bûl*). All beginners in

on the long syllable of a word, and on the first syllable when all were short.

[41] For Assyrian (Accadian) see the remarks of the writer in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. XVI (1919), p. 175 above; for Egyptian *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. XL (1923), p. 66.

Hebrew are now told that verbs *primae nûn* in Hebrew generally follow the analogy of verbs ע״פ, so there is no need of explaining this phenomenon here. The forms *hôd* for **n^{e}hôd* and **bôl* for **y^{e}bôl* are presumably due to the analogy of the alternative infinitives **hĕdet* (like *gĕšet*) and **bĕlet* (< *biltu*).

Turning to *tôrâh* = *têrtu* we find a decidedly easier problem to solve, since **táu'aratu*[42] is by no means so formidable in appearance as **tánhadatu* = *tôdâh*. **Táu'aratu* became **tau'arát* by the Hebrew accent shift, and the latter form became inevitably **tô'^{a}rát*. Between vowels the *'alef* is generally elided when one is a semi-vowel (Bauer-Leander, § 25h, p. 224), so **tô'^{a}rát* became quite naturally *tôrát*, *tôrâh*. The best parallel is in the Hebrew word for "twins," which appears as *tômîm* (תּוֹמָם) in Gen. 25 24, and is written elsewhere with the historic spelling תְּאוֹמִם and תְּאֹמִים, both pronounced, however, *tômîm*. The former is the correct vocalization, since *tô'^{a}mîm* stands, as we shall see presently, for **tau'ămîm*; the later is vocalized on the analogy of בְּאֵר, pronounced *bêr* for **bĕ'r* < *bi'r*. Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, Vol. I, p. 79, thinks that there were double singular forms, just as in Arabic *táu'am* and *tu'âm*, but the latter is quite secondary, and represents a conformation to the nominal class *fu'âl*, as is shown by the Assyrian *tû'amu*, for **táu'amu*, parallel to *takšû*, "plural birth," for **tákša'u*, as shown by the writer in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. XVI (1919), p. 193, on No. 46.

[42] From the stem *wa'âru*, preserved in the first, second and third conjugations, with numerous derivatives, in Accadian. The first, with later infinitive *'âru*, means "to go, in general," while the second, with later infinitive *mu'uru*, means "cause to go, send, bring, commission, rule." The noun *urtu* (for **wa'urtu*, later **wu'urtu*, *'urtu*) has exactly the same meanings as *têrtu*, which is alone enough to prove that *têrtu* really is derived from this stem, as held by all the lexicographers, including Bezold-Götze, despite occasional suggestions such as that *têrtu* may <**tahrirtu* (Haupt), which replaced a much earlier connection by Haupt with Eth. *temhert*. Now that the Old Accadian forms of the stem *wa'âru* have been found, it is no longer possible to combine the later *mu'uru* with the stem מהר, as was previously the natural thing to do. The latter is, of course, actually found in Acc. *mûru*, "colt" = Arab. *muhr*, and *mâru*, "child," etc.

The only possible objection that can be raised to the derivations proposed for *tôdâh* and *tôrâh* from the standpoint of the Hebrew grammarian is that one would expect some trace of the historic spelling, at least in the word *tôrâh*. Otherwise the explanations given are inexpugnable, since we have the corresponding Accadian words, with the same meanings precisely, and have excellent Hebrew parallels for every phonetic change required. Bauer and Leander have proved that the *'alef* had quiesced in such words as *rôš*, "head," for **ra'š*, before the fifteenth century B. C. But the historic spelling with *'alef* was retained for two reasons. First, there were probably dialects of Hebrew-Canaanite where the *'alef* either did not quiesce, or was restored secondarily. Moreover, all such words have related words or grammatical modifications where the *'alef* does not quiesce. Thus *rôš* stands side by side with a plural *râšîm*, where the quiescing is proved to be very recent, comparatively speaking, by the fact that the short *a* vowel has become *qāmeṣ*, but not *ḥôlem*. In other words, while **ra'š* became **râš*, *rôš*, **ra'šîm* remained, only becoming *râšîm* later. As soon as there ceased to be any such reason for the retention of the *'alef*, it was naturally dropped. In the case of *tôrâh*, there was no such inducement to preserve the *'alef*, since no other word from the stem *w'r* appears to have survived. Moreover, the denominative *hôrâh* bears a perfectly regular relation to *tôrâh*, as though the latter were a *taf'alat* noun derived from it, so the pressure of the tendency to conformation was entirely against the insertion or retention of the *'alef*.

In this connection it will be useful to direct attention again to the various strata of feminine *t*-formations which we find in Hebrew.[43] First of all we have the form *taf'alat*, regularly derived from verbs *tertiae infirmae*; illustrations are *tiqwâh*, "hope," *ta'wâh*, "desire," to which *tôdâh* and *tôrâh* have become attached by analogy. *Tiqwâh* and *ta'wâh* stand for **taqwayát* and **ta'wayát*, respectively. These contracted forms are un-

[43] On the *t*-formations in Semitic see especially Barth, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 274 ff. The latest treatment for Hebrew is by Bauer and Leander, pp. 495 ff., but this section is inferior to most of their work.

questionably part of the most primitive stock of the Hebrew language. Secondly, we have the form *taf'ilat*, also regularly derived from verbs *tertiae infirmae*; illustrations are *tûšiyyâh*, "cleverness" (with secondary *û* for *ô* as in *tûgâh*, "grief," for **tôgâh*, a *taf'alat* form derived from the stem *yagâh*),[44] and *ta'niyyâh*, "lamentation." The doubling of the *yôd* is secondary, following the analogy of **Y'hûdiyyâh*, for **Yehûdîyât*,[45] and similar feminine gentilics. We should most emphatically not be justified in assuming from the doubling of the *yôd* that *tûšiyyâh* represents a form *taf'ilat*. The third feminine *t*-formation is the *tabnît* class. This class is exceedingly common in Accadian, where we have, e. g., *tabnîtu*, *taknîtu*,[46] *tašrîtu*, *taṣlîtu*, *tabrîtu*. It is just as common in Aramaic, where it is also original, though there are numerous Accadian loanwords of the same type. In Accadian, however, both *taf'alat* and *taf'ilat* forms are represented; *taknîtu*, for instance, may stand for either **taknâyatu* > **taknaṯu* or **taknîyatu* > **takniṯu*. We also have this nominal type in Phoenician, as in the name of king Tabnît, who flourished in Sidon in the fifth century B. C. At the same time, it is quite likely that many, if not most of the nouns of this class in later Hebrew are Aramaic loan-words. The originally *taf'ilat* nouns which are not loan-words probably

[44] Heb. *tûšiyyâh*, "cleverness," has never been adequately explained etymologically. **Tûwšiyat* is derived from a stem *wsy*, which would be وسى in Arabic. But there actually is an old stem وسى in Arabic, meaning "to cut," in *mûsâ*, "razor," combined long ago by Ember with Eg. *wšy*, "to saw." *Tûšiyyâh*, therefore, is properly "keenness, sharpness, shrewdness," naturally without the unpleasant connotation which these words have in modern languages; see *RA* XVI, 178 f.

[45] Originally the gentilic ending was *ayyu*, *iyyu*, but in all the Semitic languages the doubling was early given up, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, so the Hebrew doubling is probably secondary.

[46] Assyr. *taknîtu*, "completion, perfection, skilful preparation," is identical with Heb. *taklît*; for the change of *l* to *n* cf. Arab. *kannah*, "bride," Heb. *kallâh*, Assyr. *kallatu*. The stems *killâh* in Hebrew and *kunnû* in Accadian are, therefore, identical, a discovery which disposes completely of the etymological struggles of the writer, *JAOS* XL, 322, n. 32. The meaning assigned *kunnû* there is wrong; cf. Bezold-Götze, s. v. *Kunnû-killâh* has nothing to do with the other stems there mentioned.

came into Biblical Hebrew (the dialect of Jerusalem, as we now know from the inscriptions and ostraca) from Northern Israel, where the feminine *t* was usually preserved, whereas in Judah it was almost always lost. *Ta'niyyáh* is thus characteristically South Israelite, while *tablît*, etc., are properly North Israelite. That we must assume a considerable amount of fusion of dialects in the Classical Hebrew of Jerusalem is just as certain now as that Modern German has grown up in this way.

The preceding pages are designed as a contribution to a scientific study of Hebrew proper names.[47] We need scientific study in this field very badly, especially since the recent reaction against over-reliance on orthodox Hebrew grammar has led to hopelessly eclectic modes of investigation, where philological laws are honored only in the exception. But a better day for scientific philology is dawning, partly because the dilettantes are abandoning the philological ship, whose popularity they have reason for doubting. When the rats are gone, serious students will see that the vessel is made seaworthy!

[47] There is a great need for a new book along the lines of George Buchanan Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, in its day an excellent treatise. Now, thanks to the discovery of the early West Semitic and South Arabian proper names, as well as to the researches of scholars like Moritz in the vast field of North Arabic and Nabataean names, our material for comparison has been enormously increased. Moreover, a more scientific study of the Greek transcriptions in the Septuagint, along the lines being marked out by Margolis, will dispose of many peculiar and corrupt forms of 𝔐. A most admirable preliminary study has just been published by Noth in the *ZDMG* 1927, 1-45.

THE ARCHETYPE OF PSALMS 14 AND 53

CHARLES C. TORREY
YALE UNIVERSITY

THE Old Testament contains several instances of Hebrew hymns which have been preserved, in more or less widely differing form, in more than one place. The most familiar example is furnished by Psalms 14 and 53, versions of a hymn traditionally ascribed to David, but evidently a work of later date. The original poem, of which we have these two varying texts, was a vigorous and well planned composition. As I think will appear, it was carefully constructed, and is decidedly interesting from the point of view of Hebrew metrics. In each of the two versions the text is corrupt, and in one important passage there is also a remarkable divergence in both wording and sense. Nevertheless I believe that a very satisfactory result can be obtained from a comparison of the two Psalms.

The divergence is mainly due to accidents of scribal transmission, as will appear. We have also to take some account of oral tradition, variation in actual popular usage brought about by considerations of taste or by mere accident. The same thing has taken place here, in the case of a few less important words, which has happened over and over again in the hymn-books of modern congregations. It would be easy to give many examples of hymns, favorites in use in our churches, which in the process of transmission from generation to generation have undergone more or less verbal change. Some of the hymns of Isaac Watts, for instance, as they are printed and used at the present day, differ here and there from the form in which they were originally put forth. In one region of the English-speaking world a certain version of a

hymn is now commonly used; in another region, at the same time, a version is employed which shows a slight difference in words or phrases. It is often not easy to decide which is the 'better reading.' In such cases it is not especially important to know just what the author originally wrote, unless an antiquarian or a historian is studying the document. Hymns differ from other poems in that they become the property of the congregation, which may revise them at will.

The two psalms which are now before us illustrate especially the way in which a slight corruption of a written text, in the process of copying, may bring with it a change of meaning—or the loss of all meaning—and thus lead to a more or less thorough revision of the immediate context. The materials at hand are sufficient for reproducing the substance of every verse of the original poem, and the metrical form as well. The restored text is necessarily eclectic, and at two or three points the aid of conjecture is required, the basis for it being sufficiently strong.

Now the one psalm, now the other, presents a reading which is manifestly superior; on the whole, the text of Psalm 14 is nearer to the original. As a matter of course there has been contamination of the text in both directions, attested still further by occasional variant readings in the extant Hebrew manuscripts. The Greek tradition, it is needless to say, has suffered in the same manner.

The psalm is composed in the 'lyric' meter, the line consisting of a longer member of three metric beats or stresses followed by a shorter member of two beats, the whole conveniently represented as 3 | 2. There is the usual rhetorical variation of this scheme, and, apparently, one unusual variation.

Verse 1 (using the numbering in Psalm 14). The *'ălīlah* of 14 is metrically decidedly preferable to the *'āwel* of 53; it is also better suited in meaning to the two verbs. The conjunction uniting the verbs in 53 is better omitted, as in 14; the rhythm is then smoother.

Verse 2. We might prefer to omit the particle *'eth* for the sake of improving (to our ears) the rhythm, but there is no sufficient ground for so doing.

Verse 3. There is nothing to choose between *hakkol sār* of 14 and *kullō sāgh* of 53; either might be the original. The variation arose in oral transmission, in the popular use.

The phrase "No one does right" would complete a 3 | 2 line; but there is added in both texts, and also in both Greek renderings, another phrase of two metric stresses: *'ēn gam 'eḥādh,* "Not even one." The addition of a verse-member of *three* beats for rhetorical effect, in order to give to a paragraph a sententious ending, or to check momentarily the flow of thought, is very common in the Hebrew 3 | 2 verse; the extension of the verse by *two* beats, though a perfectly natural variation, is a decided rarity. If the example stood alone, we might well conclude that the text had suffered some change from its original form. But the case is not isolated; the concluding verse of the poem shows precisely the same thing, as will appear.

Verse 4. The simple verb *yādhĕʿū,* without expressed object, is noticeably weak. It is used absolutely, beyond doubt, but the need of some reënforcement has been felt by most interpreters, perhaps by all. It is an easy conjecture that the infinitive absolute has been accidentally lost from the text. By simply reading הֲלֹא יָדוֹעַ יָדְעוּ (the same order of words as in Jer. 3 1) the verb is given the absolute object which it needs, and the question gains the vigor which had been wanting. The metric pause adds to the effect, for the three words constitute a three-beat line; and the meter of the whole verse is now in order for the first time. The conjecture is also recommended by the fact that the accidental omission of the word is so easily accounted for; it is almost exactly the duplicate of the word which follows. It would appear that a manuscript ancestor of our two psalms was defective at this point through an error of transcription. On the other hand, the omission of *kol* in 53 is a later accident, not shared by 14.

In the second line of the verse, אָכְלוּ, the reading of both texts, is impossible. The consonant text is correct, however, and it is not certain that the ancient versions, excepting the Targum, read the word with the massoretic vocalization. We must point אָכְלוֹ לֶחֶם. *βρῶσις ἄρτου, escam panis,* recognizing

here the expanded construct form occasionally used especially in poetry; see Gesenius-Buhl, § 90, *n*, the Gezer calendar inscription, and *JAOS*, Vol. 45 (1925), p. 277. This cognate accusative not only gives the sense which is needed, but also improves the rhythm. It is further obvious that the construct ending in *ō* is here more euphonious than any form (infinitive or other substantive) ending in the consonant *lamedh*. The Greek, Latin, and Syriac versions may not actually have read the word in this way, but their rendering gives reason to suppose that they did. The whole verse is the utterance of Yahweh, who is frequently made to speak of himself in the third person, in various parts of the Old Testament.

Verse 5. The first half of this verse, in 14, has lost a clause which is preserved in 53 (verse 6). There is some reason for doubt as to the meaning of *lō hāyāh;* whether it intends to say that the "fright" came suddenly to those who had been without apprehension, or that it was so intense as to deserve another name. Either interpretation is possible – since this is poetry, not prose — and the metric 3 | 2 line has the ring of genuineness. The clause fell out in 14 because of the two occurrences, so near together, of the same word.

Verses 5, 6. This is the place of serious trouble in the poem. The two Hebrew texts diverge here so remarkably, and in such extent, that at first sight it seems almost hopeless to look for a common source accounting for both readings. Certainly no satisfactory explanation of the divergence has been found hitherto. I think it can be shown that the whole trouble had its origin in a copyist's easily explained omission of two words. The poem was saved from oblivion by the rescue of a single defective manuscript; corrupt in only the slightest extent, and yet in such a manner that the resulting text was utterly incoherent. It was nevertheless copied as it stood, and no doubt there were several different attempts to make some kind of sense, by conjecture, out of the mutilated verse. We have in fact before us the result of two such attempts.

I believe that the text of the solitary surviving manuscript read as follows, in this passage: כי יהוה פיר עצת עני תבישו כי יהוה מחסהו. According to the context, this gives the reason

for the discomfiture of the oppressors! Obviously, the psalm could not be made usable without the aid of conjectural improvement here. Why were these foes of Israel discomfited? One interpreter said (making the least possible change): *Because the Lord is with the righteous.* He accordingly wrote בְּדוֹר צַדִּיק, and read the next clause as a question: "Can ye put to shame the counsel of the lowly?" The other interpreter very naturally felt the need of something more drastic. He conjectured פְּזַר עַצְמוֹת (cf. Ps. 141 7 and Ezek. 6 5), and then of necessity made the following word into חָנָךְ, the suffix derived from the second person of the following verb. The two other slight changes which he made were also inevitable, as any one can see. But this is no place for 'scattering bones.' The *'aṣmōth* merely supports the *'ăṣath* of the other text, which unquestionably comes nearer to the original reading.

The true text of the passage, as composed by its author, would seem to have been the following: כי יהוה הֵפִיר עֲצָתָם ובַמֶּה עצת עני תבישו כי יהוה מחסהו. The accidental omission of the two words was occasioned by the twice occurring *'ăṣath*—a typical example of the most common of all the causes of textual corruption. The foes were discomfited "because the Lord disconcerted their counsel. But how will ye put to shame the counsel of the lowly? since the Lord is his refuge." The contrast makes an effective introduction to the close of the poem. The initial consonant of *hēphīr* fell out by haplography, presumably after the other corruption had taken place. For examples of this verb (a variation of the *hiph'īl* of פרר) see especially Ps. 33 10, where it is used with *'ăṣath* in precisely the manner of our passage; also Ezek. 17 19 and Zech. 11 10, in both cases used with *bĕrīth*. Another example which ought not to be questioned is Ps. 89 34. (In the last-named passage, and also in 85 5, some scholars have proposed to read the *hiph'īl* of *sūr,* supported by some Hebrew mss. and by parallel passages; but according to sound principles of criticism the text-reading in either case should be left as it is.) Among the several possible ways of expressing "how?" in the above restoration, the one adopted seems to have some slight advantages.

Verse 7. The two verbs at the end of the verse give a better sense as future (so the Greek in 53, and Jerome in both psalms) than as jussive. Regarding the meter here, see the note on verse 3. It is not to be doubted that the last four words of the poem *could* be read as a single three-beat line, or that the whole of verse 7 could be read in bits of two stresses each — which would have a very unpleasing effect. Verse 7 begins, however, with a good 3 | 2 line introducing a new subject. If this was intended, that is, if the general metric scheme of the composition is preserved here also, then at least one other 3 | 2 line must follow, according to all the usage of this Hebrew metric form. The most important consideration, however, is the meter of verse 3, where the first main division of the poem seems to be marked off by a 3 | 2 ‖ 2 line. Here, also, this is the natural metric scheme. There is no ground for suspecting the text, in either case, and the coincidence is hardly accidental. As was remarked above, this extension of the metric line for a rhetorical reason is not only very natural, but also has its close analogies in Hebrew prosody. There is apparent no sufficient reason for denying the device to the author of this hymn.

Appended is the text of the whole as emended, followed by a translation. I am unable to recognize the regular 'strophes' which some scholars have found here as elsewhere. Hebrew poetry in general is not strophic, and even the Psalter contains comparatively few poems made up of stanzas of equal length.

The Restored Text:

1 אמר נבל בלבו | אין אלהים ‖
השחיתו התעיבו עלילה | אין עשה טוב ‖
2 יהוה משמים השקיף | על בני אדם ‖
לראות היש משכיל | דרש את אלהים ‖
3 הכל סר יחדו נאלחו | אין עשה טוב ‖ אין גם אחד ‖

4 הלא יָדוּעַ ידעו | כל פעלי און ‖
אכלי עמי אָכְלוּ לחם | יהוה לא קראו ‖

5 שם פחדו פחד | לא היה פחד ‖
כי יהוה הֵפִיר עַצְמֹת

6 וּבַמֶּה עצת עני תבישו | כי יהוה מחסהו ‖
7 מי יתן מציון | ישועת ישראל ‖
בשוב יהוה שבות עמו | יָגֵל יעקב ‖ ישמח ישראל ‖

The Translation:

1. The foolish man says in his heart, | There is no God. ‖
   They are corrupt, deal abominably, | no one does right. ‖
2. The Lord looked down from heaven | on the children of men, ‖
   To see whether any had insight, | seeking after God. ‖
3. All have turned away, they are vile; | no one does right, ‖ no, not one. ‖

4. Have they no knowledge whatever, | the workers of evil, ‖
   Who devour my people like bread, | and call not on the Lord? ‖
5. Then they were in consternation, | where no fear had been, ‖
   For the Lord brought their counsel to nought.

6. How will ye shame the counsel of the lowly? | since the Lord is his refuge. ‖
7. Oh that from Zion might come forth | the rescue of Israel! ‖
   When the Lord turns the fortune of his people, | Jacob will exult, ‖ Israel will rejoice. ‖

THE DUAL ORIGIN OF HEBREW MONOTHEISM

ROBERT H. PFEIFFER
BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE vital and lasting contribution of the children of Israel to the cultural progress of mankind is religious monotheism, not a mere numerical reduction of numerous gods to a single one, not a discovery of the ontological unity of all that exists, nor yet a metaphysical spiritualization of the universe, but a living faith in the unique righteous and benevolent ruler of the world. The pages of the Old Testament record the slow but somehow inevitable development of the idea of God, from its crude early stages up to the first indubitable formulation of monotheism in the writings of Second Isaiah, about 550 B. C., and its later vicissitudes. But in their study of this process, the critical students of the last hundred years have reached conclusions which are far from unanimity. Even the date of the appearance of monotheism in the religion of Israel seems to be a matter of dispute; at least such elusive doctrines as practical, latent, implicit, moral, monotheism have been attributed to men living long before the author of Is. 40 ff.[1]

[1] Some sort of monotheism has been ascribed, for instance, to: Abraham (B. Baentsch, *Altorientalischer und Israelitischer Monotheismus*), Moses (Oehler, *Theologie des A. T.;* P. Volz, *Mose*), Elijah (G. Hölscher, *Geschichte der Israelitischen und Jüdischen Religion*), the author of the J document (B. Luther, in E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 167 f.), the author of E (O. Procksch, *Die Elohimquelle*, p. 199), Amos (D. Philipson, *Jew. Encycl.* 8, 660; Hölscher, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Knudson, *The Religious Teaching of the O. T.*, p. 87); Jeremiah (W. v. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semit. Religionsgesch.* I, 109, 148; J. P. Peters, *The Religion of the Hebrews*, p. 278).

As a matter of fact, however, we can only speak of monotheism in the O. T. before Second Isaiah by using the word in a sense other than the belief that there is only one god, or by reading this doctrine between the lines of our sources through inductions, deductions, and analogies of questionable force. In view of the fact that the existence of other gods besides Yahweh is never denied before Second Isaiah,[2] and furthermore since their existence is explicitly taken for granted in the pre-exilic literature,[3] it seems preferable, in the interests of clarity and exactness, to avoid the use of the term "monotheism" in speaking of the pre-exilic religion of Israel.

So far as we know, the Jewish doctrine of monotheism was clearly formulated for the first time in Is. 40 ff. The problem with which this paper deals is: What elements in the contemporary religious thought paved the way for the monotheistic theology of Second Isaiah and made it possible? Formulated in these terms the question comes within the scope of historical investigation, whereas Wellhausen's familiar question transcends it: "Why did not Chemosh of Moab, for instance, [instead of Yahweh] become the God of righteousness and the creator of heaven and earth?"

The view presented here is that Second Isaiah combined in his theology two distinct existing conceptions of the deity, a God of history and a God of the physical world, the first one strictly Israelitic, the second, represented chiefly by the Book of Job, apparently Edomitic.[4] The indebtedness of the author of Is. 40 ff. to the prophetic movement is universally recognized, whereas it is generally assumed that the Book of Job was written after the time of the exilic theologian. An attempt will be made here to show that the theology of Second Isaiah

[2] Is. 44 6; 45 5, 14; cf. 44 8; 45 6, 21 f. The other passages in which the existence of other gods is denied are indisputably later: Deut. 4 35, 39; 1 Ki. 8 60; 2 Ki. 19 15 = Is. 37 16; Ps. 83 19; 86 10; Neh. 9 6.

[3] W. v. Baudissin, *Studien zur Semit. Religionsgesch.* (1876) I, 47–177.

[4] The Edomitic origin of Job, Ps. 88; 89 6–19; Prov. 30; 31 1–9, and the transmission through Edomitic channels of the Egyptian material contained in Ps. 104 and Prov. 22 17–23 14, has been discussed by the author in his article *Edomitic Wisdom* (*ZAW* Neue Folge Bd. 3, 1926, pp. 13–26).

presupposes the conception of God developed in Job and that this book is earlier than Is. 40 ff.[5]

I. Yahweh, the ruler of the human world.

The development of the conception of Yahweh up to the time of Second Isaiah reflects the historical vicissitudes of the children of Israel; the theology is not the result of abstract thinking, but of practical exigency. So plastic was the concept of the deity that it could adapt itself to the requirements of every national crisis, so unfettered by rational presuppositions that it thrived in incongruity, so endowed with vitality that it emerged sublimated from national disaster.

In our earliest sources Yahweh is the god dwelling on Sinai or Horeb, manifesting himself in natural cataclysms, volcanic eruptions, or storms; his voice is thunder, his arrows lightning. Through the instrumentality of Moses this fearsome deity delivered some Israelitic tribes from Egyptian bondage and became their god. Again and again he saved his people from utter annihilation, as at the crossing of the Red Sea, so that the very existence of Israel was thought to be dependent upon his solicitude. A god of war, he marched forth from Horeb to fight with his warriors against Sisera at Megiddo. By occupying the shrines of the Canaanites and by displacing the local *numina*, Yahweh assumed the functions of the numerous Baalim, the givers of agricultural bounty, and became the patron of fertility to whom Israel owed corn, wine, oil, wool, and flax. Thus his jurisdiction was extended and his character was refined. The god of Sinai became the God of Israel and the God of Canaan, the first god of that country as a whole; the god of wind and fire insured the existence of his people by giving them victory and bread. The deity of consuming anger, of unfathomable moods, of inexplicable blind fury, became of necessity, to safeguard the corporate

[5] The literary arguments proving that Second Isaiah was familiar with the Book of Job will be presented in a critical note at the end of this article. The priority of Job had been assumed for other reasons in *ZAW* 1926, p. 24 f.

existence of Israel, the defender of the weak, the avenger of the murdered and, without being impartially just when the interests of Israel were in question, he was the upholder of equity and morality. Acquiring new attributes without losing the old ones, the very inconsistencies of his nature contained the seeds of future development: a god of a mountain, of a nation, of a country; a god of battles and of harvests, loyal but dangerous, a person yet never represented by images (*JBL* 45. 211 ff.), a god among many but unique for Israel, requiring justice but not yet wholly righteous, the ruler of Canaan but active in Ashdod (1 Sam. 5), in Edom (1 Ki. 11 14) and in Damascus (2 Ki. 8 13), concerned with national affairs but guiding the actions of the individual (1 Sam. 25 26, 32, 34, 39): truly such a god had in his nature "something able to unfold into the highest reaches of morality and spiritual faith."[6]

The reforming prophets, beginning with Amos, took issue with the current conception of Yahweh as the god of Israel, in two respects: the chief concern of Yahweh was not, for them, the welfare or even the existence of the nation, but the vindication of justice and righteousness; as a consequence his field of activity was not confined to Canaan, but extended over other countries as well, wherever justice and righteousness were at stake. They proclaimed that this god of unspotted moral character and unlimited power, far from supporting Israel's selfish advantage consistently, could actually plan the annihilation of his people in the interests of justice, using foreign nations as "the rod of his anger;" that a ritually correct worship divorced from the practice of ethical standards and of social justice was an abomination in his sight; they discovered in the capricious course of political vicissitudes the invisible hand of the ruler of mankind directing the events of history to the accomplishment of his great ends.

II. A god creating the world and directing its course.

Yahweh was primarily active in the human world; only sporadically was this deity brought into contact with natural

[6] C. Noyes, *The Genius of Israel*, p. 388.

occurrences. The intervention of Yahweh in the course of the physical world is either a survival of the prehistoric traits of the volcanic or meteorological divinity of Sinai (Gen. 19 24; Ex. 9 23 f.; Judg. 5 4 f.; 6 21; 13 20; 1 Ki. 18 38: the burning bush, the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire, the East wind at the crossing of the Red Sea, earthquakes, etc.), or it is connected with the agricultural functions that Yahweh took over from the Baalim (giving or withholding rain), or else it is due to foreign influence (the flood). In all these cases Yahweh uses fire, rain, wind, thunder, lightning, and earthquakes in pursuit of his ends in the human world; he is never interested in the physical world *per se*, he is never regarded as the creator of inanimate nature or as its ruler,[7] with the possible single exception of a phrase in the Septuagint of 1 Ki. 8 53 (in the Hebrew 8 12): "The Lord has made known the sun in the sky."[8]

The so-called J creation story in Gen. 2 does not in the least contravene these statements, unless we regard Gen. 2 4 b as the beginning of the J account, as most critics do; however J. Morgenstern (*AJSL* 36, 199 ff.) has shown conclusively that this half verse is redactional and that J begins with v. 5: "The Yahwist story not only makes no mention at all of the creation of heaven and earth, but takes the eternal existence of these for granted" (*ibid.*; cf. Stade, *Bibl. Theol. A. T.* I. 240). Even the creation of animals and man would perhaps not have been attributed to Yahweh by an ancient Israelite had he not been operating with literary material of foreign

[7] "Der Gedanke der Erschaffung und Erhaltung der Welt durch Jahve fehlt völlig, wie auch der Sprache ein besonderes Wort (*term. techn.*) für den Begriff des göttlichen Schaffens noch fehlt." (B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des A. T.* I, 92). Am. 4 13; 5 8 f.; 9 5 f.; Jer. 10 12 f.; 27 5; 33 25 are spurious.

[8] Ηλιον εγνωρισεν εν ουρανῳ Κυριος. Some Mss. (see Holmes and Parsons) read εστησεν (has fixed) instead of εγνωρισεν: it is difficult however to determine which reading is original. Most critics would add this phrase to the Hebrew, regarding it as genuine, but Stade (in Stade and Schwally, *The Books of Kings*, SBOT, Hebrew Text, p. 101 ff.) has argued very forcibly in favor of the Massoretic Text, and I am inclined to accept his conclusions.

origin: at any rate we do not find that any one else before Second Isaiah really thought of Yahweh as the creator of mankind.

If Yahweh was a god whose realm of activity was human history, the god of Job and of the other "Edomitic" sections of the Old Testament shows no solicitude for human affairs and is active only in the realm of physical nature and of living creatures: he is no more interested in men than in the beasts of the field (Job 38; Ps. 104). The purpose of the Book of Job is actually to prove that God is not just, establishing equity in the human world by an exact retribution for human actions, but merely powerful, an irresistible, supreme force of nature, creating, organizing, upholding the physical world and animating through his spirit the living beings. The welfare of mankind is not his concern: when God approaches a man he brings irreparable calamity; his presence is terrifying and crushing, for he speaks not in a still small voice but in a whirlwind; his purposes are inscrutable, his actions are past finding out.

This deity of the Book of Job has nothing in common with the Yahweh of pre-exilic Israel, not even the name. In a poem which betrays no knowledge of Israel's history and religion and depicts a god wholly indifferent to human needs and aspirations, it would be vain to seek for any traces of that solicitude of the Lord for his chosen people that survived the prophetic moralization of Yahweh and the doctrine of absolute monotheism. The god of Judaism, though theoretically a universal deity, retained illogically a peculiar relation to the seed of Abraham, individually and collectively. The divine spirit was conceived in the Hebrew Scriptures as the ultimate source of human excellence in word and deed, whereas in "Edomitic wisdom" it was nothing more than the animating principle of living creatures (*ZAW* 1926, p. 23 f.). Divine wisdom, which in Job 28 23–27 (v. 28 is a gloss) was the guiding principle of divine creative activity and was therefore hopelessly beyond human reach (28 12–22), came down to earth, according to Prov. 1–9, after assisting God in the work of creation, and went preaching through the streets exhorting

mortals to adopt its words as the norm of their conduct, until Ben Sirach identified wisdom with the law of Moses (cf. Deut. 4 6; Ezr. 7 25).[9] In like manner, when the doctrine of creation, under the influence of "Edomitic" writings, became current in Judaism through Is. 40 ff. and Gen. 1, it was treated merely as the opening chapter in the history of God's plans in the human realm, primarily within the chosen nation: God created the world for the benefit of man if not of Israel. This anthropocentric point of view is characteristically absent in Job and Ps. 104. A comparison between this magnificent psalm and Gen. 1 is instructive. K. Fullerton[10] has shown that the works of creation described by the poet correspond substantially in scope and in order with the first five creative acts outlined by P: significantly the last crowning act, the most important in the opinion of the priestly author, the special creation of man, is totally absent in the Psalm, man being obviously regarded as one of the animals (cf. the parallel between lions and men in vv. 21–23; see also vv. 14–15).[11] Man's importance in creation is likewise rated very low in the Book of Job, where the creation of man is only alluded to incidentally: God is "his maker" (4 17; cf. 31 15 a), he has fashioned him in the womb (31 15 b) in a mysterious manner (10 8–11) and keeps him alive (10 12); man is therefore the work of God's hands (10 3; 14 15). There is not the pride of a king of creation in these words, on the contrary they are a

9 For references see A. Bertholet, *Bibl. Theol. des A. T.*, *begonnen von B. Stade*, vol. II, p. 177 f.

10 "The feeling for form in Psalm 104" *JBL* 40 (1921), p. 43 ff. Prof. Fullerton seems to think that Gen. 1 is the source of Ps. 104, although it is evident that the Psalmist's conception of creation is in many points more mythological and archaic (cf. H. Gunkel, *Genesis*[1], p. 111). The priority of Gen. 1 appears to be a well established dogma of biblical criticism.

11 It may in part be due to this identification of man with the other animals that the creation of animals and man takes place, in the priestly account, on the same day in spite of the fact that they are clearly regarded as distinct creative acts. The creation of man is likewise the last and supreme work of Marduk in the Babylonian "*enuma eliš*" poem.

humble appeal to the creator to spare the work of his hands. Is man better than animals? Nothing indicates it: just as the same creator fashioned slave and master (31 15), so God says to Job: "Behold now behemoth, which I made with thee" (40 15; cf. 12 7–10). The real proof of the prodigious power of God is not the creation of human beings, miserable creatures "whose foundation is in the dust, who are crushed before the moth!" (4 19; cf. 14 1 f.), but rather the fashioning and upholding of the physical world, unfathomable in its vastness, bewildering in its complexity (9 5–10; 26 7–14; 38 4–35), the animation and preservation of every living thing (12 10; 38 39 ff.). This deity was radically unlike the God of the Israelites, but such was the emotional fervor, the firm persuasion, the literary skill of the nameless poet, that Second Isaiah, himself also a poet and a theologian, could not help being influenced by the Book of Job: without renouncing his faith in a God of mercy and lovingkindness, coming to his people "as a shepherd that feedeth his flock, that gathereth the lambs in his arm" (Is. 40 11), he was willing to attribute to him the creative functions and immensurable power of the god of Job, and, accepting the challenge of the problem of theodicy, he undertook to discover a less depressing solution.

III. Second Isaiah's synthesis of the two conceptions.

Second Isaiah is the first of Old Testament writers who declares explicitly and emphatically that God is both the ruler of history and the creator of the physical world; the fusion of these two sharply distinguished ideas of the deity, that had been current independently before his time, could hardly be reconciled with the existence of a multitude of gods and would have as its natural corollary the doctrine of monotheism.

A true exponent of the faith of his fathers, Second Isaiah asserts with unshakeable assurance the peculiar relation between Yahweh and Israel. Yahweh is still the God and the Holy One of Israel, Jacob's redeemer and savior, his creator and king, the nation's maker and husband. Jacob is his servant, Israel his elect, the Israelites are his sons and daughters; he

brought his people from the uttermost parts of the world and called it by name.[12] But Yahweh's jurisdiction and solicitude are not confined to Israel: he raised up Cyrus from the east, giving nations before him and making him rule over kings, so that the exiles might go free. He has chosen Israel not for unmerited blessings nor for terrestrial eminence, but for a lofty mission demanding the utmost humiliation and self-sacrifice: "I will also give thee for a light of the nations, that my salvation may be to the ends of the earth."

With the enthusiasm of a discoverer and with the zeal of a neophyte Second Isaiah proceeds to identify the God of Israel with the creator of the world. It is clear from his utterances dealing with the creative and providential activities of God that he assumed in his readers a knowledge of this matter, for he touches on creation only incidentally and in a general way, subordinating consistently the cosmological operations of the deity to its plans in the human realm. He wants to prove not that God is the creator (the book of Job and Ps. 104 had settled that matter to his satisfaction) but that "the creator of the ends of the earth . . . giveth power to the faint" (40 28 f.). In brief formulas devoid of picturesque details, epithets of the deity or axioms of self-evident truth, Second Isaiah declares that Yahweh has created heaven and earth,[13] the stars,[14] in fact all things (44 24) both good and bad (45 7; cf. 54 16) for the benefit of man (45 12, 18); in view of the divine plan for the redemption of mankind, the creation of Israel[15] may be regarded as the crowning operation of the divine activity. So great is the writer's interest in history that the mighty primeval struggles of the Almighty against mythological dragons and a raging chaotic sea, alluded to in Job and Ps. 104,[16] are reduced to mere symbols of the Exodus from Egypt (51 9 f.); in similar vein, the drying of the deep is mentioned in the midst of the restoration

12 Cf. G. Hölscher, *Die Propheten*, p. 326.

13 Is. 40 21 f.; 42 5; 44 24; 45 12, 18; 48 13; 51 13, 16.

14 Is. 40 26; 45 12.

15 Is 43 1, 7, 15; 44 2, 21, 24; 54 5; cf. 51 16.

16 Job 9 13; 25 12 f.; 38 10 f.; Ps. 104 9.

of Judah (44 27), and is cited elsewhere as a proof of God's "power to deliver" (50 2).

This conception of the deity, according to which Yahweh, the supreme sovereign of mankind, directing the course of history with justice and love, was identified with the creator of heaven and earth, left no room for polytheism. "The author's monotheism is not a theological reflection on the nature of God, it is his religious faith: Israel's god is the only God; the almighty is the saviour of his people."[17] Profoundly devoted to the god of his fathers, intensely concerned with the destiny of his people, Second Isaiah had neither the inclination nor the opportunity for speculation concerning the mysteries of the universe. Fortunately he had access to the work of a thinker who, failing to discover any traces of God's benevolent and just control of the life of individuals and of nations, had sought refuge in the contemplation of nature; there, in the stars and in the sea, as well as in the life of the wild animals, he recognized by unmistakable signs, the mysterious sway of the Almighty.

CRITICAL NOTE

The priority of Job over Is. 40–55.

The parallels in thought and expression between the Book of Job and Is. 40-55 are sufficiently numerous and close to make it reasonably certain that one of the two authors was acquainted with the other. Most critics, having decided that Job cannot be earlier than 500 B. C. (an opinion which is not demonstrable) assert that its author was influenced by Second Isaiah. No one, however, not even those who, like Franz Delitzsch and Cheyne, maintain that Job is the earlier of the two works, has taken the trouble to examine the parallels to see whether it is possible to determine with reasonable assurance which one of the two authors is dependent on the other. The material presented here is by no means exhaustive, although I hope that nothing of importance has been overlooked, but it is significant: in no case is Job clearly the borrower, whereas aside from many comparisons that leave the question of priority

[17] G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. I, p. 228.

open, in some cases Job appears to be the source of Second Isaiah.[18]

1. Parallels in utterance.

a) Words occurring only in Job, Is. 40 ff., and postexilic passages.

1) Flora. נדע (Job 14 8; Is. 11 1; 40 24), נדף (Niph. "to be withered," Job 13 25; Is. 41 2; etc.), צאצאים ("plant growth," Job 31 8; Is. 34 1; 42 5), ציץ (Job 14 7; Is. 40 6–8). יבש חציר (Is. 15 6; 40 7 f.; cf. Job 8 12).

2) Fauna. עכביש (Job 8 14; Is. 59 5), עש ("moth," Job 4 19; 13 28; 27 18 [? cf. LXX]; Is. 50 9; Hos. 5 12 is spurious), תנים ובנות יענה (Job 30 29; Is. 43 20; etc.; Mic. 1 8 can hardly be genuine). Mythological monsters of the sea (רהב, תנין, Job 9 13; 26 12; 7 12; Is. 52 9; etc.).

3) Cosmology. God's activity: נטה שמים לבדו (Job 9 8; Is. 44 24), יסד ארץ (Job 38 4; Is. 48 13, 16; Ps. 104 5), עשה (in the sense "to create"), רגע (Qal, "to agitate the sea," Job 26 12; Is. 51 15; Jer 31 35), שים (in connection with clouds, Job 38 9; Is. 50 3; cf. Ps. 104 3), חוג (Job 22 14; Is. 40 22; Prov. 8 27), קצות הארץ (Job 28 24; Is. 40 28; 41 5, 9).

4) Miscellaneous. יהולל (Job 12 17; Is. 44 25; etc.), ריק (Job 7 19; 30 10; Is. 50 6).

b) Idiomatic expressions.

אין חקר (Job 5 9; 9 10; Is. 40 28), נטה קו (Job 38 5; Is. 44 13; etc.), קפץ פיהו (Job 5 16; Is. 52 15; etc.), דרכו נסתרה (Job 3 23; Is. 40 27), על לא חמס (Job 16 17; Is. 53 9), אמיץ כח (Job 9 4; Is. 40 26), יגע לריק (Job 39 16; Is. 49 4), רבות (*multa*, Job 16 2; 23 4; Is. 42 20).

c) Figures of speech.

God is called a גאל ("kinsman," "redeemer") in Job 19 25; Prov. 23 11 and often in Is. 40 ff. Human life with its misery is called צבא ("military service") in Job 7 1; 10 17; 14 14; Is. 40 2; human beings are called worms (Job 25 6; Is. 41 14;

[18] The following passages of Is. 40 ff. are expansions of the verses of Job given in parenthesis: 41 20 (12 9); 40 14 (21 22); 40 22; 45 12; 48 13; cf. 44 24 (9 8); 51 17, 22; cf. 20 (21 20); 51 15 (26 12). Is. 53 9 combines Job 16 17 and 6 30.

if Duhm's emendation of the latter passage is to be accepted, תולעה and רמה are mentioned together in both verses and only there); the moth devours men like a garment (כבגד יאכלם עש, Is. 51 8; cf. Job 13 28). הרו עמל והוליד און (Job 15 35; Is. 59 4). צאצאים ("offspring," Job 5 25; 21 8; 27 14; Is. 44 3; etc.). "To drink the wrath" (חמה) of God (Job 21 20; Is. 51 17, 20, 22; Jer. 25 15).

2. Parallels in thought.

a) The deity.

Wisdom and might (Job 9 4; 12 13, 16) are the divine attributes that both authors emphasize. No one can teach God knowledge (Job 21 22; Is. 40 14), his thoughts are unsearchable (Job 11 7; Is. 40 28: this latter passage and Job 26 12 are the earliest references to the תבונה of God). He is hidden and cannot be found (Is. 45 15; Job 9 11; 23 8 f.). He is mighty in strength (אמיץ כח, Job 9 4; Is. 40 26), irresistible in his actions (Job 11 10; 23 13; Is. 43 13): who can say unto Him "What doest thou?" (מה־תעשה, Job 9 12; Is. 45 9)? He stretcheth out the heavens alone (Job 9 8; Is. 44 24; cf. 40 22; 42 5; 45 12; 48 13; 51 13, 16; see above, *1* a) 3)), he defeats Rahab (Job 26 12 b; Is. 51 9), and stirs up the sea (רגע, Job 26 12 a; Is. 51 15). He formed man in the womb (Job 31 15; Is. 44 24), and gives him breath (Job 12 10; Is. 42 5). Man is like clay in the hands of a potter (Job 10 9; Is. 45 9; Jer. 18 2 ff.).

b) Man.

The misery of the human lot, the pathos and tragedy of existence, are keenly felt by both authors (see above, c). Figures of speech: man is like grass (Job 14 1 f.; cf. 8 12; Is. 40 6, 24; 51 12), ephemeral (Job 4 19 ff.; Is. 40 6 ff.; 51 12). His way is hidden (Job 3 23; Is. 40 27). God frustrates (מֵפֵר, Job 5 12; Is. 44 25) human ingenuity, and makes fools of men (Job 12 17; Is. 44 25); nations are as nothing before him (Is. 40 15, 17; cf. Job 12 23), he abases rulers and magistrates (Job 12 17, 21; Is. 40 23 f.; 41 5; 43 13, 16; 44 25). Especially poignant is the fate of the innocent sufferer: although no violence was to be found in him (Job 6 30; 16 17; cf. 27 4; Is. 53 9) and his right was with God (Job 16 19–21; Is. 49 4; 50 8, 9 a), he was sorely

afflicted (a leper? cf. Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah, ad* Is. 53 4), deserted of friends (חדל, Job 19 14; Is. 53 3), despised (Job 19 18; Is. 53 3); men smote him and spat upon him (Job 16 10; 30 10; Is. 50 6).

3. Conclusion.

It is clear from this survey that the similarities between the two books are confined to the peculiar *Weltanschauung* of Job; there is, on the contrary, no trace in Job of the religious ideas of Israel and of the personal views of Second Isaiah. The most striking parallels are within the sphere of the conceptions of the physical world, of the cosmological functions of the deity, and of the sadness of human life. In these matters the Book of Job was far more original, specific, and comprehensive; were we to regard Is. 40 ff. as the source of Job in these matters, we would have a mountain hanging from a thread. How can the advocates of the priority of Second Isaiah explain the fact that this author uses two of the divine names typical of Job, *el* and *eloah* (the latter, according to Duhm, *ad* Is. 44 8, probably does not occur in the O. T. before Job)? And the fact that the *terminus technicus* for creation in post-exilic literature (ברא) is used by Second Isaiah but not by Job (the same is to be said of יצר and פעל)? And why should the author of Job ignore the creation by *fiat*, if he had read Is 41 4; 44 27; 45 12; 48 13 f. (God's word is personified in Is. 55 11)?

The fundamental conceptions of Second Isaiah represent a development of the views of the Book of Job. According to Hölscher (*Die Propheten* p. 330 ff.) "the significance of Second Isaiah can be determined through three points" namely monotheism, missionary zeal, and the solution to the problem of theodicy. In these matters Second Isaiah could have known the book of Job, but the reverse would be unthinkable. The monotheism of Second Isaiah, based an a combination of a God of history with a God of nature, implies the negation of the existence of other gods, a corollary which is not yet explicitly stated in Job. The practical consequence of this monotheism, the conversion of the heathen, is emphatically stressed by Second

Isaiah, but is totally absent in the Book of Job. The problem of theodicy had been formulated in the sharpest terms by the author of Job and had been illustrated with the fact of undeserved suffering. Second Isaiah faced the issue squarely, admitted the facts adduced by Job, but, instead of concluding that God could not be at the same time almighty and merciful, he found a solution in the idea of voluntary vicarious suffering. Job, in his despair, had made an appeal from the god of power, who crushed him, to the god of mercy and justice, his witness in heaven (16 19–21); these two gods become one and the same in Is. 40 ff. "The view of suffering taken in Is. 53 can never have presented itself to the author of Job. Either the two are entirely independent, or Job is earlier than Deutero-Isaiah, would seem to be the inevitable verdict" (W. T. Davison, *HDB* II, 671).

MARK AS A SOURCE FOR THE FOURTH GOSPEL

H. J. FLOWERS
PANTILES, CHORLEYWOOD, HERTS, ENGLAND

WHEN we compare the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptics, we are struck at once by the differences. But on closer examination, we see that, shimmering through the differences, there are points in which John and the Synoptics agree. That makes us wonder whether John had any or all of the Synoptics to work upon. We shall take it for granted that Mk. has been used, together with other sources, by Lk. and Mt. It may be that Mk. itself is of composite authorship, and it may also be that interpolations into the original writing can be found, but, taking it as a whole, internal evidence seems to vindicate the tradition that the Gospel goes back to Petrine teaching. We will examine, in more or less detail, the Gospels of Mk. and Jn., to see whether there are signs of dependence, leaving out of account the fact that we possess Mt. and Lk. It may be that some of the changes that John makes to the Markan account have justification in either Mt. or Lk. But, for the time being, we shall assume that such changes as Jn. does make, he makes on his own authority, irrespective of the fact that he may have been preceded by others. This seems, on the whole, to be the simplest plan. We possess then two Gospels, one going by the name of Mk. and the other by the name of Jn., and we shall apply to them much the same kind of analysis as is generally applied in the discussion of the Synoptic problem. That is to say, we are searching for the following points, (a) do Jn. and Mk. record, in any degree, the same events? (b) If so, is there any evidence that Jn. used

Mk.? (c) If so, how does Jn. deal with Mk. in embodying, supplementing or correcting him? We shall first submit the Gospels to a detailed analysis, and then, at the end of the analysis, sum up the results.

At the very beginning of our investigations, we are made to pause. Mk. commences with *ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and Jn. begins with *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος*. Mk.'s superscription may be taken in more than one way, either (1) as an early heading which arose from the conflation of an early title ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΙΥ̂ ΧΥ̂ with the note ΑΡΧΗ which marked the beginning of a new book, thus differentiating it from Mt. perhaps (so Nestle, *Expos.*, Dec. 1894. Zahn in his *I. N. T.* is against this), or (2), as a title prefixed to the book by the author himself, or (3), it may be intended to refer the words to the sequel. Thus, Irenaeus and Origen (*Contra Celsum*, 24) connect the title with verse 2. Origen, in his comment on Jn. 1 14, says that John the Baptist may be the beginning of the Gospel. He also shows by the context that people in general took that view. On the other hand, Basil and Victor make the preaching of John to be the beginning of the Gospel. The word *εὐαγγέλιον* is a favourite one of Mk., but neither the verb nor the noun is in Jn. If Mk. does treat the preaching of the Baptist as the beginning of the Gospel, it is fairly plausible, at first sight, to suggest that the Fourth Gospel is correcting, for, in the Prologue, the Gospel is carried back to the very beginning of time. Even before the Incarnation, the Logos had been dealing with men as Light and Life. Now there is evidence, that, in the early church, apologists (cf. Origen, Contra Celsum) had to face the question of what God had been doing before Jesus came, and Mk.'s Gospel provokes that question, but Jn.'s answers it. On the other hand, *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος* seems to refer to Gen. 1 1, בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים = *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός*, and even goes beyond it. Moreover, there is much to say for the view that Gen. 1–3 underlies many of the ideas in the Fourth Gospel, and has coloured more than one of its narratives. Jn. is dealing with the meaning of Christianity, and says that it is nothing less than a new creation. There is a sacred week at the beginning

of the world, and there is a sacred week at the beginning of the renewed world. God walks in His garden in the cool of the evening, and Jesus walks in his garden and is mistaken for the gardener. It may be that Jn. is correcting Mk.'s conception, but if so, he has Gen. in mind in his vocabulary (cf. *ἐν ἀρχῇ, ὁ θεός, ἐγένετο, σκοτία, κόσμος, φῶς, ζωή*).

JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE BAPTISM OF JESUS

The prophetic quotation in Mk. may not be original, but the point to be made here is that, in Mk., the quotation belongs to the author, and is an exact quotation from the LXX. except that for *αὐτοῦ* the LXX has *τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν*. John puts it all into the mouth of the Baptist, and has a considerable change in language. Mk. states that John the Baptist came preaching repentance, but the main emphasis is on the "coming one," greater than the Baptist (1 7–8). The Fourth Gospel omits all reference to the personal ministry of the Baptist as being worthy in itself, and treats him as nothing more or less than a witness to Christ. Mk. does not show that John recognizes Jesus. The Fourth Gospel adds 1 19–22, for which it has no parallel in Mk., and is emphatic, both in the Prologue as it stands (it seems to need reconstruction), and in the self-witness of the Baptist, that he is nothing but a voice, but there is justification for this in the self-subordination of the Baptist himself as given in Mk. 1 7–8. However, the strong and reiterated language of the Fourth Gospel is hard to explain, unless it had other sources at its disposal, or unless it was dealing with the problems of its own day.

Jn. 1 24–34 is parallel to Mk. 1 7–11. The Baptist is never called *ὁ βαπτιστής* by Jn., although his baptism is spoken of in 1 25, 26, 28, 31, 33; 3 23; 4 1; 10 40, but always incidentally and never directly. Both Mk. and Jn. say that the Baptist asserts that he baptizes with water, but the one who comes after him will baptize *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*.[1] But in Mk., this is

[1] In *Baptist Quarterly*, October 1926, I suggest that what John really predicted was a baptism *ἐν πνεύματι καὶ πυρί*.

said before the baptism of Jesus; in Jn., in the passage which apparently corresponds to the baptism. Mk. has *ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω μου*, Jn. has *ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος*. Jn. has *ἄξιος* for *ἱκανός*, and *ἵνα λύσω* for *λῦσαι* and has *αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος* for *τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ*, thus making into an honourable act what, in Mk., is an act of menial service. In relating the baptism of Jesus, Mk. states that Jesus saw the heavens opening and the descent of the Spirit, and then goes on to say, without relating the persons who heard the voice, that the voice came saying, *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα*, but the very form of this sentence with *σύ* and *σοί* shows that the voice came to Jesus. In the account of the Fourth Gospel, we notice the following points: (1) It does not mention at all the baptism of Jesus, but shows, by the language it uses, that it is acquainted with the tradition. (2) The purpose and effect of the vision are changed. The Baptist says that he was forewarned by God about the vision. The voice is not mentioned. The Spirit as a dove comes down and abides on Jesus, but the effect is not mentioned. It is the effect upon John which is important. It enables him to recognize the Messiah, to declare Him publicly, and to state that he is the one who is to take away the sin of the world. It is quite plain that the author of the Fourth Gospel was acquainted with the primitive tradition, but it is also equally plain that he is departing from it. Another addition of the Fourth Gospel is the statement that John baptized in Bethany beyond Jordan. Mk. states that John preached in the wilderness, and baptized in the Jordan. Another point is one of chronology. John says that the vision of the dove came on the day following the prediction of a follower by the Baptist. Mk. dates it vaguely as "in those days."

The next point where Jn. and Mk. meet is in Mk. 1 14–15, and Jn. 4 1–3. Jn. has already related the call of four disciples, a call which will be discussed later, he has related the ministry in Cana, Capernaum, Jerusalem and Judaea, but where he meets Mk. is in saying that Jesus left Judaea and went back again into Galilee. It is the evident intention of Mk. to

connect the beginning of the ministry of Jesus and the end of that of John, and the message is much the same, the nearness of the Kingdom of God, and the need for repentance as a preparation for that Kingdom. But the connection of the Fourth Gospel is quite different. Apparently Jesus leaves Judaea in order to avoid premature conflict with the Pharisaic party there, who were comparing his baptism with that of John, for John was still baptizing. Here we have a direct contradiction of the tradition embodied in Mk., and it seems as if the Fourth Gospel were relying upon a second tradition, and endeavouring to correct the first. One would have thought that the theological outlook of the author would have prevented him from allowing the ministry of the Baptist to continue alongside that of Jesus, and we are almost forced to say that historical tradition is appearing here through the theological framework.

In the removal from Judaea to Galilee, Jesus passed through Samaria and evangelised it, according to the Fourth Gospel. This again has no parallel in Mk. We must now examine the additions and changes which we find in Jn. as against Mk., prior to the removal to Galilee. They are as follows:

(1) Immediately after the baptism of Jesus, Mk. gives an abbreviated account of the Temptation. This is not definitely referred to in Jn. It is not, however, opposed to the spirit of that Gospel, as some scholars suggest. Many seem to forget that the Johannine Christ is, after all, depicted in an historical narrative, and that the author was historian enough to make Jesus real as well as ideal. Jn. 12 27 shows that Jesus could be uncertain. Jn. never speaks of Jesus being tempted, but he describes a real temptation, when he says that the Jews tried to make Jesus king.

(2) According to the Fourth Gospel, the day after the public witness of John the Baptist to Jesus, two of his disciples, acting upon his testimony, followed Jesus and became his disciples. One of the two was Andrew. He found Simon and brought him to Jesus, saying that they had found the Messiah. Jesus gave Simon the surname of Peter. The connection in

Mk. is absolutely different. Here Andrew and Peter are found fishing in the Sea of Galilee, after Jn. had been imprisoned, and there is no trace of their having been formerly John's disciples. Mk. mentions the surnaming of Peter in 3 16, at the charge to the Twelve, although this does not of necessity mean that the name was conferred then, although the use of ἐπέθηκεν suggests it. And, according to Mk., the disciples did not confess belief in the Messiahship of Jesus until Caesarea. There is no parallel either of thought or language between the two accounts.

(3) According to Jn., the day after the calling of Andrew and Peter, Jesus determined to go into Galilee and called Philip. Philip found Nathanael, and the conversation between Nathanael and Jesus is related. This is not in Mk. On the other hand, Mk. relates the call of James and John, the sons of Zebedee, in close connection with that of Peter and Andrew, which is not in Jn., unless it is suggested in the other disciple who was called with Andrew. Even then the circumstances are entirely different.

We need now to examine (1) the relation between the Markan and Johannine accounts of the journey into Galilee, and (2) the Synoptic and Johannine accounts of the appointment of the Twelve.

(1) Mk. leaves an interval between the Temptation of Jesus and his preaching in Galilee. This may mean that Jesus did not preach at all in the interval or that the preaching was elsewhere than in Galilee and Mk. knew nothing of it. (The second view is put forward by Askwith, "*The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel*," p. 264.) The first view is the more natural. In any case, the preaching in Galilee and the imprisonment of John are closely correlated in the mind of Mk., chronologically if not causally. Mk. includes in this visit to Galilee the preaching of the Gospel and a visit to Capernaum, where many people are healed. According to Jn., there were two early visits to Galilee, one made before the arrest of the Baptist, and the other some time after. But in neither case is the visit in any way dependent upon the imprisonment. In the first visit, some of the disciples were called. There is no suggestion of fame,

no preaching, but there is a visit to Cana, during which Jesus manifested his glory. There is a visit to Capernaum. Then comes the visit to Jerusalem, and then, as a result of the actions of the Pharisees, the journey back into Galilee, where Jesus is received and heals the officer's son. We thus see historical tradition showing itself in Jn., in that the ministry of Jesus begins in Galilee, and that there he performs miracles and calls his disciples.

(2) Mk. describes Jesus as calling whom he would to be his disciples, and emphasises the absolute, uncontrolled action of Jesus. Lk. and Jn. have "chosen out." Mt. does not say that the Twelve were chosen by Jesus. He omits Mk. 3 13–19 a, and therefore Mt. 10 1 is unexpected. A difficulty is left over unsolved by the Synoptics, in that Jesus chose as one of his disciples a man who afterwards betrayed him. Mk. calls Judas "traitor" in the very first catalogue of the apostles (3 19), because that name stuck to him in the Church. Jn. solves the difficulty to his own satisfaction by saying that Jesus knew from the beginning who would betray him (cf. 6 64, 70–71). The sole purpose of this note is apologetic. In 6 64, the Sinaitic Syriac omits *ἤδει γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Ἰησοῦς τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ μὴ πιστεύοντες καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ παραδώσων αὐτόν*. Blass and Merx follow, and strike it out of the text, Blass because *ὁ παραδώσων* is a unique use of the future participle in Jn., Merx for the additional reason that *οἱ δώδεκα* are mentioned only in Jn. in 6 67, 70, 71 and 20 24, and the notice is quite inexplicable, since this Gospel has given no account of the calling of the Twelve. (*Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, Pt II, Section II, pp. 140–146.) These reasons are quite unsatisfactory. Jn. takes it for granted that his readers know about the calling of the Twelve (cf. 15 16). Merx seems to have forgotten that Mt. also refers to the Twelve (10 1), and yet does not describe Jesus calling them. Lk. says that Jesus called the Twelve, "Apostles," (6 13), although he does so indirectly, and the word is not put into the mouth of Jesus. It may be the point of view of the historian of the Early Church showing itself. In Jn. 13 16, "the apostle" is called "the servant," showing that Apostleship is founded not only in companionship with Jesus during a certain period, which is the point of view

in the early part of Acts, but in loving service. Mk.'s view is that the Twelve were appointed in order that they might be with Jesus and preach. Mt. and Lk. omit the first purpose, whilst Jn. omits the second. The Synoptics show how the disciples came to know that Jesus was Messiah, and preached before they acknowledged who he was. Jn. nowhere describes the Twelve as being away from Jesus, except on two occasions, when they went to buy bread during the visit to Samaria, and also for a short interval after the Feeding of the Five Thousand. The disciples are never described as going on a preaching tour, and in the whole of the Johannine narrative, there seems to be no place for the tour. The disciples know Jesus from the beginning, although there are signs of ignorance, as in the question of Philip during the last discourses.

After the call of Philip, the Fourth Gospel describes the visit of Jesus to Cana, and the wedding there, which has no warrant in Mk. And there are many things which suggest that it has no warrant in history. It is not at all unlikely, however, that the story is built up from Synoptic sayings, such as the wine of the Kingdom, the parable of the wine and the wineskins, and the Lukan remark that people prefer old wine to new, because they think that the old is better.

After the wedding, according to Jn., Jesus went to Capernaum with his family and disciples, and stayed a short time (2 12). There seems to be no purpose in the remark, unless it is a reference to what we know from Mk. 1 21. Mk. says that Jesus went with some others (apparently the disciples whom he had called just before), but makes no mention of his family. Both, however, in scattered references, suggest that the home of Jesus was there, and that Joseph was dead.

John relates that, after the stay in Capernaum (the ministry is not mentioned, although Mk. deals with a healing and preaching ministry), Jesus went to Jerusalem. cleansed the Temple, and had a conversation with Nicodemus. Preaching and miracles are mentioned, and the impression is that the influence on the people was very great. One point of difference between the Markan and Johannine accounts falls to be examined here, namely, the cleansing of the Temple. The literary relationship

between the two is quite negligible. There is hardly a single point of contact. The following differences call for notice. (a) Mk. puts the cleansing on the day after the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, before the last Passover. Jn. puts it in the first visit to Jerusalem, at the beginning of the period of the Judaean ministry. (b) The connections are quite different. In Mk., the cleansing is the sequel to the homage which the people had given to Jesus, and if he has not the support of the people in his act, at least they are not opposed to him (cf. Mk. 11 18). But in Jn., it is an outburst of prophetic zeal at the first contact of Jesus with the established religion. (c) In Jn., the act is sudden and final; in Mk., it seems to be part of a lengthy and continued policy (cf. 11 16–17). (d) The words of justification for the act are different, but they express the same idea. (e) Jn. apparently means that only the oxen and sheep were driven out. Mk. says the people were driven out. Jn. adds the use of the scourge, and the reflections of the disciples, but omits the notice regarding the support of the people. He also adds the discussion with the Pharisees over the destruction of the temple, and uses the words, "Destroy this temple, and in three days, I will raise it up." Mk. does not state this in connection with the cleansing, but he mentions it as being one of the accusations brought against Jesus at his trial.

The conversation with Nicodemus has no parallel in Mk. Then we are given another notice in the Fourth Gospel that John's ministry was carried on alongside that of Jesus (3 22 30), with a direct contradiction of Mk. or the tradition given to us in Mk. in the statement that John was not yet cast into prison (3 24). If this is not a contradiction of some tradition which the author knew was in circulation, it is hard to understand the notice. For the Fourth Gospel nowhere describes the imprisonment of John.

The next place where the narratives of Jn. and Mk. meet is in the account of the feeding of the Five Thousand (Jn. 6 1–13 = Mk. 6 30–44). But before then, there have been many cases, where Jn. reminds us of Markan phraseology. These will be tabulated later.

In the accounts of the feeding, we notice first that the connections are quite different. Mk. connects the feeding with the retirement of Jesus with his disciples into an uninhabitated region, to give them a rest after their mission. Jn.'s chronology is very vague, and he says, "after these things, Jesus departed over the Sea of Galilee, that is, Tiberias." This is a good illustration of the fact that Jn. is not endeavouring to preserve strict order, or to give a full account of the ministry of Jesus. Jesus departs from the scene of his ministry at the time, which is left quite indefinite. The preceding chapter speaks of the healing and teaching of Jesus in Jerusalem, and it is most unnatural to speak of the departure of Jesus "across the Sea of Galilee." Mk. also says that Jesus crossed the sea with his Disciples, ἀπῆλθον τῷ πλοίῳ εἰς ἔρημον τόπον, for which Jn. puts "across the Sea of Galilee." Mk. seems to have a small point which brings his main chronological position into line with that of Jn. In verse 39, he speaks of the people sitting down on the green grass. This shows the time to be the Passover. Bacon, on the other hand, says that such a notice is quite within the capacity of any early evangelist who had witnessed Christian love feasts in the open air. If the reference were isolated, this might be true criticism. But Jn. also refers to the grass in 6 10, and he also mentions the nearness of the Passover in 6 4. This seems to show that Mk. knew that there was a Passover feast during the ministry of Jesus other than that referred to at the end of the Gospel. Mk. and Jn. both say that the crowd followed Jesus, but in entirely different language. Mk. says that the people followed Jesus by land, but also that they reached their destination before Jesus. Jn. gives us the reason why the people followed Jesus. It was because they saw the signs which he was performing upon the sick (6 2). Mk. says that Jesus had pity on the people, and taught them to such a late hour that it was necessary for the disciples to intervene. Of this there is nothing in Jn. Here, Jesus went up into the highlands and sat down with his disciples, and as soon as he saw the people coming to him, suggested to Philip that food should be given them.

In Mk., the disciples make the suggestion that Jesus should

send the people away to buy food. Jesus tells the disciples to give food to the people. The disciples ask whether they are to go and buy bread, and say that 200 denaria would be required. Jesus asks how many loaves they have. The disciples go to find out (*γνόντες*) and answer "five and two fishes." In Jn., there is no mention of the need of the people. Jesus asks Philip where food is to be obtained for them (the first mention of food is from Jesus, not from the disciples), but he asked this, testing Philip, for he himself knew what he intended to do. "*Die wirkliche Frage Jesu bei Mr. wird bei Joh. zur versuchlichen Scheinfrage herabgedrückt entsprechend seiner hohen Christologie.*" (Wernle, *Die Synoptische Frage,* p. 238.) Philip says that 200 denaria would not be enough to buy food for all (notice the agreement on the price). Andrew interrupts with the remark that a boy is there with five barley loaves and two small fishes (agreeing with Mk. in the numbers, but adding *κριθίνους*, and using the diminutive *ὀψάρια*).

In Mk., Jesus commands, but indirectly, that the disciples should make the people sit down in companies on the green grass, and the people sat down in companies of fifty and sixty. In Jn., the direct command is given, mention is made of the grass, but nothing is said about sitting down in companies. Both Mk. and Jn. say that the people sat down, using *ἀνέπεσαν*, but it is hard to understand how such a thing could be expressed without the use of some such word. Jn. says there were five thousand men (*ἄνδρες*, 6 10), a note which Mk. puts at the end of the account of the miracle (6 44). Mk. says Jesus took the loaves (*λαβών*), looked up into heaven, blessed (*εὐλόγησεν*) and broke the bread, and gave it to his disciples to distribute it to the people. Jn. says Jesus took the loaves (*ἔλαβεν*), blessed them (*εὐχαριστήσας*), and himself distributed it to the people. Mk. says the people ate and were filled (*ἐχορτάσθησαν*), and that the disciples took up *κλάσματα δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων.* Jn. says the people were filled (*ἐνεπλήσθησαν*, which seems to be a stylistic correction[2]),

[2] Jn. uses *ἐχορτάσθητε* in 6 26, however, showing that he knew the Markan word.

and Jesus gave orders for the fragments to be collected.[3] The disciples did so *καὶ ἐγέμισαν δώδεκα κοφίνους κλασμάτων ἐκ τῶν πέντα ἄρτων τῶν κριθίνων ἃ ἐπερίσσευσαν τοῖς βεβρωκόσιν.*

Mk. appends immediately to the miracle the remark about Jesus sending his disciples across the sea towards Bethsaida, while he dismissed the people. When this was done, he went up into the mountainous parts to pray. After that, we are given the account of the walking on the sea. According to Jn., the miracle aroused the expectations of the people, they saw that Jesus was a prophet and desired to make him king. To escape them he went up into the hill country alone. (It is to be noticed that we have not been told since 6 3 that Jesus had come down again.) In the evening, the disciples went down to the shore and sailed across towards Capernaum. It is not said where they had been in the meantime, no mention is made of compulsion, and nothing is said of Jesus bidding good-bye to the people. Then follows the account of Jesus walking on the sea. We must now examine the accounts of this miracle in Mk. and Jn.

In Mk., when it was late in the evening (*ὀψίας γενομένης*), the boat was in the middle of the sea, and Jesus was alone on the shore. Jesus saw the disciples hard-pressed in their rowing, for *ὁ ἄνεμος* was against them. About the third watch, he came to them walking on the sea, and wished to pass them by. They saw him, were afraid, and thinking it was a vision, they cried out. He spoke to them, *θαρσεῖτε, ἐγώ εἰμι, μὴ φοβεῖσθε.* He climbed into the boat, the wind ceased, they became more afraid, for they had not learned the lesson of the loaves, because their heart was hardened. In Jn., when it became late (*ὀψία ἐγένετο*), the disciples went down to the shore, and crossed over the sea towards Capernaum. Darkness came on, and a great wind (*ἀνέμου μεγάλου πνέοντος*). When they had rowed about twenty five or thirty stadia, they saw Jesus walking on the sea and nearing the boat, and they became afraid. Jesus said, *ἐγώ εἰμι, μὴ φοβεῖσθε.* They were

[3] In Jn. alone, do we have the command of Jesus for the fragments to be gathered up.

willing to take him into the boat, and immediately the boat came to land.

After this miracle, Jn. and Mk. again separate until Jn. 7 1 = Mk. 9 30. Mk. has, before this, spoken of other miracles, a tour to the north for which no motive is given, then another miracle of feeding, perhaps a duplicate of the story of the Five thousand, with language which is less picturesque and more eucharistic. This miracle is followed by an encounter with the Pharisees and a cure. Then follows the teaching on the way to Caesarea, which is "historically and doctrinally the milestone in Mk.'s Gospel" (Bacon). In Mk., the meaning of the incident is not to be found in the confession of Peter, but in the fact that here we have the beginning of the doctrine of the Cross. It has been adumbrated before, and the Gospel has all along been preparing for it, but henceforth it is central in the mind of Jesus. Then follows the account of the transfiguration, the discussion of the Elijah tradition, and the curing of the boy with an evil spirit. Then Jesus leaves his retreat with his disciples and travels southward through Galilee. We have none of this directly in the Johannine narrative. Yet there are signs that Jn. has used the same kind of tradition that we find in Mk. That he should leave out of his narrative the account of the transfiguration is perfectly intelligible, as it has no place in his Christology. But the eucharistic colouring found in Mk.'s story of the feeding of the four thousand has been expanded into the doctrine of the mystical communion of the believer with Christ, with the new thought that the bread of life is to be equated with the Body of Christ (chap. 6). And we can, I believe, find a parallel to the confession of Peter at Caesarea in 6 68–69. If it is the same confession, it has been altered beyond recognition, and Westcott says therefore that the two confessions are different. But there are points of contact. (1) In Jn., the confession follows the feeding of the Five Thousand. In Mk., it follows the feeding of the Four Thousand. This raises the assumption that Jn. follows Mk., especially if the story of the Four Thousand is a duplicate of the other. (2) In both Mk. and Jn., the confession of Peter is a set-off against the disappointment of the

crowd and their troubled minds. (3) "Whom say ye that I am?" is not so very far removed from "will ye also go away?" There must be some recasting of phraseology, since, according to Jn., the disciples knew who Jesus was long before this. (4) *ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ* appears only here and in Mk. 1 21–28 in the Gospels. In Mk., it is the confession of the demoniacs, wrung out of them by the personality of Jesus. In Jn. we have no demoniacs and no confession by demoniacs, but we have a knowledge and a belief in Jesus gained by experience (note the tenses, *πεπιστεύκαμεν* and *ἐγνώκαμεν*). Here Jn. shows signs of the Synoptic idea of the disciples growing into belief in Jesus. In Jn., knowledge and belief are equated. It is *γνῶσις* which is required, as the Gnostics were beginning to demand. But real *γνῶσις* is *πίστις*. And both these are the result of moral endeavour. They are allied to *ἀγάπη*. (5) In Mk., it is plainly shown that the confession gave Jesus the opportunity to teach "The Cross." In Jn., the confession follows the claims of Jesus and the consequent sifting of the people into followers and opponents. Mk. shows that Jesus began to concentrate attention upon the disciples, consequent on such a sifting.

According to Jn., after the feeding and teaching, Jesus came from the north to Galilee, and taught there. He was unwilling to go into Judaea, because the Jews desired to kill him. We find an interesting parallel between Mk. 9 30 and Jn. 7 1–4. In Mk., we have just been told of the Transfiguration and the healing of the boy with an evil spirit. Then, we are told, Jesus journeyed through Galilee with his disciples and wished no one to know of it. In this period of obscurity, he taught his disciples again concerning his sufferings. They all came to Capernaum, teaching followed, and then begins the account of the last journey to Jerusalem (10 1). The reason why Jesus wished to remain in obscurity is not made perfectly plain in the Markan story, but we are given help in Lk. 9 51, where we are told that the days of Jesus were fulfilled, and he deliberately set himself to risk all on a final visit to Jerusalem. But Jn. has a similar notice in 7 1–4. Jesus is now in Galilee, and does not wish to walk in Judaea,

because the Jews seek to kill him. He does not travel up with his brethren, but goes up ὡς ἐν κρυπτῷ. This is one of many minute signs that the Markan outline allows itself to show through the Johannine covering, no matter how much the general scheme is changed.

Mk. 10 1 and Jn. 10 22 again show contact. The final departure of Jesus from Galilee in Mk. 10 1–2 marks the beginning of the Judaean ministry. The details of this are vague until Jesus reaches Jerusalem, when the account becomes much more complete. The cure of the blind beggar outside Jericho marks the opening stage of the Messianic entry into the capital. Dialogues are held in the Temple, where Jesus teaches in the daytime, but every night he goes out to Bethany, and makes that village his headquarters. On the first day, there is the entry, Jesus looks round the Temple, does nothing and returns to Bethany. On the second day, he goes to Jerusalem, curses the fig tree on his way, enters the Temple, and returns to Bethany. On the third day, he again goes to Jerusalem, the disciples notice the withered fig tree, and there follows the teaching in the Temple and to the disciples. Then begins the story of the Passion in 14 1. In Jn., the sequence is absolutely different. We have the account of the feast of Dedication, and the story of the man healed on the Sabbath day, and the opposition of the Jews. Then Jesus crosses the Jordan, stays there a short time, hears of the sickness of Lazarus, stays yet longer, and then goes to Bethany, raises Lazarus, and as a result, many Jews believe on him, but the Pharisees plot against him. Bethany is called the village of Mary and Martha, who have not been mentioned before, which again presupposes that the reader knew of them. Jesus will not go to Judaea, but goes to a place called Ephraim with his disciples. The Passover is near. Then six days before the Passover he goes to Bethany again, and the story of the Anointing follows. Then comes the entry, the arrival of the Greeks, teaching, withdrawal, further teaching, and then the last supper, the day before the Passover.

There are several things which need to be said as the result of this analysis. (1) It seems to be one of the few cases in which

entweder . . . oder can be applied. The days in which Mk. and Jn. could be set over against each other as absolute contradictories have gone by. As we have seen already, there are numerous cases of parallelism between them, and it is quite certain that there is in Jn. a nucleus of tradition analogous to what we have in Mk., even if there is no more. No longer can we treat it as idealisation with no attention to historic fact. Many scholars also have carried their belief in Mk. as against Jn. much too far. Mk. shows gaps in the narrative which cause great difficulty. He seems to have doublets which compel us to exercise judgment. And the Gospel is not the simple picture of Jesus that many still seem to think. We have dogmatic even here, and the difference between him and Jn. is not so much one of kind as one of degree. Yet in the case of the last week, it seems necessary to put Jn. and Mk. against each other. Neither may be right. Both cannot be. There is no place for the raising of Lazarus in the story of Mk. He presents an intelligible sequence of events. Probability is all on his side, and in questions of ancient history, we have to be guided, in nine cases out of ten, by probabilities. (2) From this point onwards, Mk. and Jn. separate almost entirely and touch at only isolated points. (3) The anointing six days before the Passover of which we are told in Jn. 12 1–11 is equivalent to the anointing recorded by Mk. later, two days before the Passover. We can find several points of contact between the two accounts. Both dinners are said to have been held in Bethany. Mk. says that it was in the house of Simon the Leper. Jn. says that Lazarus was there and the impression is that it was not in his house. Jn. says the woman's name was Mary. Mk. speaks only of a woman. According to Mk., the woman had *ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς*. Jn. says Mary took a pound *μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτίμου*, but omits *ἀλάβαστρον*. Mk. says she poured it over the head of Jesus. Jn. says she anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped his feet with her hair, and mentions the fact of the whole house being filled with the odour of the ointment. Mk. says that some people there were angry; Jn. says that it was Judas particularly, and adds the significant remark about Judas being a thief. The complaint,

according to Mk., was "the ointment could have been sold for over 300 denaria, (*ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων*) and given to the poor (*δοθῆναι τοῖς πτωχοῖς*)." Jn. says that Judas asked why the ointment was not sold for 300 denaria (*τριακοσίων δηναρίων*) and given to poor people (*ἐδόθη πτωχοῖς*). Mk. says that Jesus answered, "Leave her alone (*ἄφετε αὐτήν*), why trouble her? She hath wrought a good work in me. *πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὅταν θέλητε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς εὖ ποιῆσαι, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε.* She hath done what she could. *προέλαβεν μυρίσαι μου τὸ σῶμα εἰς ἐνταφιασμόν*," and adds that she would always be held in remembrance for her deed. Jn. gives the reply of Jesus as, "leave her alone (*ἄφες αὐτήν*), let her keep it for the day of my entombing (*ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ αὐτό*)," an exceedingly hard phrase to explain, and in any case, a decided lowering of Mk. Then we have *τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε*, omitting Mk.'s redundant "you can help them whenever you wish." The verbal similarities are too close to deny literary relationship, but Mk.'s account has a Messianic significance which Jn.'s lacks.

According to Jn., the day after the raising of Lazarus, the great mass of the people (*ὁ ὄχλος πολύς*), who had come up to the feast, went out to meet Jesus because they heard he was coming to Jerusalem. Their enthusiasm was aroused by the raising of Lazarus (cf. 12 9–11, by which we are to judge that the story was common property). It was this miracle which called forth the greatest faith and aroused the most bitter opposition. It was the people who had actually seen the miracle who were ultimately responsible for the welcome given to Jesus (cf. 12 18). According to Mk., the order of events was as follows. On the last journey to Jerusalem, when Jesus and his disciples came near to Bethphage and Bethany at the ascent of the Mount of Olives, Jesus sent two of his disciples into the village that lay opposite them (Bethany?), giving them instructions about finding an ass, upon which no man had ever sat! He also instructed them what to say in case their actions were questioned. These instructions the disciples carried out, and everything happened just as Jesus had said. It appears that Jesus was

known in the village, and that the owners of the ass were adherents of his cause (verse 3). The disciples brought the ass to Jesus, and put their garments upon it, and he sat on it (*ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτόν*). Many strewed their garments in the road, while others took leaves and stubble from the fields and did the same (*ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν*). And those who went before and those who followed cried *Ὡσαννά Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυείδ. Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.* There was apparently a great crowd with him, some in front and some behind, but we are not told when they came or where they came from. According to Jn., the crowd came from Jerusalem to meet Jesus, and took the branches of palm trees (*τὰ βαΐα τῶν φοινίκων*, which may be a more polite and at the same time more symbolic representation of Mk.'s *στιβάδας*, which is very ordinary and suggests no thoughts beyond itself), and greeted him with the cry *Ὡσαννά, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου* (as in Mk.) *καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*, (the personalising of Mk.'s phrase regarding the Kingdom). Then Jesus found an ass (*εὑρὼν ὀνάριον*, Mk. has *πῶλον*), and sat upon it (*ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτό*) in fulfilment of the prophecy of Zechariah. The Pharisees heard of the tumult and realised that their hands were tied. The world had gone after Jesus.

Several points call for notice:

(1) In Mk., it is a crowd already collected who go to Jerusalem with Jesus. In Jn., it is a crowd who come from Jerusalem to meet him. (2) In both, the entry is evidently Messianic in the minds of everybody, the people, the author, and Jesus, and it is meant to have that significance for the readers also. (3) The action of Jesus in riding into Jerusalem upon an ass is deliberate in both, although, in Mk., the agency of the disciples is employed. In Jn., also, Jesus finds the ass after the crowd has come out and welcomed him; it is as if he rides into Jerusalem on the wave of enthusiasm. In Mk., the finding of the ass is a preconceived plan and has a part in arousing the expectations of the people. It looks as if Jesus were deliberately walking in the footsteps of prophecy. (4) Mk.'s is the more primitive account, not only because of the changes Jn. makes

in the nature of the crowd, but also owing to the fact that Jn. has brought the entry into line with festal celebrations, and has changed one or two points to coincide with his story of the raising of Lazarus. (5) The Hosanna is practically the same in both, and for the main part, exactly the same.

In the Passion narratives, the two accounts meet but seldom. For the sake of simplicity, we will examine them in four stages, (1) the events up to the betrayal; (2) the betrayal itself; (3) the trial scenes; (4) the crucifixion.

(1) *The events up to the betrayal.*

In Jn., the order is the supper, the foot-washing, the separation of Judas and his departure from the Apostolic company, the last discourses, the parable of the vine, the highpriestly prayer, the departure over Kedron to a garden. In the discourses, it is perfectly plain that the subjective element goes fairly deep, and the great question is not whether the element is there, but how deep it goes. It shows itself in the high-priestly prayer in one or two places: the title χριστόν, which could not possibly have come from the lips of Jesus and which is an offence against historical decorum; the dualism of verse 9, which is quite in accord with the point of view of the author, but seems alien to the optimistic spirit of Jesus, and his view of the world; the pre-existence implied in verses 5 and 24; and finally the tone of the prayer seems to be against the spirit of Gethsemane. In Mk., after the supper at Bethany, Judas makes his agreement with the high priests, then comes the order of Jesus that the disciples should prepare the Passover, then while they are eating it, Jesus informs his disciples of the traitor in their midst. Then there is the institution of the supper, the departure, after singing a hymn, to the Mount of Olives, Jesus predicts the denial by Peter, and then they all come to Gethsemane. The following points are omitted by Jn.: (1) the preparations for the Passover, (2) the institution of the Eucharist, (3) the conference between Judas and the priests. The additions he makes are (1) the footwashing, (2) the discourses, (3) the high-priestly prayer.

We must examine in detail the places where the accounts are somewhat parallel. (1) The prediction of the denial by

Peter. In Jn., this comes after the foot-washing. It is brought into line with Scripture, though the quotation from the LXX is not exact, *ὁ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ*, and then later, *εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με*. The disciples are at a loss to understand who is meant. At Peter's request, the disciple whom Jesus loved leans back on the breast of Jesus and asks who was the traitor. Jesus says *ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ᾧ ἐγὼ βάψω τὸ ψωμίον καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ· βάψας οὖν τὸ ψωμίον λαμβάνει καὶ δίδωσιν Ἰούδᾳ Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου*. Satan enters into Simon. Jesus tells him to perform his task quickly. The disciples do not understand what this means. Judas takes the *ψωμίον* and goes out immediately. It is night. In Mk., it all happens while they are eating. Jesus says *εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με* (the exact words of Jn.), and adds *ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμοῦ*. The disciples are at a loss, and each wonders whether it is himself (not in Jn.). Jesus says it is *ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸ τρύβλιον*, (this is different from Jn.). Here it probably refers to the Charoseth; in Jn. the *ψωμίον* is probably the tid-bit which an oriental host is accustomed to offer to a favourite guest. Then follows the judgment of the betrayer. There is no mention in Mk. of Judas leaving the company, and it is not until we come to 14 43, where we are told that Judas comes to Gethsemane with the crowd, that we learn he has left.

(2) In Jn. the prediction of Peter's denial appears after the departure of Judas and in the midst of the discourses of Jesus. Jesus says he is going away and the disciples cannot follow. Peter questions this, and says that he will lay down his life for Jesus. The answer is *οὐ μὴ ἀλέκτωρ φωνήσῃ ἕως οὗ ἀρνήσῃ με τρίς*. According to Mk., the denial is predicted at the Mt. of Olives. Jesus tells the disciples they will all be scattered. Peter denies it for himself. Jesus says *σὺ σήμερον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ πρὶν ἢ δὶς ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ*. Peter again denies it, as do all the disciples. The *δίς* of Mk. is difficult. Abbott suggests a Semitic original which reads, "twice, yea thrice, thou shalt deny me before cock-crow," and this seems possible. Anyhow, Mk. is hard and Jn. uses different language.[4]

[4] It may be, however, that *δίς* should be omitted and that the "cock crow" refers to the *Gallicinium* (cf. *J. T. S.*, June 1921).

According to Mk., after the institution of the Supper, Jesus goes with his disciples to the Mt. of Olives, then comes the prediction of Peter's denial, and they all came to a place the name of which is Gethsemane. According to Jn., they all pass over the Kedron to a garden. Perhaps Jn. has the flight of David from Absalom in mind. The fact that Jn. omits the institution of the Supper is intelligible, since its meaning has already been given in the discourse following the feeding of the Five Thousand.

(2) *The Betrayal.*

According to Mk., they all came to Gethsemane. Jesus told his disciples to pray, took Peter, James and John further on; then the story of the Agony begins. Jesus left the three, went on a little further, prayed, asked for the cup to be taken from him, found the disciples sleeping, told them to watch and pray, went away again and prayed (and yet a third time), and then said the hour had come and the betrayer was at hand. Then follows the account of the Betrayal. In Jn. direct reference to this is omitted, but there are two traces at least that it was known. (a) Earlier in the Gospel, after the account of the coming of the Greeks, mention is made of Jesus. Jesus says, "And what am I to say? Father, save me from this hour. No, not that, because it was for this that I came to this hour. Father, glorify Thy name," which sounds very much as though it is the Johannine counterpart of the Agony and "not what I will, but what Thou wilt." (b) At the Betrayal, Peter strikes Malchus. Jesus tells him to put back his sword, saying *τὸ ποτήριον ὃ δέδωκέν μοι ὁ πατήρ, οὐ μὴ πίω αὐτό*; This reminds us of the Markan *παρένεγκε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.*

In the actual account of the Betrayal, there are the following omissions by Jn. (a) The sign of the traitor's kiss. (b) The expostulation of Jesus at being treated like a robber. (c) The flight of all the disciples. (d) The account of the young man. Jn. adds the falling to the ground of the people, the act of Jesus going forward to be arrested, his question as to whom they were seeking, the fact that it was the right ear of the

servant that was cut off, that his name was Malchus, that it was Peter who struck him, that Jesus told Peter to put back his sword, and asked whether he was not to drink the cup which his Father gave him. Mk. says that Judas came with a crowd with swords and clubs from the chief priests, Scribes and Elders. According to Jn., Judas took a cohort and servants from the chief priests and Pharisees, who had torches, lanterns and weapons.

(3) *The Trial.*

The places where Jn. meets Mk. are very few. It must be mentioned, in the first place, that there is probably a displacement in Jn. 18, for there is a breaking up of the denial by Peter into two parts, and there is a marked redundancy of events and phraseology. Spitta conjectured displacement. Moffatt follows, and his reconstruction is, to some extent, confirmed by the Sinaitic Syriac. Moffatt puts 18–24 between 14 and 15 and omits 25a as tautologous. That means that Jesus is led first of all to Annas, who questions him and sends him to Caiaphas. Before, the course of events had been very obscure.

Thus we have a double trial. (1) An ecclesiastical one, a prior examination before Annas, and then before Caiaphas, (2) The civil trial by Pilate. The denial by Peter took place between the examination before Caiaphas and the trial before Pilate. According to Mk., Jesus was led immediately after arrest before the high priest, was tried, found guilty of blasphemy (Peter's denial follows), and then sent to Pilate. The trial before Annas in Jn. is apparently equivalent to Mk.'s account of the trial before the high priest, although the two accounts have not a trace of similarity. Jn. omits the false witness, the adjuration, the great confession, the charge of blasphemy, and the judgment. But he shows what Mk. does not show, that Jesus is the real judge. He also adds the trial before Caiaphas. He omits the mockery as prophet after the ecclesiastical trial. Now we must examine the accounts of the denial.

Jn.'s account is as follows: Simon followed Jesus with

another disciple, who was known to the high priest and so gained admission into the courtyard of the house of the high priest (the house of Caiaphas apparently). Peter stood at the door, the other disciple went inside, spoke to a woman at the door, then went back and fetched Peter. The woman said Μὴ καὶ σὺ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν εἶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου; Peter answered οὐκ εἰμί. Peter went and stood by the fire, and the bystanders asked Μὴ καὶ σὺ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εἶ; ἠρνήσατο ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἶπεν οὐκ εἰμί. Then a kinsman of Malchus said οὐκ ἐγώ σε εἶδον ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μετ' αὐτοῦ; πάλιν οὖν ἠρνήσατο ὁ Πέτρος, and immediately the cock crowed. According to Mk., Peter (apparently alone) followed Jesus, entered the court of the high priest (as in Jn.), and sat down by the fire. A woman saw him there (agreeing with Jn. as to questioner, but differing as to time and place), and said καὶ σὺ μετὰ τοῦ Ναζαρηνοῦ ἦσθα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Peter denied, saying οὔτε οἶδα οὔτε ἐπίσταμαι σὺ τί λέγεις. He went out of the courtyard, and the cock crowed. The girl saw him again and said to the bystanders οὗτος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστιν. He denied again. After a short time, the bystanders (agreeing with John as to questioners, but differing as to time) said ἀληθῶς ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ· καὶ γὰρ Γαλιλαῖος εἶ. Peter began to swear, saying οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ὃν λέγετε. The cock crowed a second time. Peter remembered the word of the Lord and wept.

Jn.'s treatment of the trial before Pilate is very dramatic, with the alternating of action inside and outside of the Praetorium. It falls into seven stages: (1) Outside the Praetorium. The Jews claim the execution of their sentence. (2) Inside. Christ is King. (3) Outside. First declaration of innocence. Barabbas. (4) Inside. Scourging and mockery. (5) Outside. Second and third confessions of innocence. Ecce Homo. Son of God. (6) Inside. Source of authority. (7) Outside. Caesar's friend, and last sentence.

According to Mk., the order is as follows. After the ecclesiastical trial, in the early morning, there is a full meeting of the Sanhedrim. They bind Jesus and hand him over to Pilate. Pilate asks "are you the King of the Jews?" Jesus answers "Yes." The high priests make accusations. Jesus

does not answer. Pilate marvels. Pilate asks the Jews if they wish to kill their king. They ask for the release of Barabbas. Pilate asks what evil Jesus has done. The answer is, "Crucify him." Pilate releases Barabbas, scourges Jesus, and hands him over for crucifixion. Then follows the mockery.

The following points call for notice.

(1) The whole trial by Pilate is peculiar according to Jn. as compared with Mk., except for the single phrase, "Art thou the King of the Jews?"

(2) The time of the mockery is changed in Jn. With Mk., there are two mockeries, once before the trial by Pilate, this time at the hands of the Jewish senate, and once after the condemnation by Pilate, this time at the hands of the soldiers. With Jn., the mockery takes place during the trial.

(3) In phraseology, however, the two are often very close. Jn. has *καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ.* Mk. has *καὶ (οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται) ἐνδιδύσκουσιν αὐτὸν πορφύραν καὶ περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ πλέξαντες ἀκάνθινον στέφανον* in the second mockery. Jn. has *ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν περιέβαλον αὐτόν.* Both have *χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, except that Mk. has not *ὁ*. Jn. has *ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ ῥαπίσματα*, and in the account of the first mockery, Mk. has the more graphic and certainly the more primitive *ῥαπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον.* Thus, apparently, Jn. has, to some extent, conflated the accounts of the two mockeries.

(4) *The crucifixion.*

Jn. omits the following points recorded by Mk. (1) The impressment of Simon. (2) The reproaches of the spectators and the robbers. (3) The darkness. (4) Eloi. (5) The rending of the veil. (6) The confession of the centurion.

He adds (1) The charge of Mary to the care of the disciple. (2) "I thirst." "It is finished." (3) The piercing of the side. (4) The ministry of Nicodemus, and many other points which it is not our immediate purpose to examine, but which, in the main, bring out the dignity of Jesus.

There are many points which go to show that Jn. had access to Mk. They both say that the place where Jesus was

crucified was called Golgotha, and both translate as Κρανίου τόπος. They both say that two others were crucified with him, Jn. adding μέσον δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, but omitting the remark that the other two were thieves. Both say that the soldiers cast lots for the clothes, but Jn. adds that there were four soldiers, uses different language, brings the incident into line with prophecy, and becomes confused over the Hebrew parallelism, so confused indeed, that the prophecy he quotes to support his fact really contradicts it. Both Mk. and Jn. mention the sponge of sour wine, Mk. saying δραμὼν δέ τις καὶ γεμίσας σπόγγον ὄξους περιθεὶς καλάμῳ ἐπότιζεν αὐτόν, and Jn. σκεῦος ἔκειτο ὄξους μεστόν· σπόγγον οὖν μεστὸν τοῦ ὄξους ὑσσώπῳ[5] περιθέντες προσήνεγκαν αὐτοῦ τῷ στόματι. The reasons given however are different. In Jn. the wine is given because Jesus says, "I thirst;" in Mk., because Jesus says, "Eloi Eloi," which the bystanders mistake for a cry for Elias, and the wine was given apparently to keep Jesus alive, to see whether Elias would come in answer to his cry. Both state that, immediately afterwards, Jesus died, according to Mk. with a loud cry, and according to Jn. after he had said τετέλεσται and inclined his head. Both show that there were women at the cross, and they agree in that Mary Magdalene was one, and that there was another Mary, whom Mk. calls the mother of James and Joses, and Jn. calls the wife of Cleopas. Both include the request of Joseph of Arimathaea, but in different language. Mk. says that he was on the look out for the Kingdom of God; Jn. that he was a disciple of Jesus, but secretly, because of the Jews. Both state also that it was ἡ παρασκευή that day.

THE RESURRECTION

Mk. 15 42–47 deals with the burial by Joseph, but has several obscure points, which the other Synoptists try to clear up. Jn. mentions two attempts to bury Jesus, (1) in 19 31, by Jews, an attempt which was based on the law, Deut 21 22 probably. Jn.

5 Those scholars are undoubtedly right who read this as ὕσσῳ, taking ὑσσώπῳ as due to dittography.

perhaps confused the law of the Sabbath with a law which had reference to any day of the week. Or, perhaps, if the victims had lived until the Sabbath, the authorities would have been unable to bury them, and so fulfil the law without breaking the Sabbath law. (2) An attempt which was successful, by Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus, who intervened in time to prevent the Jews carrying out their purpose.

There are agreements between the authentic portion of Mk. and Jn. in the following points. They state that Mary Magdalene came early on the morning of the first day of the week to the sepulchre, and found the stone rolled away. Mk. adds that Mary had with her Mary the mother of James and also Salome, and that while they were going to the sepulchre, they were discussing the difficulty of removing the stone. Both use *τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, πρωΐ*, which Jn. explains by *σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης* and Mk. by *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου*. In the spurious ending of Mk., which is obviously a compilation, there is an account of the appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene, which is taken from Jn.

Now we must examine those cases in which Jn. has detached sayings and incidents which seem to reveal a knowledge of Mk.

(1) Mk. 6 2–3 is parallel to Jn. 6 42 and 7 15. Mk. has *πόθεν τούτῳ ταῦτα καὶ τίς ἡ σοφία ἡ δοθεῖσα τούτῳ*; Jn. has *πῶς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν μὴ μεμαθηκώς*; Mk. has *οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τέκτων ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Μαρίας, καὶ ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσῆτος καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Σίμωνος*; *καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ ὧδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς*; Jn. has *οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς, ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, οὗ ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα*; In Mk., this is said at Nazareth; in Jn., during the discussion on the Bread of Life.

(2) Mk. 6 4 is parallel to Jn. 4 44. Jn. has *Αὐτὸς γὰρ Ἰησοῦς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι προφήτης ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει*. Mk. has *οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἑαυτοῦ* to explain the rejection of Jesus at Nazareth. The very way the Johannine sentence is formed seems to suggest that the author is referring the readers to a phrase he presumed they already knew. "For, you know, Jesus said etc.", seems to be the force of *γάρ*.

(3) Jn. agrees with Mk. in saying that the miracles of Jesus on the Sabbath provoked the opposition of the authorities. Cf. Jn. 5 8, 9, 16; 7 22, 23; 9 14; Mk. 2 11, 12; 3 1, 2. But there is a marked disagreement in the two kinds of defence on the part of Jesus. In Mk., the action of Jesus is justified by the case of David. This is quite unnecessary according to Jn. Here the action springs from the Son-Father relationship.

(4) The title of the Holy Spirit in Jn 14 26, ὁ παράκλητος, reflects the work of the Holy Spirit as given in Mk. 13 11.

(5) Jn. 12 25 goes back in idea and phraseology to Mk. 8 35.

(6) Jn. 12 44, 45 and 13 20 go back to Mk. 9 37.

(7) Jn. 7 20; 8 48, 52; 10 20 are signs that the demonological attitude of Mk. is not entirely forgotten by Jn. But a nearer parallel is found in the charge of the Jews that Jesus has a devil and is a Samaritan. And in all these cases the priority of Mk. is obvious. "In the Synoptics, the polemic is called forth by the Beelzebub charge, and is made within the range of ethical experiences and closes with a warning against blasphemy against the Holy Spirit; its Johannine counterpart soars into the heights of transcendental Christological speculation." (Pfleiderer, *Prim. Christianity*, Vol. IV, p. 47).

(8) Jn. 15 14 is parallel to Mk. 3 35.

(9) Jn. 6 30 is parallel to Mk. 8 11.

(10) Jn. 3 5 is parallel to Mk. 10 15.

(11) Jn. 16 23; 14 13, 14 as to the power of prayer reflect Mk. 11 24.

(12) The language of Nicodemus in Jn. 3 2 is parallel in thought and perhaps in spirit to the words of the Pharisees in their discussions with Jesus during the last week of his life and, if the incident is authentic, it should probably be placed here.

(13) Jn. 9 6, 7, curing by means of spittle and clay, is parallel to a similar phenomenon in Mk. 8 22–26.

(14) Jn. 15 21 and 16 2 may reflect the predictions of Jesus to the disciples during the apocalyptic discourses of Mk. 13 12–13.

(15) Jn. 13 4–5, 12–14 is an illustration of Mk. 10 45.

(16) Jn. 14 31, ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν [ἐντεῦθεν] is an exact quotation of Mk. 14 42, though in a different context.

(17) The essence of Mk. 4 27, which Mt. and Lk. reject, is given in Jn. 3 8.

(18) Jn. 6 30–32 shows the same idea as Mk. 8 11–12.

One last point must be examined before we can sum up our results. Mk. and Jn. have a number of peculiar words in common, that is, words which are not found in the other Gospels. They are as follows. *ἀκάνθινος* (with the same meaning and in parallel passages), *ἀποκόπτω*, *βροντὴ*, *γίνομαι* (with the same meaning and in parallel passages), *διακόσιοι* and *ἐνταφιασμός* (both in parallel passages and with the same meaning), *ἕως* with the present indicative, *ἤθελον* without relative or negative, *θερμαίνομαι* (in parallel passages and with the same meaning), *θυρωρός*, *Ἱεροσολυμεῖται*, *καταλαμβάνω*, *κράββατος*, *μισθωτός*, *νάρδος*, *πιστικός*, (both the last with the same meaning and in parallel passages), *πηγή* (but in different senses), *προσαίτης*, *πλοιάριον*, *πωρόω*, *πτύω*, *Ῥαββουνί*, *στήκω*, *φανερόω*, *χιλίαρχος*, *φανερῶς*. Then we have *ῥάπισμα*,[6] *τριακόσιοι*, *ὠτάριον* in the same contexts and with the same meanings.

After this more or less minute examination of the Markan and Johannine narratives, several important points arise. What strikes us most upon a preliminary reading is, as has already been said, the differences between the two accounts. This feeling of surprise is not lessened when we study the Gospels more minutely. It is not, however, the difference of detail which is so dismaying as the difference of emphasis. To speak often of the Kingdom and rarely of oneself is not the same as to speak often of oneself and rarely of the Kingdom.

There are many things which point to John's knowledge of a tradition similar to what we have in Mk:

(1) There is no account in either of the birth or early life of Jesus, and apparently no suggestion of a virgin birth. Yet we must recognize that the omissions are for two entirely different

[6] *ῥαπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον* in Mk. 14 65 is grammatically a vulgarism. Moulton and Milligan quote no parallel. Blass quotes a 1st century papyrus, *αὐτὸν κονδύλοις ἔλαβεν* (*Grammar*, p. 118).

reasons. Mk. says nothing about them because, in all probability, he knows nothing of them. At the time Mk. wrote, the tradition of the birth was not a common possession. For Mark, the Messiahship of Jesus was not rooted in his birth. John omitted the stories, but not because he did not know them. He probably did know, but preferred to say nothing about them, either because he did not believe them or because they were not suitable for his purpose.

(2) Both start the narrative at the same point, at the ministry of John the Baptist. They both show also that the beginning of the ministry of Jesus was in Galilee. Then the narratives separate to a great extent, the sole ministry of Jesus being non-Judaean, according to Mk. Jn. brings Jesus into Galilee at times, but the teaching is made to centre round the feasts at Jerusalem. There is a certain amount of secrecy about one of the journeys to Judaea. Both Mk. and Jn. bring Jesus to Jerusalem at the end.

(3) They end at the same point, the resurrection. That is to say, they do not go on to describe (in the authentic part of Mk. this is true; Jn. did not know the spurious ending) a physical ascension. Jn. implies that the ascension took place on the day of the resurrection, and it is treated as spiritual in some sense, as a departure rather than an ascent, and apparently there were several returns and departures.

(4) Jn. knows of certain facts in the Markan tradition, namely the cleansing of the Temple, the home at Bethany, the anointing, the feeding of the multitude, the walking on the sea, and the twofold nature of the trial.

But all this is not enough to show the dependence of the one upon the other. It may be that both are drawing upon the common Christian tradition. Can we prove that Jn. used Mk. as the basis of his narrative?

We can point to some very close literary parallels. (1) The section on John the Baptist. (2) The account of the feeding of the multitude. (3) The anointing at Bethany. (4) Certain points in the narrative of the Passion, such as the betrayal, the cup and the denial by Peter. (5) The close correlation of the feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the sea. (6) The use of parallel sayings. (7) The direct contradiction

on the question of the imprisonment of John the Baptist, the reference to Mary and Martha, and the feeling right through the Gospel that the author is taking a certain amount for granted. (8) The use of such words as *ἀκάνθινος*, *κράββατος*, *ἐνταφιασμός* and *πιστικός*, which are rare, have the same meaning and are in parallel passages.[7]

On the other side must be mentioned (1) The omission of a great deal of Mk., especially parts of the teaching. (2) The entirely different attitude to the miraculous. (3) The different interpretation given to the person of Jesus and the revelation of himself. These arguments do not seem conclusive, as they all go back to one point, the motive of the Gospel, and by that they are all explained.

We draw then the conclusion that Jn. had use of the Gospel of Mark, and had Mark's programme in mind during the writing of his own narrative. Jn. never refers to Mk. He does not do what Lk. does, confess having used literary sources. He merely takes Mk. for granted and embodies him where he sees fit. At times, perhaps with another tradition in mind, perhaps for reasons of his own, he deliberately contradicts Mk. At times, Jn. leaves Mk. quite alone as the narrative does not suit his purpose. All that he receives goes through the crucible of his own faith and is re-interpreted.

[7] Of these words, however, only *πιστικός* is really important. *κράββατος* is a perfectly good word, and is used in Acts 5 15 and 9 33. If *ἀκάνθινος* is quoted as showing a relationship between Jn. and Mk., then the use of *ἐξ ἀκανθῶν* can be quoted to prove the dependence of Jn. upon Mt., cf. Mt. 27 29. *ἐνταφιασμός* is not used in Mt. or Lk., but the verb is used in Mt. 26 12, a similar context. The importance of *πιστικός* might be avoided by the hypothesis that the texts of Mk. and Jn. have become assimilated, though this does not seem justifiable.

THE MATTHEAN DISCOURSE IN PARABLES, MT. 13 1–52

BENJ. W. BACON
YALE UNIVERSITY

IN two preceding articles of the JOURNAL (XLV, i–ii, pp. 23–56, 1926, and XLVI, i–ii, pp. 20–49, 1927) the present writer has attempted to throw new light on the problem of the second Synoptic Source by critical analysis of the two chapters 11 and 12, which form a narrative introduction to the Discourse in Parables (ch. 13) of Matthew's Gospel, the three chapters together forming his third 'book.' For while the supposed corroboration of the critics' discovery of a Second Synoptic Source in Papias' witness to Matthew as containing "the logia" is pure delusion (and delusion far from harmless), the second century has lately yielded important corroboration for critical findings regarding Matthew on another point. The ancient versified prologue already mentioned (*JBL* XLVI, p. 21) which speaks of Matthew as having written "five books" against "the God-slaying people of the Jews" not only corroborates the general verdict of modern interpreters of the Gospel regarding its special animus against "the Jews," but shows clearly that the five-fold division of the Gospel, until now regarded as one of the achievements of critical analysis, was well known as early as the second century. It may well account for Papias' corresponding division of his *Interpretations* into "five books", if indeed it was not marked in the text of Matthew itself from the beginning.

The five 'Sermons' into which the evangelist has divided his record of Jesus' "commandments," each ending with a

stereotyped coupler verse connecting it at 7 28 f.; 11 1; 13 53; 19 1 and 26 1 with the succeeding narrative, were long since recognized as corresponding to the five 'codes' embodied in the Pentateuch. The discovery should bring better understanding of the relation of discourse to narrative in Matthew. Each 'book' consists of a section of narrative, usually taken from Mark, introducing a 'Sermon.' The first of these 'sermons' is on The Righteousness of Sons (cc. 5–7); the second on The Duty of Evangelists (c. 10); the third on Israel's Blindness (13 1–52); the fourth on Rulership in the Church (c. 18); the fifth on Judgment to Come (cc. 23–25). The five 'books' themselves as a whole are prefaced by an introduction telling of the birth and infancy of the Redeemer (cc. 1-2), and completed by a closing narrative (cc. 26–28) of the crucifixion and resurrection, making a sevenfold division of the gospel. The coupler verse five times repeated links each book in turn to the narrative thread by means of the formula "And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these . . . he (engaged in some other activity)." The clew thus furnished in the structural framework of the Gospel to the evangelist's conception of his task is of no small value. It is made the basis for the present discussion, whose field is limited to the third 'book,' that which concludes the first half of the Gospel, bringing the Galilean ministry to its close.

In several respects the critical problems of Book iii (Mt. 11–13) are peculiarly intricate, but for those whose interest lies in the extrication and reconstruction of the Second Source the perplexities are not unexpected. To eliminate the 'perturbations' occasioned by Matthew's adaptation of his Q material, whether as respects form or order, the indispensable first step is acquaintance with his editorial motives, design, and methods. These can be studied in his treatment of Mark. The results when applied to the Q material will help to decide between the Matthean or Lukan form. For it is of course understood that the editorial methods of R^{lk} receive the same careful and dispassionate study as those of R^{mt}.

The two preceding articles, which will be referred to herein respectively as I and II, have brought certain definite results

with respect to the narrative introduction of Matthew's third 'book.' Contrary to his procedure in Book i (cc. 3–7), where the greater part of the narrative introduction (cc. 3–4) is drawn from Mark, but the whole of the 'sermon' from the Second Source, in Book iii only a small part of the narrative introduction (cc. 11–12) rests on Mark, but nearly the whole of the 'sermon.' Our study of the narrative introduction has already led to certain important conclusions in I as to the nature of S, and in II as to the method of R^{mt} in his adaptation of it. But our exemplification of the special critical method which in the writer's judgment should be applied to the problem of the Second Source will not be complete until we have covered Book iii in both parts, 'sermon' as well as narrative introduction. The 'implications' of the Q material in c. 11 have given us some further insight into the character of S, also the interweaving of Mk. and Q in c. 12 has thrown light upon the procedure of R^{mt}. It remains to apply these results to certain acknowledged problems of the Discourse in Parables of c. 13.

To J. Weiss "one of the most striking proofs of the dependence of Matthew on Mark" was "the building out of the Markan substructure" so apparent in the Matthean Discourse in Parables. We find in fact scarcely any dissent from general recognition of this "Markan substructure." Allen, Klostermann, McNeile, agree that in c. 13 "Matthew follows Mark in arranging a collection of parables" (McNeile), and point out for us that the context and order in which these are placed, and the motive ascribed for Jesus' adoption of this mode of teaching are identical with those of Mark. In fact Matthew's unbroken following of the order of Mark which appears to begin with his fourth 'book,' continuing from 13 53 to the end, in reality begins already with Mt. 12 24–50 = Mk. 3 22–35, since all Matthew's Markan material follows from this point on in the Markan order, and without omission save such material as Matthew has already employed, or shortly after employs, in its Q context. The only exceptions to this rule we shall find to be apparent rather than real, confirming on the whole the general observation that the *bouleversement*

of Markan order in Mt. 3–13 is due to Matthew's attempt to form a more logical sequence by combining the "faith wonders" of Mk. 4 35–5 43 into a series of ten "mighty works" suitable to introduce the Mission of the Twelve and thus to constitute his second 'Book' (7 28–10 42). Apart from this Matthew scarcely varies at all from the order of Mark.

It is observable, however, that Matthew's resumption of the Markan order begins with an undoubtedly displaced Q section (Mt. 12 24–50 = Mk. 3 22–35 = Lk. 11 14–23), while the slight transpositions affect only Q material (Mk. 4 21–24 = Mt. 5 15 = Lk. 11 33; Mt. 10 26 = Lk. 12 2; Mt. 7 2 = Lk. 6 38) and usually result in a better context if not always the same connection given by Luke. The inference can scarcely be avoided that Matthew has simply given these Q *logia* where he found them in S, cancelling their equivalents (except for certain phrases used to enrich his parallel) when reached in the process of transcribing Mark. In the single instance Mt. 13 12 = Mk. 4 25 we have a very slight displacement obviously made to strengthen a desired application. In Mark the *logion* (for this too belongs to the group of supplemental *logia* loosely attached by Mark after the interpretation of the parable of the Sower) seems to be suggested by the "taking away" of the seed sown in unfruitful soil. Matthew attaches it slightly earlier to sharpen the contrast between those who do and those who do not receive the word. With this trifling exception Matthew's transpositions of Markan material after 12 24–50 can all be accounted for by simple cancellation of doublets. That is, when he reaches a passage in Mark which he has already given from S he leaves it untranscribed save for such clauses as he can use to enrich his parallel. Correspondingly, when at a later stage he finds embodied in material he is transcribing from S something he had previously copied from Mark he either turns back and cancels the duplicate, or (as has happened in some twenty-two instances) fails to notice the duplication and lets the doublet stand. We can easily follow the process when the material cancelled is Markan. Of course, since we have no more of S than our evangelists have chosen to transcribe, it is impossible to say

how much of S Matthew may have sacrificed through a preference for Mark. All we know is that throughout his fourth and fifth 'books,' dealing with the Judean ministry, crucifixion and resurrection, he has followed Mark without material omission or change of order to the end, merely supplementing with Q material or adding slight embellishments of unknown derivation.

The dependence of R^{mt} on the entire section Mk. 3 22–4 34 being so unmistakable we may best conform to the rule of procedure from the relatively known to the unknown by examining first his changes by addition or otherwise in the successive paragraphs of his Markan model. Fortunately we have Luke at hand to determine whether any of these changes are due to parallels in S.

1. Mk. 3 22–35 = Mt. 12 24–32 = Lk. 11 14–23, 27 f.; 12 10.

This section of Matthew is preliminary, leading up to the Discourse. In II, pp. 30–38, enough has been said concerning the relation of the story of The Accusation of the Scribes, 'He Exorcizeth by Beelzebub,' to that relating Jesus' Denunciation of the Blind Generation to make it apparent that the unity of the group Mt. 12 22–50, which offsets the opposing "Pharisees" of 22–37 and the "evil and adulterous generation" of "scribes and Pharisees" of 38–45 by the obedience of Jesus' Spiritual Kin (46–50) is not of Matthew's manufacture. Matthew borrows the theme from Mk. 3 22–35, continuing the loan in the Discourse in Parables (13 1 ff. = Mk. 4 1 ff.). But Luke's equivalent combination, derived in 11 14–23, 27 f. from S unmingled with Markan material, proves decisively that the antithesis does not originate with either Mark or Matthew. The Accusation (Mt. 12 22–32), the Demand for a Sign (38–42), and the *logion* on Spiritual Kin (46–50), stood together in S. This is proved by Lk. 11 14–28. Matthew's additions to the group, as already shown, are partly supplements from S (sometimes transposed) partly embellishments of his own to heap further denunciation on the detested Pharisees (vv. 33–37), or to clarify the meaning by editorial touches in ver. 40 and

ver. 45 c. He also adds the words "blind and", "and saw," in ver. 22.

Luke is probably responsible for the slight transposition of 11 24–28 in front of instead of after 29–32, so that we need ascribe to R^{mt} no more complicated task than simply the supplementation of Mark from S. As Mark seems originally to have derived the story from S, the task of R^{mt} consisted simply of restoring elements omitted by his predecessor, precisely as in the case of the Temptations. However, the process was not quite so simple as the mere appending of the two paragraphs 33–37 (R) and 38–45 (Q). It included also the interweaving with the Markan context of the Q verses 22 f. (= Lk. 11 14–16), 27 f. (= Lk. 19 f.), 30 (= Lk. 11 23) and 32 (= Lk. 12 10). The greatly reduced abstract given in Mk. 3 22–30 is thus restored in Mt. 12 22–32, 38–45 to its original full proportions, Luke enabling us in addition to supply the closing paragraph on Spiritual Kin (Lk. 11 27 f.), where Matthew has followed the Markan form. For Luke fails to notice that he had already included this in his Markan material (Lk. 8 19–21 = Mk. 3 31–35). Luke's linking together of the Accusation 'He Exorcizeth by Beelzebub' with the Demand for a Sign (Lk. 11 14–16, 29–32) also gives invaluable corroboration to Matthew's grouping. In this also he truly reflects the connection of S.

But unfortunately for the historicity of Matthew's order the incident of the Blasphemy of the Scribes in Mk. 3 22–30 is one of the most flagrant instances in Mark's notoriously unchronological gospel of what we have designated his "that-reminds-me style." The parenthetic reference to the hostile utterance of "the scribes which came down from Jerusalem" (their coming down is not related until Mk. 7 1 ff.), interjected between the account of the more venial utterance of Jesus' kindred as they seek "to lay hold on him" in ver. 20 f. and Jesus' response in ver. 31–35, is manifestly one of Mark's frequent prolepses. The reference to teaching "in parables" is further evidence of the fact (cf. 4 10–12). Consequently R^{mt}, while restoring the connected Q material omitted by Mark to the *Markan* context, has unwittingly done serious

violence to the order of S. In 13 1 he takes especial pains to enforce this wrong connection, introducing the words "that same day" and "when Jesus was come forth from the house" (i. e. the house implied in 12 46), to make it quite clear that he connects the Discourse in Parables with the time and locality indicated in Mk. 3 20–35.

From this dislocation of S in Matthew, produced by his dependence on Mark, let us turn to Luke. This evangelist is not misled, but divorces the whole section on the Dumb and Blind Generation from the Markan context. To Luke the Parable of the Sower with its Interpretation and connected *logia* is simply a Markan section available to form an appropriate close for his group of anecdotes illustrative of the two classes of hearers set forth in the closing parable of the discourse on The Righteousness of Sons (6 46–49). In 7 1–8 3 he groups a series of anecdotes derived mainly from S (the greater part is also found in Mt.), all tending to show how aliens, sinners, the poor and despised, gladly received Jesus' word. The Discourse in Parables, *as far as the Sower and its interpretation and appended* logia, is admirably adapted to complete this design, especially if the saying on Spiritual Kin is not used, as in Mark, to introduce the parable but transferred to the close. But Luke has no use for the remaining Markan parables at this point, and makes very little of Mark's idea (adopted by Matthew), that they were a means of hiding "the mystery of the kingdom of God" from the "outsiders." However, Luke too shows a certain degree of affinity with Mark and Matthew in introducing at this point, after the choosing of the Twelve from the "great multitude" of followers (Lk. 6 12–19 = Mk. 3 7–12, 13–19), first, with Matthew, the Discourse on the Righteousness of Sons (Lk. 6 20–49 = Mt. 5 1–7 27), then a section to illustrate the separation between fruitful and unfruitful hearers (7 1–8 21). As we have seen, Luke takes the first half of this section from S (7 1–8 3), the second half from Mark (8 4–21), and having brought the theme to a rhetorical close by transposing the *logion* on Spiritual Kin from its place before to a place after the parable of the Sower (Mk. 3 31–35 = Lk. 8 19–21), he continues to transcribe from

Mark down to the end of the Galilean ministry, omitting for reasons elsewhere explained the section dealing with the Gospel among the Gentiles (Mk. 6 45–8 26).[1]

The end of this division of Luke is very clearly marked at 9 50, for manifestly with the words which follow: "And it came to pass when the days were well-nigh come that he should be received up, he stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem" a new division begins.

For many chapters from this point Luke seems to drop Mark entirely. To the end of chapter 10 we have purely non-Markan material, largely Q, but not connected (unless for a few displaced *logia*) with the group concerned with the Blind and Dumb Generation (Mt. 11–12). Only when we reach 11 14–36 do we find Luke again paralleling this section of Mark and Matthew. But he groups the material otherwise. In 1 1–13 he has transcribed a Discourse on Prayer from S, for most of which Matthew has found place in his first 'sermon' (6 9–13; 7 7–11). Luke has changed the wording at the close from "give good things" (so Mt. 7 11) to "give the Holy Spirit", and in so doing has supplied us with the key to his grouping. Down to the full stop at 12 12, he is concerned with the Gift of the Spirit. ("He that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit" . . . "The Holy Spirit shall teach you in that hour".) To Luke the significance of the section comprising the Accusation 'He Exorciseth by Beelzebub', Jesus' answer denouncing the Blind Generation, and the *logion* on Spiritual Kin lay in its record of *opposition to the Spirit*. Whether he found in S at this point the Woes on Pharisees and Scribes (11 37–54) and the Warning of Coming Persecution (12 1–9), or supplied them from some other connection because they seemed to him an appropriate addition to the Denunciation of the Blind Generation (11 29–36), we have yet to enquire. At least the evangelist has made clear his general motive in the grouping. All the more so that in 11 20, in spite of his predominant purpose, he has retained the authentic reading of S "the finger of God", where Matthew substitutes "Spirit of God".

[1] See Bacon, *Gospel of Mark*, 1925, p. 163 f.

However, the parallel is so unmistakable between Lk. 11 15–22 and Mk. 3 22–27, that we are not surprised to find this paragraph of Mark omitted after Lk. 6 19. On the other hand Luke makes almost the same supplements to Mark as we find in Matthew, and in coincident language (Lk. 11 14 = Mt. 12 22 f.; Lk. 11 18 b–20 = Mt. 12 27 f.). The inference is unavoidable that both later evangelists are drawing from Mark's original, even restoring the true setting (Exorcism of the Dumb Devil—omitted by Mark as needless for his parenthetic comparison). In coincident portions such as Mt. 12 25 = Lk. 11 17 Luke thus enables us to identify the editorial changes of Mark. Particularly striking is the case of Mk. 3 28 f., which Matthew transcribes from Mark at this point, but combines with S. This appears from comparison of Mt. 12 32 with Lk. 12 10. The latter verse is not drawn from Mark. Luke has merely permitted himself one of the transpositions in the order of S which he seems to have considered more allowable in discourse material than in the narrative of Mark. The *logion* on Blasphemy against the Spirit of God must be restored to the context of the Accusation 'He Exorciseth by Beelzebub' and must be interpreted in the light of the portion omitted by Mark but supplied coincidently by Matthew and Luke: "If I exorcize by the Spirit (Lk. 'finger') of God".

Much less easy to identify was the equivalence between Mark's adapted version of the *logion* on Spiritual Kin (Mk. 3 31–35 = Lk. 8 19–21) and that of S transcribed by Luke in 11 27 f. No wonder he failed to notice the duplication and left the S form uncancelled, to our immense advantage. He allowed himself again, as already noted, a slight transposition, placing the parable of the Exorcized Demon with its sequel Spiritual Kin (11 24–28) immediately after the Charge 'He Exorcizeth by Beelzebub' (14–23) instead of after ver. 32 at the close of the discourse (so Mt. 12 38–45), because he took the saying about the Exorcized Demon in a literal sense. But the sequence of 11 27 f. after 24–26 is certainly authentic. A third point of contact between Mark and the source Luke is now following is the *logion* on Inward Light (Mk. 4 21 = Lk. 8 16). Once more Luke has failed to observe (or at least to remove) the duplication 8 16 = 11 33. But here the case is altered. Two

sayings of quite different bearing about shedding light are here combined. The Markan *logion* about placing the lamp where its light will be of most service (Mk. 4 21 = Lk. 8 16 = 11 33) is applied by Mark to the saying about Hiding the Mystery of the Kingdom from "outsiders" (Mk. 4 11 f.; cf. 21–23). In Mt. 5 15 it is applied to the duty of setting an example of good works. Its utter lack of relation to the *logion* on Inward Light, or Singleness (that is, Liberality) of Judgment as the Condition of Spiritual Clarity (Lk. 11 34 = Mt. 6 22 f.) is made doubly apparent by the awkward attempt to bring the two together in ver. 36. Is this verse indeed from the skilful writer Luke? Or has some earlier hand attempted a combination of the two Q *logia* Mt. 5 15 = Lk. 11 33 and Mt. 6 22 f. = Lk. 11 34? Surely if Luke were responsible for the combination he would not have allowed the duplication between 8 16 and 11 33 to remain.

A fourth point of contact occurs in the next verse of Mark, Mk. 4 22 = Lk. 8 17. Again Luke appears to have overlooked his previous transcription from Mark and transcribes the same *logion* from S in 12 2. The context, however, is utterly different. The agreement of Matthew with Luke on this point (Lk. 12 2 = Mt. 10 26) makes it obvious that Mark is responsible for the disconnection. The eschatological saying about the secrets of all hearts being revealed (cf. Rom. 2 16) may perhaps have come to the mind of Mark because of the eschatological turn he has given to the *logion* about the "coming" of the Lamp, but intrinsically it is wholly out of place in his setting.

For the present we need not attempt to account for this series of contacts between Mk. and S. We merely note for the ultimate task of reconstruction that all forms of the Synoptic tradition bring in at this point a differentiation between the worthy and unworthy following. Matthew follows Mark closely, but with large additions from S. Luke in 7 1–8 21 uses first S, then Mk., to construct a group descriptive of those who "hear and do the word of God." His S material only partly coincides with Matthew's (7 18–35 = Mt. 11 2–11, 16–19), but into this he interjects a displaced Q section (ver. 29 f. = Mt. 21 32) to sharpen the contrast between Pharisees and scribes on the one hand and "all the people" on the other. From Mark he

takes only the parable of the Sower and such portions of the connected material as bear upon the importance of hearing and bringing forth fruit. He closes with the *logion* on Spiritual Kin, in which Jesus takes as his true mother and brethren "these which hear the word of God and do it." The pragmatic motive is apparent and has doubtless controlled in Luke's selection of material also. But we must postpone the question of Lukan sources and redaction to revert to that of R^{mt}.

Both in the formation of a Discourse in Parables and in the attachment of it to the *logion* on Spiritual Kin as illustrative of how Jesus drew about him a body of worthy disciples repelling the light-minded and denouncing the aggressively hostile, Matthew is completely dominated by the conception of Mark, though he has freely supplemented from Q material. Chronologically he has placed the material of his third 'book' at the close of the Galilean ministry, continuing thenceforth the unbroken sequence of Mark from the Rejection in Nazareth (13 53–58 = Mk. 6 1–6) to the end. In this way he has largely counteracted the effects of Mark's prolepsis of S material. However, he has clung stubbornly to the minor notes of Markan sequence in 12 46 and 13 1, thus binding together the two strands of his third 'book' into an artificial unity. Having already employed Mk. 4 35–5 43 in his second 'book', a change which "makes the sequel to the first stay at Capernaum what Mark makes the sequel to the second" (McNeile), he is able to proceed without further breach of Mark's order.

Luke is much less under the influence of Mark. He transcribes Mk. 4 12 in abbreviated form, omitting the clause "lest they should repent and be forgiven," but reserves the use of the Isaian proof-text as a whole for the conclusion of his second treatise (Acts 28 26 f.), where its application is far more acceptable. For the Markan formation of a Discourse in Parables Luke has so little interest that he brings the discourse to a close after the interpretation of the first parable with the Markan form of the *logion* on Spiritual Kin, omitting entirely the second parable and leaving the third to stand at a later point in its Q form and context. However, the fact that Luke also uses the parable of the Sower to form the

climax of a group whose object seems to be the contrasting of fruitful and unfruitful hearers, in line with the closing parable of the discourse on The Righteousness of Sons, goes to show that the common source (S) had some similar motive. The notion of Mark (adopted by Matthew but not by Luke) that the parables were riddles, an enigmatic method of teaching employed by Jesus for the purpose of "hiding the mystery of the kingdom" from the "outsiders," may reasonably be ascribed to the apologetic theory of the Roman evangelist himself, with or without suggestion from Rom. 11 8–10. Matthew's expansion of the theme to include all that he can find of Markan or other material showing the bitter opposition between Jesus and the unbelieving elements of Judaism may, or may not, have formed part of the S connection. But the intrinsic adaptation of the parable of the Sower to a situation where separation is made between such as "hear and do the will" and such as reject it, the manifest artificiality of the Markan order, which attaches two further parables of somewhat different type after the multitude have dispersed, after the inner circle have gathered about Jesus for explanations, and various *logia* have been cited, finally the successive contacts of Mark with elements of S and Q from 3 20–4 34, all go to show a certain primary connection. The closing words of the parable (Mk. 4 9, repeated in ver. 23) "He that hath ears to hear let him hear" seem intended to reenforce its application and have no little affinity with the theme of the Q material Matthew and Luke agree in prefixing, Denunciation of the Evil Generation blind and deaf to the signs of divine redemption. Matthew's location of the Q *logion* "But blessed are your eyes for they see, and your ears for they hear" etc. cannot well be original, it is true, because the reference to things longed for by "prophets and kings" (Mt. "righteous men") shows that the speaker has in mind the evidences of God's redemptive work as in 11 4 f., but it adds to the evidence that the source contained at this point some antithesis between Wisdom's children who receive the message and the spiritually blind and dumb who reject God's messengers and vainly clamor for "a sign from heaven". Beyond this possibility of original connection in S we cannot yet proceed.

2. Mk. 4 1–35 = Mt. 13 1–35 = Lk. 8 4–18 (10 23 f.; 13 18–21).

The parable of the Sower (Mk. 4 1–9 = Mt. 13 1–9 = Lk. 8 4–8) supplies one of the best possible examples of transcription from Mark quite unaffected in the case of Matthew by any extraneous parallel, in the case of Luke almost wholly so. Matthew reproduces almost verbally. As above noted he has made the connection closer in ver. 1 and slightly abbreviated in ver. 3, 7 and 8. His other changes merely improve the style. Luke cancels the whole graphic setting of Mk. 4 1–3 with no better substitute than the commonplace "And when a great crowd was gathering, besides those who came to him from every city, he said in parable". The obvious reason is that he has already given the graphic setting (from S?) in 5 1–3. His estimate of the reliability of Mark in such descriptive matter appears to be considerably lower than that of some moderns.

In the following section of Mark giving the disciples' question about the parables (plural) Luke changes the form of the question to correspond with the *second* answer (Mk. 4 13–20 = Lk. 8 11–15). His other changes are for the most part slight abbreviations and improvements of style. Matthew changes the ambiguous "asked of him the parables" in accordance with the sense of Mark's *first* answer (Mk. 4 11 f.) and proceeds to make several drastic changes. Of these the transfer of ver. 12 from the end of the group of appended *logia* in Mk. 4 21–25 may be counted a mere stylistic improvement. The rest of the group Matthew had already given in 5 15; 10 26 and 7 2. This *logion* he also gives in its S connection (25 29) apparently overlooking the fact that he had already transcribed it from Mark in 13 12. More significant doctrinally is the minute change of ἵνα to ὅτι in ver. 13, which removes the harshness of the representation that the truth was purposely concealed. But it is perhaps a later hand (though too early to affect the textual transmission) which adds ver. 14 f., taking the text exactly from LXX as in Acts 28 26 f.

The most important change of all is the addition of ver. 16 f. = Lk. 10 23 f., sharpening the contrast between the Twelve and the dumb and blind "outsiders". As already noted Matthew's

location of the saying cannot be original, but that of Luke is not wholly satisfactory. The things which prophets and kings longed to witness can only be the redemptive blessings appealed to in Jesus' answer to the Messengers of John (Mt. 11 2 ff. = Lk. 7 18 ff.). Its true sense would appear if located after Mt. 11 19 = Lk. 7 35, but the location in Lk. 10 21–24 only preserves its connection with the *logion* on the "hiding of the mystery". The latter *logion* does in fact appear in this connection in various forms: Mt. 11 25–27 = Lk. 10 21 f.; for Mk. 4 11 f. is only a variant of the same.

The interpretation of the parable (Mt. 13 18–23 = Mk. 4 13–20 = Lk. 8 11–15) is a further example of transcription from Mark entirely unaffected by outside influence in either Matthew or Luke. At the beginning (Mt. 13 18 = Mk. 4 13 f. = Lk. 8 11) each forms a slightly different connection, the context being different. Thereafter we have the usual slight abbreviation and stylistic improvement. Otherwise the copy is made *verbatim*.

The appended *logia* of Mk. 4 21–25 are cancelled by Matthew because given elsewhere in their Q context. As already noted Mt. 13 12 = Mk. 4 25 is a slight exception in that R^{mt} has transposed instead of cancelling it, its Q context (Mt. 25 29 = Lk. 19 26) being much later. Luke also fails to notice his double employment of this, and in addition that of the *logion* Mk. 4 21 both in 8 16 and 11 33. But the forced interweaving of the latter with the unrelated *logion* on Inward Light (11 34) is not ascribable to the same editor who so shortly before, in 8 16, had transcribed it from Mark. We must therefore infer that R^{lk} found the interweaving in this case already existing and simply transcribed 11 33 f. as he found it. The same is doubtless true of Mk. 4 22 = Lk. 8 17 = 12 2. Finding the *logion* in its S context in the latter passage Luke simply transcribed it as it stood, not noticing his previous transcription of the same from Mark. Thus of the five appended *logia* of Mk. 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25 the only two which Luke recognizes as paralleled in his non-Markan sources are ver. 23 = ver. 9 and ver. 24 = Mt. 7 2 = Lk. 6 38. Matthew cancels all but one. As a rule duplication is much more common in Matthew than in Luke.

At this point Luke brings his transcription from Mark to a close by inserting the *logion* on Spiritual Kin, slightly transposed from before the parable. Matthew continues. But his version of the second parable varies so widely from the Markan that many refuse to admit a common origin. As Luke is here silent we have but one means of answering the question whether the difference is indeed due to difference of source, or whether R^{mt} has taken unusual liberties with the text of Mark. We must decide by what we can discover of the interests, aims and practice of R^{mt} in parallel cases. If we find other passages of his Gospel similar in interest which appear to have been similarly treated, an *a priori* probability can be established that the differences from Mark are redactional. If in addition the special phrases, style, and vocabulary characteristic of this evangelist are found here in marked accumulation, the case will admit of little further doubt, we shall have in hand an important key, an open sesame not to this problem alone, but to a whole series of similar problems throughout the Gospel. Whence, then, does Matthew obtain his parable of the Tares in the Wheat?

In Mk. 4 26–29 we have, in the same relative place, a comparatively brief parable closely related in character and bearing to that of Jas. 5 7, an exhortation to patient waiting for divine deliverance by the example of the husbandman, whose quiet faith in the processes of nature keeps him from the hurry and worry of the "murmurers" who cannot wait for the Lord's harvest day. Its proper designation, therefore, both in Mark and James would be The Patient Husbandman. The Epistle of James is in fact distinguished by its many points of contact with the *logia* of S. This parable, if derived from S, would furnish an appropriate answer to the Demand for a Sign from Heaven. For whether originally connected or not with the parable of the Sower, so strangely separated from it in Mark by the digression of ver. 10–25, it is quite in line with the teaching of Jesus regarding divine intervention. It might stand appropriately in the context of Lk. 17 20–18 8, or of the parable of the Entrusted Talents (Mt. 25 14–30 = Lk. 19 12–27), whose close is the *logion* "From him that hath

not", which here appears prefixed in Mk. 4 25. Its moral is: Have faith in God. Fear not, little flock, it is the decree of your Father to give you the kingdom. Signs from heaven are not needful for you, because you rest on One whose word "Seedtime and harvest shall not fail" has been verified through all the generations since Noah, and has its application also in the moral world. If the parable of the Sower follows well as a sequel to the Denunciation of the Evil Generation that has turned a deaf ear to God's messengers, the parable of the Patient Husbandman is equally pertinent after the Demand of a Sign from Heaven.

The parable of the Tares in the Wheat which in Mt. 13 24–30 occupies the place of Mark's parable of the Patient Husbandman deals with another subject, a subject as remote from Jesus' concern as it is peculiarly dear to our first evangelist, the danger of the Church from the teachers of *ἀνομία*. This subject has led R^{mt} to a complete alteration of that section of the discourse on the Righteousness of sons which in Lk. 6 43–46 immediately precedes the final parable on hearing and doing the word. In Luke the test of genuine righteousness is that "bearing of good fruit" which can come from nothing else than whole-hearted goodness, the spontaneous outflow of kindness of heart, as vines and fruit-trees yield their natural product. This is the logical application of the discourse, impossible to place otherwise than as it stands in Luke between the exhortation to follow the loving-kindness of the Father in heaven (6 27–42 = Mt. 5 39–48; 7 1–5) and the closing parable on Hearing and Doing (6 47–49 = Mt. 7 24–27). We witness a characteristic transformation of it in Mt. 7 15–23 where the mention of "good fruits" as the test of righteousness leads to a typical warning against the teachers of *ἀνομία*, who are to be known by their lack of "good works". Beginning with a general warning against the depredations of the "false prophets which come unto you in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravening wolves", R^{mt} first applies in its Q setting the test which he afterwards repeats with special application to the scribes in 12 33. Next he combines with the Warning against Profession without Practice (Mt. 7 21 = Lk. 6 46) the warning

of Lk. 13 26 f. against reliance on special favor with the messianic Judge, transforming it into a definite depiction of the Judgment in the last day by Jesus himself seated on the throne, as in the closing Judgment scene, 25 31–46, declaring (contrary to Mk. 9 38–40) to those who have exorcized and done miracles in his name without belonging to the body of true disciples: "Depart from me, ye that work *ἀνομία*" (Lk. *ἀδικία*).

This is only the beginning of $R^{mt's}$ special supplements in denunciation of the false teachers. The denunciation of the scribes in 12 22–32 gives another opportunity, as above noted, to threaten judgment to come against those whose evil words are the fruit of an evil nature (12 33–37). Next come the twin parables of the Tares in the Wheat and the Worthless Fish added to the Markan Discourse in Parables. The former is even supplied with a special Interpretation in ver. 36–43, to make sure the reader shall not mistake the application. Lastly, among the warnings against "false Christs and false prophets" in the Markan Doom-chapter (Mk. 13 5–8 = Mt. 24 4–8) R^{mt} inserts a special addition in ver. 10–12 predicting the stumbling and apostasy of the last times because "many false prophets shall arise and lead many astray, and because of the multiplication of *ἀνομία* the love of the many shall grow cold". R^{mt} certainly does not leave the attentive reader in the dark regarding his own particular *bête noire*.

Neither need we be in the dark regarding his special mode of combating this danger, nor the style and phraseology distinctive of his warnings.

R^{mt} contends against the "false teachers who pervert the precepts of the Lord to their own lusts" after the sledge-hammer style of Jude. Objurgation, denunciation and threats of everlasting fire reserved for the Devil and his angels are his weapons of argument. Favorite phrases drawn from the *logia* of his sources are repeated in stereotyped fashion and directed against those who in the great Judgment are found wanting in the "good works" which constitute his uncompromising standard of "righteousness" (*δικαιοσύνη* in this sense is exclusively Matthean). For "good works" are the test of discipleship (25 30, 31–46), as well as the means of spreading the gospel (5 16). In this

"righteousness", which consists in teaching and doing the commandments of Jesus (19 17 f.; 28 20), the Christian must "exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees". His first aim must be God's kingdom (a treasure laid up in heaven) and His "righteousness" (6 33), by which Matthew intends not so much the gift as the verdict of God. For this "righteousness" is not done before men to be seen of them but before the eyes of Him who seeth in secret. It merits, therefore, that heavenly reward which is the one object worthy of human endeavor (6 1, 4, 6, 18, 19 ff.). This, for Matthew, is the narrow way that leads to life. The great danger to be guarded against is the teaching of the "false prophets" (7 13–23).

As above noted the false teachers are to be known by their lack of "good fruits". They profess the name of Christ, and claim great gifts of prophecy, exorcism, and miracle, but are not really his, and in the Judgment will be bidden by him to "begone" as workers of *ἀνομία*. The phrase is borrowed from S (cf. Lk. 13 26 f.) but conformed in this significant word *ἀνομία* (Lk. *ἀδικία*) to the LXX (Ps. 6 9). For the question of provenance it is worth noting that the Nazarene Gospel (*τὸ Ἰουδαικόν* in J) and II Clement 4 5 give the same *logion* in widely variant form, but with the same application and the same conformation to LXX.

The heavenly reward which Matthew's first 'sermon' makes the sole aim of the Christian (6 19 ff. after 1–18) is again emphasized at the close of the second 'book' (10 40–42); but as only the Twelve are here concerned, the "false prophets" and "workers of *ἀνομία*" receive no attention. In Book iii, however, this omission is amply compensated. The theme of the good tree bearing good fruit returns in 12 33–37 *à propos* of the scribes who have spoken evil out of their evil hearts. R^{mt}'s vocabulary of "the day of judgment" (36) and his Q phrases of denunciation ("offspring of vipers" ver. 34; cf. 3 7 = Lk. 3 7 and 23 33) begin to find scope. But it is not until the subject of false teaching is reached in the parable of the Tares in the Wheat (13 24–30) and especially in its Interpretation (36–43) and the companion parable of the Worthless Fish (47–50), that R^{mt} displays their full capacity. In the parable itself the

gathering of the tares into bundles to be burned while the wheat is "gathered into my garner" may be suggested, like the cutting of the barren tree, by the warning of the Baptist (Mt. 3 12 = Lk. 3 17), but in the Interpretation the Q phrases begin to abound. Here we meet first "the end of the world" (ver. 39, repeated in 40 and 49, 24 3 and 28 20, exclusively Matthean), then "workers of *ἀνομία*" already noted (ver. 41), then "cast them into the furnace of fire" (ver. 42, repeated in ver. 50), then (from 8 12 = Lk. 13 28,[1] a great favorite) "there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth." At the close (ver. 41) the clause from Mk. 4 9, 23 = Lk. 8 8 and 14 35 = Mt. 13 9 seems to be added from pure love of phrase-making (cf. 11 15).

R^mt's fondness for the rewards and punishments of the world to come and the scenes of the Day of Judgment (a Matthean expression), when "the Son of Man shall sit upon the throne of his glory" hardly needs further illustration. Still we may add his supplements to Mark in 16 27 = Mk. 8 38 extended by his quotation from Ps. 72 13 "and then shall he render to every man according to his works". But the characteristic is still further emphasized by the *position* given to his supplements. Every one of his five 'sermons' closes on this keynote, Reward and Punishment on the basis of a man's works. We have seen how this is the case in 7 13–27, with special warning against the teachers of "lawlessness". The second 'sermon' ends on the same note of "reward". The third has besides its parable of the Tares an elaborate extension in ver. 36–50, given wholly to this one subject, the priceless Reward of the kingdom (Hid Treasure, Goodly Pearl) and the Separation of Righteous from Wicked in the Judgment (Interpretation of Tares, Sorting of the Fish). The fourth 'sermon' (on Right Treatment of Brethren) closes with the elaborate depiction of the fate of the Unforgiving Servant "delivered to the tormentors" (18 23–35). The last

[1] The phrase is appropriate only to its Q context, where the excluded "sons of the kingdom" gnash their teeth with rage and envy when they see aliens taking their place at the banquet table, but is applied by R^mt to descriptions of eternal punishment in general in 13 42, 50; 22 13; 24 51 and 25 30.

'sermon,' wholly devoted to eschatology, piles one picture of the judgment upon another, and after exhausting material of this type supplied by the evangelist's sources, closes with his own conception of the Last Judgment.

For Mt. 25 31–46 is quite improperly spoken of as a "parable". The comparison "as a shepherd separateth sheep from goats" is merely incidental, and no more justifies the depiction of the Judgment of the Son of Man being called a parable than the phrase "so as no fuller on earth can whiten" justifies the application of the term to the Transfiguration vision. The grandiose scene with which the Gospel closes its series of 'sermons' of Jesus paints "the end of the world" as R^{mt} sees it. The paragraph derives little more than the phrase "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye did it unto me" from authentic sources, a phrase already used for substance in Mt. 10 42, where it forms part of the expansion of Mk. 9 37, 41. The rest is just the evangelist's own expectation of the Coming to Judgment of the Son of Man, depicted as closely as he can to his expectation of what must actually take place. In short R^{mt} here speaks out his whole mind and heart as regards the gospel message. And he speaks it out not merely in the mode characteristic of him, but in phraseology so stereotyped as to leave no question of its origin. All his five 'sermons' close with these characteristic editorial supplements.

To show that these supplements at the close of the five 'sermons', especially the third, are indeed from the hand of R^{mt}, and no other, we must take account also of supplements within the substance of a parable or similar teaching where a parallel version enables us clearly to define the nature and limits of his editorial activity; for comparison on the smaller scale between transcript and original will furnish a measure of $R^{mt's}$ capacity, limitations and sense of propriety.

A well known example is the parable of the Slighted Invitation (Mt. 22 1–14 = Lk. 14 15–24). So wide is the divergence in this case that many critics question the identity of the two, or at least suggest that the Matthean supplement concerning the man without the wedding garment may be an independent parable not elsewhere known, which Matthew has found and

united to that of the Slighted Invitation. Part of the divergence is demonstrably due to Luke, but Luke's slighter changes do not now concern us. In the body of the parable little question exists regarding the Matthean addition of verses 6 f., which fail to appear in Luke. The added traits are incongruous with the picture, they treat the parable as allegory, and they betray a desire to connect it with the fate of Jerusalem in the year 70. Ill treatment and murder of servants whose only offense is that they bring an invitation to dinner is not an occurrence known to human psychology. Also the sending forth of "armies" to destroy such unmannerly guests and to "burn up their city" may reasonably be classed as a cruel and unusual form of punishment. It has its explanation, and its only real explanation, in the desire of R^{mt} to turn the parable he is transcribing into an allegory predicting the calamity which befell the Jews at the hands of the Romans in consequence of their rejection of the gospel message.

What then shall we say to the supplement of R^{mt} at the end of the same parable, equally absent from the Lukan form and equally incongruous? Here we encounter precisely the same allegorization of the parable, the same reflection of later conditions, and, in addition, support of a favorite interest of R^{mt} in phraseology which we can now begin to identify as characteristic of this particular evangelist. It is not congruous with the picture that the guest swept in willynilly from the street-crossings should be expected to have on a wedding garment. Moreover, if he must expiate his unpreparedness the "king" certainly inflicts a cruel and unusual form of punishment by directing his servants to "bind him hand and foot and cast him forth into the outer darkness". The refrain "there shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth" repeated five times in Matthew (13 42, 50; 22 13; 24 51; 25 30) besides its occurrence in the original Q context (8 12 = Lk. 13 28), is appropriate to describe the rage of the "sons of the kingdom" as they see their places taken by aliens, but here, combined with its companion phrase "cast him into the outer darkness," repeated from Mt. 8 12 = Lk. 13 28 here and again in 25 30, it serves only to depict $R^{mt's}$ stereotyped conception of future punishment.

In short the phraseology, the special emphasis on good works as the only salvation in the day of judgment, and the features of the punishment inflicted, combine with the absence of the supplement from Luke, and the incongruity with the parable picture, to prove the closing supplement to the parable of the Slighted Invitation, as well as the insertion of ver. 6 f., a personal contribution from the hand of R^{mt}.

With this example of Matthean redaction before us, let us return to the Parable of the Tares. Professor Arthur Wright in his comment *ad loc.* (*Greek Synopticon*[2], p. 221) defends the view that the trait which differentiates this parable from its Markan parallel, the Patient Husbandman (Mt. 13 24–30 = Mk. 4 26–29), viz, the sowing of evil seed in the field, is not a new feature added by R^{mt}, but that the Tares in the Wheat is an independent and authentic parable of Jesus, preserved by no other evangelist. He accounts for the incongruity by the statement: "Though our Lord's parables, as a general rule, are perfectly true to nature, there are cases where the spiritual thought is uppermost to the neglect of the natural. This is one of them." The other alleged instances of incongruity are not specified, but it is safe to say that they consist of precisely those which we have just adduced from the Matthean version of the Slighted Invitation, or similar material which Professor Wright classes as authentic, but which we (for this *in addition to other important reasons*) hold to be likewise supplements of R^{mt}. The incongruity is as apparent in the case of the sowing of tares in a neighbor's field as in the instances previously cited. The parable of the Patient Husbandman is one of *several* instances where R^{mt} *allegorizes* by the insertion of incongruous traits to make the parable fit the later experiences of the Church. In the case of the Tares in the Wheat the added allegorizing trait has the special interest characteristic of R^{mt}, and in addition the stereotyped phraseology borrowed from Q which this evangelist habitually employs for similar purposes. It is in fact so heaped up in this parable and its accompanying special interpretation (ver. 36–43) that toward the end scarcely a line appears not thus constructed. We adduce only "things that cause stumbling and they that work *ἀνομία*", "cast them into

the furnace of fire", "there shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth" "the righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father", "He that hath ears let him hear".

On these grounds we cannot hesitate to assign to the individual hand of R^{mt} the incongruous trait which differentiates the Matthean form of the second parable in the Discourse in Parables from the Markan. So far from there being hesitation on the part of early evangelists to alter or add to the sacred utterances of Jesus, early evangelists of Jewish training, as R^{mt} very obviously was (cf. 13 52), are keenly alive to the distinction made by the Synagogue between halachic and haggadic teaching. The *mashal*, or parable, is typically haggadic. The liberty of the teacher in such material is bounded only by the rule: "Let all things be done unto edification." And early church teachers avail themselves repeatedly of this liberty. The gospel cited by Eusebius in his *Theophania* (Mai, *Nova Patr. Bibl.* IV, 1, p. 155) as "written in Hebrew script" expands the parable of the Entrusted Talents (Mt. 25 14–30 = Lk. 19 12–27) by an added feature showing the punishment of the servant who "devoured his master's substance with harlots and flute-players" (cf. Lk. 15 13). The Nazarene Gospel (perhaps the same writing) expands the story of the Rich Enquirer (Mt. 19 16–30 = Mk. 10 17–31) by a colloquy aiming to show that the enquirer's claim to have "kept the law and the prophets" was false, since he had not given alms of his abundance. It had also a story of "another rich man" prefixed to this, doubtless of similar bearing. It is therefore a misstatement of the case to maintain that our canonical evangelists must have refrained from elaboration of the parables because they show unusual care to transcribe exactly the Master's utterances when reporting teachings not belonging to the category of illustrative fiction.

Consideration of the parable of the Tares and the question whether its variation from the parable of the Patient Husbandman in Mark is due to recasting by R^{mt} or to his substitution of another source at this point has led us to anticipate in some measure the discussion of later elements in Matthew's Discourse in Parables. The interpretation of the Tares subjoined in ver. 36–43 could hardly be separated from the parable itself.

But before passing to our third division, the portion of the Discourse appended after the conclusion of Mark's parallel report, we have still to deal with the parable of the Mustard-seed (Mt. 13 31 f. = Mk. 4 30–32 = Lk. 13 18 f.), that of the Leaven (Mt. 13 33 = Lk. 13 20 f.), and the closing summary Mt. 13 34 f. = Mk. 4 34 f. There being practically no dispute among critics as to the dependence of Matthew on Mark throughout this material save for the slight modification of the language of Mark by assimilation to S in the Mustard-seed, and the addition of the Leaven after it because of the collocation of the pair in S, little remains to be said. The motive for the modification of language is chiefly stylistic, that for the inclusion of the additional parable is partly further illustration of the topic to make up a total of four parables addressed to the multitude and three to the Twelve (4 + 3 = 7), partly fidelity to the source. R^{mt} further exhibits his interest in Scripture fulfilments by attaching a quotation of his own in ver. 35, though if the reading "spoken through *Isaiah* the prophet" be correct, not without blundering in his reference.

3. Mt. 13 36–52.

R^{mt} completes his version of the Discourse in Parables by attaching a section quite unparalleled elsewhere. The Interpretation of the parable of the Tares (ver. 36–43) we have already considered in substance, agreeing with the majority of critics that it is purely the redactor's own work, exemplifying in high degree his peculiarities of motive, method and language. For the closer determination of these characteristics the paragraph is highly important. On the question of source it gives no aid.

Availing himself of the situation created by ver. 36a (a method imitated from Mark) Matthew now attaches three parables intended for the Twelve only. These, accordingly, require no interpretation, although the lesson contemplated in that of the Sorting of the Fish (ver. 47–50) is still so near the evangelist's heart that he cannot forbear to explain how the principle will be carried out "in the end of the world" (ver. 49 f.). The phrase-

ology of these last two verses is so unmistakably that of R^{mt} (see above, p. 23, for "the end of the world", "cast into the furnace of fire", "there shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth") that their composition by him is generally admitted. But conservative scholars are slow to admit that the actual comparisons of "the kingdom of heaven" to hid treasure (ver. 44), a costly pearl (ver. 45 f.), and a net full of fish of various sorts, could have been supplied by the evangelist personally, without the use of any written source.

To determine the limits of $R^{mt's}$ capacity in this line we have already adduced his supplements to the parable of the Slighted Invitation. We have also called attention to his disposition, evinced in every one of the five 'sermons', to append at the close some further teaching along the particular lines of Reward and Punishment in the "end of the world", warning against the inroads of false teaching, and (as we may now add) the duty of forgiveness to one's fellow-man in order to secure mercy in the day of Judgment. The parable of the Unmerciful Servant, appended at the close of Matthew's next 'sermon' (18 23–35), illustrates the interest last named, and is at the same time an example of the degree of originality to be expected from the evangelist; for surely the parable does nothing more than expand the figure in the Lord's Prayer (Mt. 6 12 = Lk. 11 4), a teaching already commented on by him there in a characteristic addition (6 14 f.; cf. Ecclus. 28 1–7). Nor can it be maintained that more of originality is required to turn the comparison of heavenly reward to "treasure laid up in heaven" (Mt. 6 20 = Lk. 12 33) into the parable of Treasure hid in the Field (13 44), or the pearls reserved for the worthy of Mt. 6 7 into the parable of the Costly Pearl. The morality of the former parable is by no means unimpeachable, even if we restrict its teaching to the main point: Make it your sole aim to secure at all costs the superior rewards of the heavenly inheritance (cf. Mt. 6 18, 19, 22 f., 24). That of the latter, it is true, does not call upon us to close our eyes to any distinctly immoral act on the part of the agent presented as an example, but its general level is no higher. Such purely utilitarian motives for "righteousness" accord but ill with the teaching "He that would save his life shall lose it,

and he that will lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it unto life eternal". Both motive and teaching in the case of these two brief parables point to the evangelist himself as their creator, and, as we have seen, neither calls for any originality of thought transcending his very limited capacity.

Almost the same must be said of the last parable of the group. The Parable of the Unsorted Fish inculcates with special emphasis the lesson our evangelist has nearest at heart by applying to the classic comparison of the disciples' work as "fishers of men" (Mk. 1 17 = Mt. 4 19 = Lk. 5 10) the same qualification as before in the case of the comparison of it to the sowing of seed, a qualification evoked by later experience of heresy. As we have seen, the closing verses (ver. 49 f.) of the paragraph are unmistakably from R^{mt}, if only because of their phraseology. Verses 47 f. have the same derivation because of their motive, their position and their relation to the work of R^{mt} in ver. 24–30 and 36–43. This parable too calls for no originality beyond the most mediocre. Its standpoint and interest alike are those of the evangelist, not those of Jesus as otherwise known.

Few will claim for the closing Summary (sometimes counted as an eighth in the series of parables of the kingdom, though it lacks the distinctive Matthean formula "The kingdom of heaven is like unto") any higher origin than the evangelist's own motive and conception. Verses 51 f. are of editorial origin, like the rest of the appended material from the point where Mark was left behind. In the whole of Mt. 13 36–52 there is not a line which suggests a source outside $R^{mt's}$ very limited range of thought. The addition of these seventeen verses supplies little enough to enlarge our conception of the teaching of Jesus; but it is all the more invaluable as a self-portraiture of the Nazarene evangelist. His interests and motives, his conceptions of the gospel and its foes, his methods and style of composition are here clearly exemplified. It remains only to carry to completion in the minuter study of his vocabulary that partial view of his style which can be gained by observing his tendency, already so conspicuous, to phrase-making. Our determination of the characteristics of R^{mt} from the structure, style, and interests

of his third book will then have reached its goal. It will be no small contribution to the extrication of the underlying source or sources, if we can thus refine away the incrustations of later ecclesiasticism, and lay bare the more primitive records of Jesus' life and teaching.

Standard philological commentaries on Matthew such as Klostermann's, Zahn's, or McNeile's define for us with greater or less exactitude the peculiarities of diction characteristic of our first evangelist. By the further use of New Testament grammars and concordances tables can be constructed on the plan of Professor B. S. Easton's in his admirable recent commentary on Luke, showing the distinctive diction and vocabulary of the evangelist. Such word studies are indispensable, but are always dry and sometimes misleading. They would be obviously out of place in a study *exempli gratia* of a mere section of the Gospel. Not merely the third 'book' but the entire Gospel of Matthew must be carefully sifted with this object in view, especially the unique prefatory chapters on the Birth and Infancy, and the narrative Epilogue introduced by the fifth and last rubric (26 1). But such word studies lose half their value when they degenerate into mere word-counting. Of how much use is it to know how many times the word "throne" and the word "glory" occurs in Matthew as compared with other parts of the New Testament? But if we note that they occur together in the technical rabbinic phrase "the throne of glory," and observe further that R^{mt} alone associates it habitually with the title "the Son of Man" in his representations of the last judgment (19 28; 25 31), precisely as in Daniel and Enoch, this same "throne of glory" being one of the seven preexistent things which talmudic teaching represents as stored up along with "repentance", "heaven" and "hell" for the great Day of Judgment "in the end of the world", if in addition we notice that this peculiar trait in $R^{mt's}$ conception of "the Son of Man" forms part of a whole series of descriptions of this great Day of Judgment with its rewards and penalties specially characteristic of Matthew, then the occurrences of the words "throne" and "glory" in Matthew begin to take on significance.

It is for this reason that the phrase-making of R^{mt} is of more significance than the number of occurrences of particular words, and has been treated separately in our discussion. Indeed even the stereotyped phrases are not in most cases strictly peculiar to R^{mt}, because they appear to be mere repetitions of expressions or clauses which occur singly in the sources. "The end of the world" may be called strictly Matthean so far as the New Testament is concerned, but the phrase was unquestionably current in contemporary rabbinic teaching. The phrase "He that hath ears let him hear", the epithet *ὀλιγόπιστος* (from Mt. 6 30 = Lk. 12 28 imitated in 14 31), and the use of *καὶ ἐγένετο* in the five times repeated rubric (imitated from 7 28 = Lk. 7 1, β text) are stereotyped from $R^{mt's}$ sources. Elsewhere, with one exception, he avoids the Semitic form of connection so extraordinarily common in Luke. His formula "The kingdom of heaven is like" is an other example of this phrase-making bent, for in the series of parables it frequently does violence to the meaning and has to be taken in an accommodated sense. Here again the change from "kingdom of God" found in the parallels is not uniformly carried through. In four instances R^{mt} found this impossible without doing violence to the manifest meaning implied in the context—a proof that his conception of "the kingdom of heaven" is not always the same as that of "kingdom of God" in his sources. In point of fact in such parables as the Hid Treasure and the Costly Pearl the phrase "kingdom of heaven" is manifestly used by R^{mt} as equivalent to "reward in heaven", quite a different sense from that reflected in many certainly authentic *logia*. As regards the phrases coined from the S parable of the Halfshut Door (Lk. 13 23–29 = Mt. 7 13 f., 22 f., 8 11 f., and 25 10–12), "Depart from me, ye that work *ἀνομία*" (Lk. *ἀδικία*), "cast into the outer darkness", "there shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth", with others similar, coined from other sections of S, we have spoken already at sufficient length.

There remain the strictly "Matthean" words and expressions which only such tabulation as already described will fully reveal. Examples are the use of "kingdom of heaven" as equivalent to "reward in heaven," already spoken of; "righteousness" in

the sense of meritorious action, as in the section on Pharisaic "righteousness" interjected in Mt. 6 1–18 between the exhortations to imitate the goodness of God and to avoid censoriousness, which in Lk. 6 27–42 are continuous; redundant ἄνθρωπος found in 11 19 = Lk. 7 34 but repeated by R^{mt} in 13 28, 45, 52; 18 23; 29 1; 21 33; 22 2. The cases will not be tabulated here for reasons already stated, but a general principle may be laid down to govern our interpretation of such statistics. Two considerations are vital: a) the relation of the term or expression which mere statistics show to be numerically distinctive to the dominant ideas reflected in the evangelist's work as a whole; b) the location of the salient terms and phrases. The heaping up in some limited section of a great number of distinctively "Matthean" expressions is of course a more important matter than the mere occurrence of a given term a given number of times in the Gospel as a whole, especially when the paragraph thus characterized stands in a salient position, or evinces by its interest and motive the special proclivities of the editor.

The three articles now brought to a close on the redaction of Mt. 11–13 are intended to serve the purpose of illustration rather than determination of ultimate results. Something, it is hoped, will have been brought to light by the critical analysis of this third 'book' of Matthew which will determine more closely than hitherto the stand-point, purpose, and methods of this evangelist; for since early in the second century the Gospel of Matthew obtained a fateful predominance in the Church catholic. To understand better the adaptations and applications which the traditional teaching of Jesus underwent at the hands of this evangelist is to take an important step forward in the problem of reconstructing that teaching in its most authentic form. In conjunction with further application of the same, or of still exacter methods to the remaining 'books' of Matthew, and of similar methods to the editorial work of Luke, we may well have hope of contributing to our generation our share toward the extrication of the authentic teaching of Jesus from the tangled web of apostolic and post-apostolic tradition.

"THE VOICE OF ONE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS"

WILHELM CASPARI[1]
KIEL, GERMANY

HEINRICH EWALD suggested that hebr. *qol* should be translated in sentences without a verb by an interjection like "listen!," or "hark!," thus avoiding the question whether a following noun was to be regarded simply as a genitive. An interjection is a reaction to a particularly strong influence. This influence is usually felt to be the stronger, the less it can be clearly defined. So there are sounds, with which you cannot, or at least not quickly enough, recognize whence they come. In the Old Testament sounds are often mentioned which produce distinctly emotional effects just because no fundamental distinction is made between perceptions caused by mechanical factors and by living ones. Moreover such a distinction is delayed by the revival of an undiscriminating animism. Under these circumstances it is even more difficult to draw a strict boundary line between sounds caused by human beings and those by animals, especially in two cases: viz., if either kind of living creatures appears as a whole group, or if animals and men appear together. If, however, the sound is produced by an individual the whole impression is influenced by the amount of reasoning faculty possessed by the individual, who has at its disposal not only instinctive, though conventional, improv-

[1] This paper was written in German and was translated into English by the kind helpfulness of my friend Prof. Dr. Arthur Kölbing, whom I give many thanks.

isations, but is also able to communicate notions combined with the sound to others by means of an articulated language spoken by a larger community. In this manner *qol*, which in the most primitive cases simply means "sound," becomes "voice" or even "readiness of speech."

Ps. 68 34; 77 18 *natan qol* means only "to utter a sound." 2 Chron. 24 9 (30 5) *natan*, however, and Ex. 36 6; Ezr. 1 1; 10 7 *he'ebir* tell of spreading a speech, which is quoted or supposed as known in the relation. The stress is laid on its content and purpose. Since, however, edicts of the government were made known by proclamation—there was no other way of publishing them, for *ça'aq* may even mean "official appearance"—the idea of sound seems to be implied even in cases where *qol* means "text." The king, who gives the order, is replaced by the subordinate who proclaims it. The latter lends his voice to the former; the former his authority to the latter. The individual character of the voice is of no account and that on principle. Thus the king who gave the order receives a mysterious inaccessibility. The respect for him becomes greater. Cautious and sensitive natures will overrate rather than underrate a mystery.

The person proclaiming the order is conspicuous in Job 3 18; Nah. 2 14,[2] and as officer of an establishment on a very large scale. In Ezek. 1, after a long descriptive passage, we find a speech opened by a miraculous resuscitation of the prophet. This brings him under the complete sway of him who utters the speech, and he quite acquiesces in this. Everything seen in the vision is eclipsed by the words because they appeal directly to the soul. Instead of its longwindedness the relation of the vision is clearly intended to give a vivid impression of the Lord of Lords. If the term "son of man" does not express the eminence of Him who speaks above all mankind exactly, it involves at least that in his sight the hereditary dignity of priest as well as the difference of age and rank among men are utterly insignificant. Before Him men are equal. In the term "son of man" man means nearly the

[2] Kennicott MS 252 without *qol*.

citizen of a country. In this connection we find the words 1 28, "I heard a voice of one that spoke," or perhaps one should rather translate: "a speaking voice." Probably the personality of Him who speaks is not mentioned or characterized on purpose. Of course the reader knows quite well who He is. But he can quite enter into the feelings of the prophet who has the vision. The uncertainty implied by the words heightens the impression of awe.

In Isaiah 40 3 we hear of the Lord, who orders the road to be built for Him, and of the cryer who announces the order. Perhaps Perf. *qara* would be the better reading: "Hark! in the wilderness a voice has been heard, etc." As regards the matter, the cryer identifies himself with his master. In v. 6 the question [missing in Kennicott MS 1] may be merely an addition made for the sake of rhythm: *ma qara*, i. e., "what has been asked?" In that case the preceeding Imp. must be read as Perf. as in v. 3: "The voice of Him, who spoke—or the speaking voice—has called and said, etc." Other commentators suppose that in v. 6 we have to think of another cryer. However this may be, in any case the Lord leaves it to his agent to announce his order, keeping aloof Himself in a mysterious manner. The agent is fully aware that he speaks only the order of his master. It would be superfluous for him to name his master in order to be differentiated from him. He does nothing of the kind. In this way the author serves two purposes at once, which cannot be formally combined at all, while it is just their antagonism that produced the strong effect on the hearer. On the one hand the transcendent Deity makes some one else speak in his stead, not deigning to speak Himself. On the other hand the awe inspired by the Deity guarantees the absolute obligation of the task, v. 3, and proves the validity of the words spoken in v. 6. Therefore it is essential for the author not to be obliged to differentiate between the speaker and God in any way. Having no use for a speaker beside God he leaves him entirely in the background.

If incidents happening between human beings are related, the first impression of the one on the other is produced by means of sound, Gen. 27 22, Judges 18 3 (where *qol* does not

mean "idiom")—cf. Jer. 10 22; Job 4 16; Dn. 8 16; 10 6. But it is by his voice that an acquaintance is most easily known again, especially if he is a person one esteems, Song 2 8, or fears, 2 Ki. 6 32. Such a one is not forgotten easily. This applies also to 1 Sam. 26 17. But the statement that Saul knew David's "voice," is probably to be attributed to a thoughtful reader; for in Kennicott MS 70 *qol* is omitted. We should not find the addition in nearly all the texts if it had not appeared appropriate to most readers: the idea was that on hearing a certain voice the hearer invariably endeavors to find out who it was that spoke. The essence of a vivid narration is to realize the emotions of those mentioned in the story for the hearer.

Professional scouts will always be particularly capable of interpreting mere sounds, Is. 52 8; Jer. 48 3; 51 54; also 4 15. If they have any doubts, they often tell people so, Jer. 4 31: "a voice as of a woman in travail." Zeph. 1 10 merely states the direction from which the sound came. Sometimes it is acknowledged that in spite of all endeavors nothing definite was to be found out, Dt. 4 12: "But ye saw no form; only ye heard a voice."

It only corresponds to the notions then current, that sounds to be explained by mechanical causes were still called "voices." So the rustling of the leaves, Lev. 26 36; the sound of rain, 1 Ki. 18 41: of the mulberry trees, 2 Sam. 5 24. The ancients had no difficulty to referring such sounds to some living being. God can make Himself heard by such noises just as well as by a cryer, nor is it necessary to define the character of the latter particularly. In Ezek. 1 25 we are prepared for the fact that God will speak in ch. 2. So far the visionary cannot hear any distinct words yet. If one remembers the relation of mount Sinai, Dt. 4 33, one well naturally takes the "voice speaking out of the midst of the fire" to be that of God. Because of the fact that this remains unsaid at first, the mysterious effect is heightened, Kennicott MS 5. By the omission of *elohim* the sentence becomes identical with Ezek. 1 28: "Did ever people hear a voice speaking out of" etc.? The fact that Jahwe "roars" Am. 1 2; Joel 4 16; Is. 42 13 reminds

us of the holy battle-cry *teru'a* (Ex. 32 17 f.) 1 Sam. 4 6; Jer. 4 19; 50 22. Though it is produced by the warriors or later on by the worshippers, the people shouting feel that their confidence and their solidarity of interests is heightened. The encouragement seems to them to be due to the assistance of their God and as a proof of His presence. Jer. 4 19 runs: "I cannot hold my peace, when I hear the sound of the trumpets (?);[3] my soul bursts (*šubbĕra?* v. 20) with shouting; where the rent is it leaks out" (Ni. *nqr*). Considering this one may quote a preceding passage v. 19: "My bowels! I tremble with convulsions (*çirot*). My heart palpitates (*home*)."[4] These statements are usually thought to be symptoms of supernatural phenomena, experienced only by a prophet. In accordance with Jeremiah's general message the warlike sentiment lying in these words suggests decidedly the expectation of defeat. War cannot be avoided, is doomed to failure. Without it the nation would be better off.

But one must be careful not to strain the interpretation of the text. If a national and religious war, a holy one, is to be, all selfish emotions must cease; there is no room for cool reasoning. The warrior gives himself up entirely to God's command and guidance. The battle is fought with such excitement, that the fighters lose all free will. The fighting is dominated by instinctive actions of the crowd. The first of them is the elementary shout raised by them. From this moment the combatant has no longer any will of his own. While others are not conscious of this fact, the prophet clearly realizes it in his own case. Perhaps we should call it war-psychosis. The ancients did not see anything morbid in it. Some of them were at least aware of the loss of selfconsciousness, thinking it perfectly justifiable. The little they were conscious of it they managed to express in a vow. Vow may be a matter of a moment. Jeremiah's words only imply that

[3] According to Volz dependent on the verb. "*We (šófar)*" Kennicott MS 130 seems to be a little sophistical.

[4] Shifting *nafši*, Volz prefers fem. It would be better to omit *nafši* altogether, following Kennicott MS 176, if one does not assume a case of *aberratio oculi*.

there will be occasion for such a vow; therefore they are a prophecy. They describe the average citizen and warrior, who has lost all self-control. He cannot help becoming merged in the fighting community. It becomes a mere crowd and a matter of which God disposes just as He chooses. Without taking up his residence in the individual soul as the mystic will have it, He is yet in the midst of the army. Everything is at stake. The excitement is essentially the same in character as that which is felt when one approaches God, Is. 6. Instead of any idle attempts at protecting oneself, which reason would suggest, it finds vent in an irrational manner. Even ritual precautions may be neglected. The warrior is beside himself. In him the feeling of subjection under higher power and at the same time of devotion to the higher task, which he experiences as a mere member of his community, is paramount. Probably the difference between this attitude of mind and mysticism is easily observed.

Noisy excitement of riotous crowds is often found at festivals, 1 Sam. 15 14; 1 Kg. 1 40; Is. 51 3. Then something extraordinary is in the wind; in expectation of it the crowd begins to rave. Sometimes these symptoms may indeed be preliminary to some disaster, Is. 13 4; Jer. 3 21; 9 18; Zech. 11 3; Lam. 2 7; Job 15 21. For the mood of the raving crowd is certainly not yet inspired by the coming event. Perhaps we should be inclined to take the martial ardour for enthusiasm and confidence in victory. In this respect that warlike excitement is still vague and ambiguous. Therefore the fear of imminent calamity is not antagonistic to it. But Jahweh's worshippers are ever ready to admit that other religious communities may have similar experiences. Excitement in others the Mosaic community regards simply as analogous to their own, even if it should be consciously directed against Jahweh, Ps. 74 23. Those taking part in it are "other gods." It is only a more advanced theism which is able to trace analogous phenomena back to other gods. We must however try to appreciate duly the mentality of a preceding time; since it too had a share in forming the vocabulary of the O. T.

Frequently the sound comes only from a certain locality

which is empty. It may owe its origin simply to an echo. The view of the world of those times was, however, not content with such an explanation. The said locality may be a ravine or dilapidated dwelling or a corner between tombs. The mere sight suggests the question: *ubi sunt qui ante nos?* The perception of the sound is accompanied by a feeling of uneasiness, which peoples the locality fancifully with unfriendly spirits, Jer. 31 14; Ezek. 37 7; Zeph. 2 14. If the place is haunted by animals, these might have produced the sounds. Even though a sober judgment is fully aware of this, the animals may belong to the unclean ones. The mysterious powers behind them are unknown and therefore avoided. Nevertheless they are not "other gods" like, e. g., Baal, 1 Kg. 18 26, 29. Human blood too may cry out, Gen. 4 10. Besides, we all live surrounded by the atmosphere, which may be regarded as coherent, at least occasionally. The question arises what is happening if noises are heard from above, especially claps of thunder and other atmospheric noises, 1 Kg. 18 41. There must be some living cause for them. This may be realized also if an expected sound is not heard, 2 Kg. 4 31.

At first the O. T. draws no strict line between noises caused by Jahweh and by the other gods. The older idea, without being indifferent to them, does not attempt to bring them into any relation to official worship; on the other hand the number of those brought into relation to God is gradually increasing. Also if a heathen religion, 1 Sam. 6 9, traces back many happenings to gods, it still regards a number of such as not due to the influence of deities. However many special spheres of power may appertain to deities, a complete distribution of the world among gods is not accomplished. It is hardly right to say that where the power of the gods ends, destiny begins. Was not the deity even subordinated to destiny? Even outside the sphere of action claimed by deities the power of destiny may be acknowledged, or the belief in a first originator, etc. Has Islam, for instance, succeeded in permeating the space not taken up by God? Considering this we may assume that many kinds of sound are gradually supposed to have been caused by God, until in the O. T. they

are associated consciously with God. This is especially the case with thunder, Ex. 20 18; Ps. 77 18 f.;[5] Job 37 4 f.[6] Finally the voice of God, Is. 6 8; 66 6; Mi. 6 9; Ex. 9 28 is substituted for it. Sometimes, as in the last passage and 1 Sam. 12 18, the plural is used, which is frequently regarded as individualising, the idea being that there had not been only one sound but several, each of which might be considered as a separate unit. Or the plural is supposed to have been used in order to heighten the impression, Ps. 93 4. The plural gains a special significance when interpreted as contrasted with the One God. Modern appreciation of O. T. religion is so advanced that this point of view is sure to gain ground. Whether the number is heard successively, or whether each individual sound is to be attributed to some special living force, is no longer essential or even distinctly supposed. But the Holy One is recognized as necessarily superior to a multitude, and it is just in this that the act of believing consists, at the spiritual level of the time, which anticipates the monotheistic one.

"Above the voices of many waters mighty,[7]
Above the breakers of the sea mighty,
The Lord on high is mighty." Ps. 93 4.

Quite similarly Job 28 26:

"When he made a decree for the rain
And a way for the cloud charged with thunder."

For even according to this assertion atmospheric phenomena are a host of hypostases, though short-lived ones, subjected to the Lord. The question is, since what time is their subjection thus supposed? Aetiological thinking may have been capable of asking thus even in its earliest stage. In this way the trace of an older view of the relation of such forces to God is revealed: He has first subjected them. This may have been related in form of a myth, which is supposed to

[5] Kennicott MS 650 B v. 19 *leqol*, to give a better sense.

[6] In three MS (Kennicott) *qol* is suffixed. MS 100 *'ono* instead of *geono*, perhaps noteworthy.

[7] *'adir* without ending, cf. Kennicott MS 36, 121; on the other hand 214 referring to Jer. 25 36.

have happened at the beginning of the present world. With the same right the actual thunderstorm might be regarded as an absurd revolt against the power of God. Lightning and thunder or the breaking of the wave are interpreted as the downfall of a giant, cf. Luke 10 18. This is most graphically expressed in Ps. 29 1:[8]

"Give[9] unto Jahweh glory and strength, o ye sons of God(-s)"[10] is an invitation to compliance, whether without a struggle of the strong one with the strong, or after one of the parties has been defeated. Who and where those are who are bidden to yield, we are not told.[11] So much seems certain, that even then they are no longer regarded as thunder-demons. For according to vv. 3 ff.[12] God's mere voice[13] is sufficient to bring water, trees, mountains to their senses. Coming across a splintered trunk after a thunderstorm one concludes that it had been rash enough to join in a revolt and had naturally been defeated.

[8] Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* II, p. 48.

[9] Apparently König („gestehet zu") gives a similar meaning; he supposes it to be a mere statement of facts. For what should angels have to concede to God, not being on such terms with Him at all?

[10] To accomodate the numerus (König *ad* Ps. 29) is possible; but to interpret the *vocativus* after 89 20 would be against the principles of the history of O. T. literature. Rather a formula foreign to Jahwism in itself could get a harmless meaning by change with seeming synonyms. After Gunkel *ad* Ps. 29 "sons" means a lower rank. In the Psalm he thinks it to be a given fact. The plural of "God" no longer conveys to the Psalmist any meaning; this being so he must preserve some traditional formula once fraught with meaning. There is, however, no reason to consider such formulas implicitly pre-Jahwistic, non-Israelitic, etc. Jahwism had time enough to purge itself by criticism of such incongruous views.

[11] That according to the older views of nature thunder is the voice of the deity (Gunkel p. 123) ought no longer to be maintained. The question is rather what character the animation of nature had before the special features of a divine being had been developed.

[12] Therefore the comparison with cattle is neither funny nor baroque (Gunkel ad vv. 5 f.); it simply expresses the idea that God's enemies are able to move independently.

[13] From old-Israelitic time Gunkel quotes only Ps. 18 to prove that thunder is God's voice. But, in spite of this, thunder enjoys no privilege in comparison with other atmospheric phenomena.

In fact, God's power within the cosmos is so great that it seems advisable to side with Him in any case. Against the elements, especially when they are in revolt,[14] man's efforts would be of no avail anyhow. So by addressing well meant words to the elements he proves his loyalty to God. The semoon, which can be raised by none but God, may be regarded from another point of view, reconcilable with this certainty, as a tangle of fugitive demons, endeavoring in vain to escape from God. But the divine fighter deals such powerful strokes that sparks fly and even flames burst forth, v. 2. Nevertheless the author, whom Gunkel (p. 125) ingeniously supposes to be a native of the northern kingdom, does not give a clear description of the individual adversaries. Possibly once sparks and flames may have been understood quite differently. The adversaries are fiery bodies. When God clears them,[15] they fall asunder. But the author merely adopts this expression without sharing the original point of view.

In Ps. 29 several views of the world are deposited in layers as it were. This is suggested expressly by v. 9 a.[16] For obviously no enmity against God is attributed to the "hinds." On the contrary the sentence is a direct appeal to God, on whose assistance man, too, is dependent in the turmoil of the elements, to help the defenceless. Thus Ps. 29, which has preserved so many records of development, becomes a charm against thunderstorms approved by frequent use. According to Gunkel, v. 11 is preexilic.[17] The eschatological interpretation of the Ps. requires no refutation.

[14] Afterwards (König p. 108) it would be superfluous to address the elements. The only thing to do would be to give thanks to God. V. 10 does not make it necessary to assume a chronological order of the preceding statements. The arrangement of the sentences is caused by the verbs. Gunkel p. 125 thinks the Psalm was recited by two choirs. The apparatus would be too clumsy.

[15] Subsequently it could be suggested that the flames had been caused by this act of God (Gunkel, König). But this view presupposes too monotheistic a character for the Psalm.

[16] The conjecture: „Er scheucht die Gemsen mit Feuerflammen" (Gunkel) seems preposterous.

[17] Gunkel (p. 125) does not know what to make of ו *consecutivum*.

Three stages in the conception of unaccountable sounds may be clearly discerned:

1. The spontaneous motion of the beings producing the sounds shows itself as opposition to God, which the latter vanquishes.
2. The beings are adherents and servants of God.
3. They are acts of God.

Is. 40 3-6 represents, as is to be expected, consciously only the third stage. But the former stages are to be traced in it too. First an official of God (v. 3) summons the exiles to the building of a road. To such a labor they were very likely often pressed by the Neo-Babylonian Kingdom. The question is whether the official summons only the exiles. The answer depends not only on whether *bamidbar* belongs to *qol*, as is supposed in the New Testament, or, as parallelism suggests, to the following *panu*. What v. 4 commands surpasses all the boastfulness of the vainglorious inscriptions on buildings and is beyond the power of man. For this the ready help of natural forces is required. In the wilderness they were the given hearers of summons. The mere summons by one, who is not even God himself but only his agent, implies their subjection. Thus the idea of an instantaneous victory over the elements is still delicately suggested. The second stage is however just on the point of being raised to the third: "the mouth of the Lord has spoken," v. 5. This assertion may be justified by the context without any reference to any passage outside Deutero-Isaiah: Jahweh having given his commands for departure the latter takes place irrevocably and as previously settled.

"May the world vanish!," vv. 6-8, the decree of our God is fulfilled. Though this idea is expressed with great lyrical vividness, it is just for this reason the more difficult to grasp and define. In the first place, we must give up the historical interpretation of v. 7 b, which has even been added to the text: Judaea is the grass. It is methodically out of keeping with the text v. 6, where grass is only predicate, i. e., a statement about the quality of another subject, but not a subject itself about which some statement is made. Ancient

and primitive feelings of the nomad, of which Israel was ever susceptible, are renewed in vv. 6, 7 b. For the grass is not regarded as a mere accessory and contrasted with the ordinary durability of the world, but as a valued possession without which those who live by their herds and flocks cannot do. When consumed by the animals it imparts to them also its transitoriness; so that they are easily destroyed by the wind of Jahweh. Thus the final triumph of God over the universe is sketched with a few bold strokes. The universe shall no longer be spared to be in His service, but it is disabled and even annihilated to prevent it from revolting again. God's sufficient weapon, which gains the victory, is the wind. This idea is sometimes completed, e. g.: a *ruaḥ* originating from God, here however it is simply designated by the *gen. auct.*: "the breath of the Lord." This implies that there are also other winds; nor is this denied. But they are such as are not worth tracing back to God.

In a similar way nature and the word, which in itself is even more transitory, are contrasted with each other, Ps. 107 20. Whenever the word comes from God it participates in His eternity. Blades of grass bend down as they wither. His "word shall stand for ever." Perhaps it is this very word, which has doomed the grass to fade. By its action against blades of grass it certainly does not overtask its strength; it is able to overcome the whole universe.

So the "word," v. 8, seems to alternate with "wind," v. 7. The dependence on the force issuing from God is even intensified. A word is nothing but a momentary utterance of the speaker. And yet, when it is God who speaks it is everlasting in comparison with the world, is *dynamis* in its highest. In the word the unlimited possibility of new realities is contained. Such sovereignty does Deut.-Is. show on the third stage. It is there that he feels at home. Its sublimity rests on the latent duration of the two preceding ones. Thus the surpassing height of the third becomes evident.

Deutero-Isaiah's chapters are rich in such religious revivals or recapitulations. They characterize Deutero-Isaiah's religiousness as that of a layman. It required an exceptional

intensity of religiousness to comprise so many different stages of development. A man of chiefly intellectual nature would have got rid of the antiquated stages. In a theologian (the term by which Deut.-Is. is frequently described) this would be quite becoming. But this characterisation of Deut.-Is. ignores the recapitulations. They are well worthy of special treatment and discussion.

The favorite expressions of Old Testament religion and morals show clearly the history of their development. At the back of the bare sound there is the living force of the vernacular, in the development of which many generations took their share, till at last a final meaning was fixed expressing a particular truth. Accordingly, the importance of personal author in our modern sense decreases. Considering the insignificance of his authorial share, he should rather be termed a mere writer. Every interpretation of his writings which disregards the general influence of the vernacular is doomed to failure. Thus in the phrase "voice of one who crieth," we have an echo of ideas, which could no longer prevail in the face of any clear notion of God. Their deficiency in clearness is amply made up for by vividness, directness, honesty of purpose, as well as emotional grandeur. The value of a belief in God must not be judged by the logical clearness and consistency of what is said about God, but rather by the intensity of the personal emotion of the faithful believer. In this respect the history of the religious idea comes to life again in his use of the phrase, grants to him something imperishable and sublime, and brings home the everlasting solidarity of the believers.

THE SAHIDIC AND THE BOHAIRIC VERSIONS OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

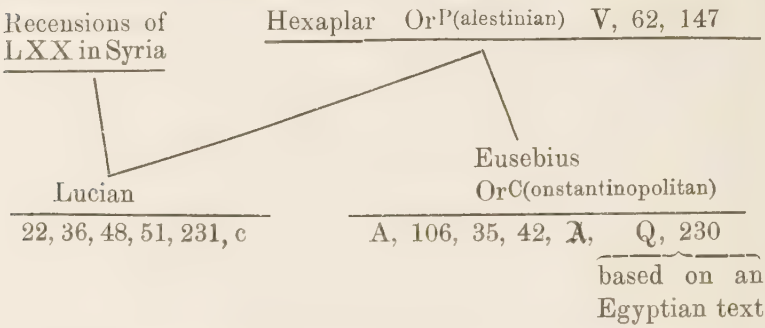
HENRY S. GEHMAN
PHILADELPHIA DIVINITY SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION

MY interest in the various versions of the Book of Daniel began with my studies under Professor Montgomery at the University of Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia Divinity School. In the J. B. L., XLIV (1925), 289—302, he published his "Hexaplaric Strata in the Greek Texts of Daniel," in which he discusses the relationship of the various groups of manuscripts of this book. In the same volume of the J. B. L., 327—352, appeared my first work in this field, "The 'Polyglot' Arabic Text of Daniel and its Affinities." The present essay is the result of my continued interest in Old Testament criticism and the history of the versions. The latest and most authoritative work on the critical pedigree of the various families of manuscripts and the versions of the Book of Daniel is found in the Introduction to Professor Montgomery's *Commentary on the Book of Daniel.*

In making my collations I used Ciasca for the Sahidic and Tattam for the Bohairic, which were the only Coptic texts at my disposal. In translating the various Coptic passages, I have made no attempt at literary excellence; in most cases my renderings are literalistic for the benefit of the non-Coptist. All the variants have been compared with the different readings listed in Holmes-Parsons. In this work I received many valuable suggestions from Professor Montgomery, who also generously

gave me access to his then unpublished notes on Daniel. The results of his investigations may be summed up in this diagram:



The following symbols have been used in this essay:

A	Codex Alexandrinus
𝔄	Arabic Version
B	Codex Vaticanus
$\mathfrak{C}^{B}$	Coptic-Bohairic Version
$\mathfrak{C}^{S}$	Coptic-Sahidic Version
c	text of the Chigi MS.
𝔊	Old Greek Version or the Septuagint
𝔥	Hebrew-Aramaic Text
𝔏	Old Latin Version
Lu	Lucian
Or^{C}	Constantinopolitan-Origenian text (A group)
Or^{P}	Palestinian-Origenian text (V, 62, 147)
Q	Codex Marchalianus
V	Codex Venetus (H-P 23)
Θ	Theodotion
Γ	Codex rescriptus Cryptoferratensis

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adeney, W. F., *Bible*, Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, one volume, New York, 1916, page 98

Benjamin, C. D., *Collation of Holmes-Parsons* 23 (*Venetus*) 62—147 *in Daniel from Photographic Copies*, J. B. L., XLV, 303—326

Burkitt, F. C., *Text and Versions*, Encyclopaedia Biblica, edited by Cheyne and Black, New York, 1914, 5006—5011 and 5027

Ciasca, Augustinus, *Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani iussu et sumptibus S. Congregationis de propaganda fide*, 2 vols., Rome, 1895—1899

Gehman, Henry S., *The "Polyglot" Arabic Text of Daniel and its Affinities*, J. B. L., XLIV, 327—352

The Arabic Bible in Spain, Speculum, I, 219—221

Gottheil, Richard, *Bible Translations, Coptic*, The Jewish Encyclopaedia, New York, 1902, III, 191

Hyvernat, H., *Etude sur les Versions Coptes de la Bible*, Revue Biblique, year 1896, 427—433; 540—569; year 1897, 48—74

Coptes (Versions de la Bible), Dictionnaire de la Bible, F. Vigouroux, Paris, 1912, II, 931—951

Egypt, (vi) *Coptic Literature*, The Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, 1912, V, 356—362

Coptic Literature, ibid., 1914, XVI, 27—30

Versions of the Bible, Coptic, ibid., 1914, XVI, 78

Kenyon, F. G., *Text of the New Testament, Coptic Versions*, Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible (one Volume), 922

McMahon, A. L., *Versions of the Bible*, (2) *Egyptian or Coptic Versions*, The Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, 1912, XV, 368

Montgomery, James A., *The Hexaplaric Strata in the Greek Texts of Daniel*, J. B. L., XLIV, 289—302

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, (The International Critical Commentary), New York, 1927

Münter, Frid., *Specimen Versionum Danielis Copticarum nonum eius caput memphitice et sahidice exhibens*, Rome, 1786

Nestle, E., *Ägyptische Bibelübersetzungen*, Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, begründet von J. J. Herzog; 3. Auflage, herausgegeben von D. Albert Hauck, Leipzig, 1897, III, 84—87

Bible Versions, (vii) *Egyptian Coptic Versions*, The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, New York, 1908, II, 132—133

Robinson, Forbes, *Egyptian Versions*, Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, 5 vols., New York, 1903—1904, I, 668—673

Swete, H. B., *The Egyptian Versions*, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, Revised Edition, Cambridge, 1914, 104—108

Tattam, Henry, *Prophetae Majores in Dialecto Linguae Aegyptiacae seu Coptica cum Versione Latina*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1852

Thompson, Sir Herbert, *The Gospel of St. John according to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript*, London, 1924

Vaschalde, A., *Ce qui a été publié des Versions Coptes de la Bible*, Revue Biblique, year 1919, 220—243; 513—531; year 1920, 91—106, 241—258; year 1921, 237—246; year 1922, 81—88, 234—258

The following are important historically, but have not been accessible for consultation:

Bardelli, Jos., *Daniel Copto-Memphitice*, Pisa, 1849
Zoega, Georgius, *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Rome, 1810

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE COPTIC VERSIONS

Missionary activities have always resulted in a demand for the Bible in the vernacular. There is no doubt that missionary labors by Greek monks among the Copts antedate our historical records of those activities. The work of a few pioneers is generally not known to posterity, while the men who follow them and consolidate their work establish a movement and give it permanency. It is probable that the first missionaries among the Egyptians had no Coptic Bible, and it is also likely that at first they felt no need of it. They knew their Greek Bible, and, having learned the colloquial Coptic, went forth to preach to the people in their vernacular. From their Greek copies they could translate at sight the lessons to their hearers or make a paraphrase with many comments of their own. In the course of time, however, with the conversion of educated Egyptians and with the rise of a native clergy, a translation of the Bible became imperative; it is also possible that the Greek preachers, too, realized the value of a Coptic Bible for their personal use.

It may not be amiss at this point to make a brief résumé of the opinions as to the date of the Coptic Scriptures. The remarks and views of the various scholars and the references on which their arguments are based may be traced in the articles quoted in the bibliography. The Bohairic and the Sahidic versions are best known, but there were also translations into Fayumic, Achmimic, and Middle Egyptian or Memphitic.

The first mention of the "Coptic Scriptures" is made in the life of St. Anthony, who heard the Gospel read in the church as a boy about 270 A. D., but we do not know whether the lector had a Coptic version or made a mental translation from the Greek text; it is said that St. Anthony did not know Greek. According to the regulations of St. Pachomius in the early part of the fourth century, the monks had to study the Scriptures,

which implies the existence of a written Coptic version before this date. All applicants had to know the Psalms by heart before being admitted to the monastery, and even the most ignorant monks had to memorize both the Psalms and the New Testament.

Lightfoot is inclined to place both the Sahidic and the Bohairic New Testament, or at least parts of them, before the close of the second century B. C.; in this view he is followed by Westcott and Hort, who maintain that the greater part of the Bohairic version cannot well be later than the second century, while the Sahidic "was probably little if at all inferior in antiquity." According to Adeney, in favor of an early date of the Bohairic is the fact that the Apocalypse apparently was not contained in it; this book was generally accepted after the end of the third century, but was regarded with some doubt before. Ciasca believes that Lightfoot is right in assigning at least part of the Coptic versions to the second century. Headlam, who believes that the Bohairic is older than the Sahidic, maintains that translations of the New Testament into Coptic existed in the third century and very probably in the second. Kenyon believes that in the third century at the latest and possibly by the end of the second, a Coptic translation of the New Testament (except the Apocalypse), was in circulation. He considers the Sahidic New Testament older than the Bohairic, while he regards the century 250–350 A. D. as the most probable period for the origin of the latter. Leipoldt believes that the Sahidic Bible was complete about 350 A. D. Burkitt argues for late dates; he regards the Sahidic New Testament the older version, which he dates in the early part of the fourth century. Following Guidi, he places the Bohairic Old and New Testaments in the sixth century.

Hyvernat, who has written the most extensive articles on the Coptic versions, maintains that the older views in favor of a comparatively early date are correct; his opinion is that the Bible was translated into Coptic toward the end of the second century or somewhat later. He considers the rapid diffusion of Christianity in apostolic times as the true proof of the antiquity of the Coptic versions. It is likely that Christianity spread by

way of the Nile after it was preached at Alexandria. Egypt was the seat of a well established Christianity, as is shown in the vigor with which it resisted the persecutions of Severus, Decius, and Diocletian and survived the schism of Novatian and the heresy of Sabellius. The results of the persecution of Diocletian prove clearly that at the end of the third century Egypt was quite universally Christian. The increase of the episcopate under Demetrius (*c.* 189–232 A. D.) and more especially under his successor Heraclas (*c.* 233–248 A. D.) must, indeed, be regarded as an indication of missionary activity and of the firm establishment of Christianity in the hearts of the people. In view of these conditions I believe that at an early date there was a need for portions of the New Testament in Coptic. With the establishment of the vernacular church the work of translation was continued until the Old Testament was included in the native Bible.

Many manuscripts of Coptic-Greek liturgies and bilingual texts do not go beyond the sixth or the seventh century; the manuscript of the Sub-Achmimic version of the Gospel of St. John is assigned by Sir Herbert Thompson, on the authority of Sir Frederic Kenyon, to the third quarter of the fourth century; the translation is probably much earlier than this date of our earliest Coptic manuscript. The versions in the various dialects were made for the common folk and were independent of the canonical Greek. That would explain the existence of the renderings into dialects so similar as Fayumic and Middle Egyptian or Memphitic. In my articles on the Arabic Bible I showed reasons for a comparatively early date of the Bible in that language. Probably the same conditions prevailed, speaking comparatively, in the case of the needs of the Copts. Judging empirically and influenced by the opinions of Dr. Hyvernat *et al.*, I am inclined to believe that portions of Scripture at an early date were translated into Coptic, probably before the end of the second century.

Scholars generally, on internal evidence, regard the Sahidic as older than the Bohairic. Although the Sahidic dialect is older philologically than the Bohairic, this fact proves nothing about the comparative age of the two versions. But Greek

was not known as well in the South as in the North, and there were far more Greeks in the region around Alexandria than in the Thebaid. Since the missionaries in Middle and Upper Egypt had to deal almost exclusively with natives, it seems evident that there was an earlier necessity for the Sahidic than for the Bohairic Bible. The more polished literary form and more evident Greek influence noticeable in the Bohairic would argue for a later date of the translation into this dialect.

We cannot speak about the provenance of the Old Testament as a whole; each book must be studied individually. While the Sahidic in the Book of Daniel is Theodotionic and in general follows B, there is Origenian influence which will be noted in detail in this essay. In other words this book in Sahidic does not in its *present* form antedate Origen.

THE SAHIDIC VERSION OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

The only extensive texts of the Old Testament in Sahidic are found in the work of Ciasca, which is quoted in the bibliography. The edition of Ciasca is based on Sahidic manuscripts containing parts of the various books and dating from different periods; these codices, hailing from divers places, had been catalogued by Zoega and published at Rome in 1810. In citing his various manuscripts, Ciasca always employs Zoega's numbers.

The Book of Daniel in the Sahidic is very fragmentary and represents a collection from three manuscripts. The following portions are extant in this dialect and are thus distributed among the three manuscripts:

MS. no. xxxii—3 21–32; 52 end –63
9 23–27;
10 4–11.
MS. no. xcix—7 9–15;
MS. no. xiii—8 18–27;
9 1–27;
10 1[a]

In the case of 9 23–27, Ciasca uses MS. no. xiii, but cites in the footnotes the variants of MS. no. xxxii as well as Münter's text. Münter also had used MS. no. xiii for his work on the Sahidic.

In making a detailed study of the text, it is apparent that the Sahidic fragments follow B. This fact was pointed out by Ciasca, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. liv. In that connexion he cites various readings which differ from B, but his examples are not numerous, and he does not pretend to offer any exhaustive treatment of Daniel in the thirty-five lines of discussion devoted to this book.

Since the Sahidic fragments in the main agree with B, it is not necessary to record all the passages where the two versions coincide. On the other hand, in view of the many variations from B and the fragmentary state of the book, it may not be amiss to quote some important passages in which $\mathfrak{C}^S$ is free from traces of Origenian influence.

In 3 22 Or^C has a plus, *καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους τοὺς βάλλοντας Σεδράκ, Μισάκ, Ἀβεδναγώ ἀπέκτεινεν ἡ φλὸξ τοῦ πυρός.*

This is not in $\mathfrak{C}^S$.

In 3 26, where Or^C reads *αἰνετόν*, $\mathfrak{C}^S$ translates B *καὶ αἰνετός*. ⲕⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ, 'Thou art praised.'

In 7 10, where Or^C inserts *ἐκπορευόμενος* before *εἶλκεν* and Lu the same participle after the verb, $\mathfrak{C}^S$ follows B in not having this participle added.

In 8 19, $\mathfrak{C}^S$ renders *καὶ εἶπεν* by ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ, 'He spake.' Here Or^C (𝔄, A, 35, 106) add *μοι*.

In 8 27, *ἐμαλακίσθην* is rendered by ⲁⲓⲗⲟⲩⲗⲉⲭ, 'I was sick.' Here Or^C (𝔄, A, 35, 42, 106. 230) adds *ἡμέρας*.

In 9 2, 𝔄, A, Q have a plus, *ἐν ἔτει ἑνὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ*, which is not translated in $\mathfrak{C}^S$.

In 9 3, where Or^C (𝔄, Q, 42, 106, 230) adds *καὶ σποδῷ*, $\mathfrak{C}^S$ agrees with B in having no plus.

In 9 5, $\mathfrak{C}^S$ agrees in word order with B as against Or^P, Or^C, and Lu. Thus *ἡμάρτομεν, ἠδικήσαμεν, ἠνομήσαμεν, καὶ ἀπέστημεν καὶ ἐξεκλίναμεν κ.τ.λ.*: ⲁⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ· ⲁⲛⲭⲓⲛⲟ̅ⲛ̅ⲥ̅· ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲫⲓ· ⲁⲛⲥⲁϩⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ· ⲁⲛⲣⲁⲕⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ: "We sinned, we have done unjustly, we have broken the law, we have removed ourselves away (from thee), we have turned away from thy laws etc."

It is important, however, to note all the cases where the translator (or translators) of the Sahidic version has not slavishly

followed the text of B. This does not imply that the translator had several texts before him as he was at his task and made a conflate rendering by choosing from different editions of Daniel; I believe that he had just one manuscript and that he made a translation of what he was reading. He may occasionally have erred, but he performed his work as faithfully as he could.

Even though Theodotion became the accepted version of the Book of Daniel, the influence of 𝔊 was not entirely gone. This does not imply that the translator of the Sahidic had 𝔊 as well as a Theodotionic text before him when he made his rendering. Either he knew many of these Septuagintal passages by heart, or, as is more probable, they had found their way into his Greek manuscript through copyists who knew 𝔊.

The following are the cases of 𝔊 influence—

3 61, *πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις*; 𝔊 *πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις κυρίου*: ⲛ̄ⲃⲟⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ: 'all the powers of the Lord.'

7 13, *μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν*: 𝔊 *ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν*: ϩⲓⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ: 'upon the clouds.'

7 14, *καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία*: 𝔊 *καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία καὶ τιμὴ βασιλική*: ⲁϥ†ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲟ: "He gave to him the rule and the authority and the kingdom." Here Sahidic ⲧⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ implies a knowledge of 𝔊 *ἐξουσία*.

9 9, *ὅτι ἀπέστημεν*: here 𝔊 adds *ἀπὸ σοῦ*. So does the Sahidic; ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲥⲁϩⲱⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ, "We have removed ourselves from thee."

In 9 10 it appears that the influence of 𝔊 has led to a grammatical error; *ἐν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῦ οἷς ἔδωκεν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν*: 𝔊 *τῷ νόμῳ σου ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐνώπιον Μωσῆ καὶ ἡμῶν*: ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ· ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ: "In his *law*, which (pl.) he gave forth in our presence." The translator here renders *οἷς*, 𝔊 *ᾧ* by a plural without being disturbed by the lack of agreement. It is a slavish rendition of a conflate reading. While the translator had the sg. *νόμῳ*, he did not have *σου* of 𝔊.

9 13, *καθὼς γέγραπται*: 𝔊 *κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα*: ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲥϩϩ, 'according to what is written.' It may be that the construction of 𝔊 suggested the relative in the Sahidic.

9 14. *ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ ἣν ἐποίησεν*: 𝔊 *ἐπὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν ποιήσῃ*: ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲁⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲭⲗⲁⲩ: 'upon all his works which he has done.' The plural of the Sahidic here undoubtedly goes back to 𝔊.

In 7 12 are clear traces of 𝔊 influences, but the Sahidic rendering is neither 𝔊 nor B; it is a decided conflate: *καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν θηρίων ἡ ἀρχὴ μετεστάθη, καὶ μακρότης ζωῆς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἕως καιροῦ καὶ καιροῦ*: 𝔊 *καὶ τοὺς κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἀπέστησε τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν, καὶ χρόνος ζωῆς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἕως χρόνου καὶ καιροῦ*: ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩ† ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲋ ⲱⲗ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ: "And they took the limit of the rule and of authority of the animals and they gave to them a life until a time and a season." The Sahidic here agrees with B in representing *θηρίων ἡ ἀρχή*; it follows 𝔊 in omitting *λοιπῶν* and *μακρότης*. We may also safely assert that 𝔊 *κύκλῳ* and *ἐξουσίας* are rendered by ⲡⲥⲱⲕ and ⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ respectively. It is also likely that ⲱⲗ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ represents 𝔊 *ἕως χρόνου καὶ καιροῦ* rather than B, *ἕως καιροῦ καὶ καιροῦ*.

In 9 8 we have in B and 87 a plus, *ἔστιν ἡμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη*, which was omitted by Origen. Here the Sahidic also has the correct reading, but this is not necessarily due to Origenian influence. It follows in this case an older tradition; 𝔏 does not have this plus, nor did Θ. *κύριε* of verse 8 is generally joined in punctuation to the preceding verse, which concludes thus in 𝔖, ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲕ̄ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ: "Upon their not listening which they did before thee, Lord." Now it may seem at first sight that we have here an Origenian addition, for 𝔄 and A read *ἐν ἀθεσίᾳ αὐτῶν ᾗ ἠθέτησαν σε κε*: for the latter two words, 42, 106, 230 have *ἐν σοι κύριε*. But it is not necessary to assume Origenian influence in this case when we bear in mind 𝔏 *exprobaverunt te*.

Another old reading is preserved in 8 18, *ἐπὶ πόδας*. A, 𝔄, Q^{mg} of the Or^{C} group and 22, 51, 231 of the Lucianic group add *μου*, while 35 and 42 write *τοὺς πόδας*. 𝔖 ϩⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ, 'upon my feet,' is not Origenian; for the same reading is found in 𝔏 *supra pedes meos*.

It is noteworthy that 𝔖 numbers the visions. Thus the

heading of the ninth chapter, ⲧⲙⲉϩⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ, 'the tenth vision' represents *ὅρασις ι* of the Or^{C} group (𝔄, A, Q). Likewise the heading of Chapter 10, ⲧⲙⲉϩⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ, 'the eleventh vision' agrees with Or^{C} *ὅρασις ια* as represented by 𝔄, A, Q. This is hardly Origenian influence; for Origen placed Susanna after the canonical book (e. g. in Syr^{Hex}), although the Church retained in general the old order.

Let us now note the cases of Origenian and Egyptian (Q and 230) influence in the text—

7 10, *παριστήκεισαν αὐτῷ.* Instead of *αὐτῷ* Or^{P}, Or^{C}, and Lu have *ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.* This Origenian reading is represented in ℭ^{S}: ⲁϩⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲙⲧⲟ, 'stood before him.'

7 11, *ἐλάλει ἕως ἀνηρέθη,* Or^{P} (62, 147) and Lu (36, 48, 51, 231) insert after *ἐλάλει, θεωρῶν ἤμην.* This is translated by ℭ^{S} ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ 'I saw.'

7 13, *καὶ προσήχθη αὐτῷ.* For *αὐτῷ* Or^{P} Or^{C}, and Lu have *ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ.* This Origenian reading is represented in ℭ^{S}: ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ: "And he came forth into his presence." For the uncertainty of the original Θ, *cf.* Montgomery, *Commentary*, 304–305.

8 18, *πίπτω.* Here Or^{C} as represented by 𝔄, A, 35, 106 reads: *ἐθαμβήθην καὶ πίπτω.* ℭ^{S} agrees with this reading: [ⲁⲓ] ⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲁⲓϩⲉ: "I trembled, I fell."

8 22, *καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτῶν. αὐτῶν* is an ancient error in 𝔊 and Θ which was corrected by Origen to *αὐτοῦ.* This correction is found in Or^{P}, Or^{C}, and Lu. 𝔏 is non-committal. *in virtute sua.* ℭ^{S} also has the correct reading: ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲃⲟⲙ ⲁⲛ, 'and not in his strength.'

8 23, *καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων.* Here Or^{C} (𝔄, A, Q) and Or^{P} (62, 147) read the singular *ἐσχάτῳ.* This may not be a serious textual matter, but still it is important to note: ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ϩⲛ ⲑⲁⲏ, 'but upon (= at) the end.' It probably represents Origenian influence.

8 24, *καὶ κραταιὰ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ.* Here Or^{P}, Or^{C}, Lu have a plus, *καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ.* The same addition is found in 𝔊, but compared with *κατὰ τὴν ἰσχύν,* 𝔊 8 22, it appears to have been interpolated into 𝔊 from the plus in Θ. ℭ^{S} also adds ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲃⲟⲙ ⲁⲛ, 'and not in his strength.'

This addition is probably due rather to Origenian influence than to 𝔊.

8 26, *ὅτι* is not followed by any verb. MS 230 and Lu (22, 48, 51, 231), however, add *ἔσται*. In 𝔈^{S} ⲭⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ represents *ὅτι . . . ἔσται*.

9 13, *ἀληθείᾳ σου*. Both Q and 230 omit *σου*. So does the Sahidic. Here 𝔈^{S} agrees with the Egyptian group (Q and 230) within Or^{C}; here is no Origenian influence.

9 14, *καὶ ἐγρηγόρησεν κύριος*. Here the Or^{C} group as represented by 𝔄, A, 106, Q adds *ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*. So does the Sahidic, ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, 'the Lord, our God.' There is, however, a further Origenian plus. Thus 𝔄, A, 106, Q add *ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν*, while 230 and Lucian add *ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ἡμῶν*. With all these additions the Sahidic agrees: ⲁ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲧⲏⲩ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ: "The Lord, our God, gave his attention to our wickedness." The addition of the possessive 'our' is not necessarily Lucianic influence; it may have been added by the translator for the sake of a more fluent rendering. But the translator apparently was unaware of the inconsistency, or rather he slavishly followed his text. He translates *καὶ ἐπήγαγεν αὐτὰ ἐφ ἡμᾶς*: ⲁϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲱⲛ: "He brought them upon us." It seems that he did not have the Lucianic reading *αὐτήν* nor was he acquainted with 𝔊 *ἐπὶ τὰ κακά*. If he had known either, he would not have perpetuated this inconsistency of Or^{C}.

9 16, *ἡμάρτομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις ἡμῶν*. Or^{C} as represented by 𝔄, A, Q, 42, 106, 230, omits *καί*. So does the Sahidic: ⲁⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲛⲭⲓⲛⲑⲟⲛⲟ̄: "We have sinned in our deeds of violence."

9 17, *καὶ νῦν εἰσάκουσον, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν*. Here Or^{C} (as represented by A, Q^{mg}, and 106) and Lucian (as represented by 22 and 48) read: *καὶ νῦν κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν εἰσάκουσον*. Q, however, omits *ἡμῶν*. The Sahidic here agrees with Q even in the word order: ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄: "Now, however, Lord God, hear."

9 19. *πρόσχες, κύριε· μὴ χρονίσῃς ἕνεκέν σου*. Here Or^{C}, as represented by 𝔄, A, Q, 35, 42, places *ποίησον καί*, before *κύριε*. The Sahidic reads: ϯⲥⲧⲏⲕ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ· ⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲕ·

ⲛⲓⲧⲙ̄ⲱⲥⲕ̄: "Pay attention, Lord, do it for thy sake, do not delay." The Sahidic, however, transposed the *ἕνεκέν σου* to go with *ποίησον*. We should also note in this connexion that we may have 𝔊 influence in this verse, since 𝔊 reads *κύριε, ἐπάκουσον καὶ ποίησον καὶ μὴ χρονίσῃς ἕνεκα σεαυτοῦ*, but inasmuch as 𝔈^{S} translates the verbs *εἰσάκουσον, ἰλάσθητι, πρόσχες, ποίησον* and *μὴ χρονίσῃς* in this order as found in Or^{C}, it is more likely that we are dealing here with Hexaplaric influence.

9 20, *ad finem*, 𝔄, A add *τοῦ Θῦ μου*; so 𝔈^{S} ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, 'of my God.'

There are also cases where Hexaplaric influence is reflected not in plusses or omissions, but in the renderings of the passages. Thus in 3 29 we have: ⲁⲉ ⲁⲛ̄ⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓ ⲁⲛⲥⲁϩⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ: "We have sinned, and we have not obeyed the law, we have set ourselves away from thee." This translation suggests *ἀποστάντες* of A, Q, 106 rather *ἀποστῆναι* of B.

In 9 25 for *τεῖχος*, Or^{C} (as represented by A, 35, 106) and Lu (36, 48, 51, 231) read *περιτεῖχος*. It seems that Sahidic ⲡⲥⲟⲃⲧ̄ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲟⲗ 'the wall which is outside' is a rendering of *περιτεῖχος* rather than of *τεῖχος*.

We shall now consider 9 26-27 —

9 26, *καὶ τὴν πόλιν*: Q, 230, *τὴν δὲ πόλιν*. 𝔈^{S} here follows Q and 230, ⲧ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲇⲉ 'but the city.' This does not imply Origenian influence; in this case 𝔈^{S} agrees with the Egyptian group, Q and 230.

9 26, *ἀφανισμοί*. Here A, Q, have *ἀφανισμοῖς*. 𝔈^{S} renders this ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟ, 'upon destructions;' but this does not argue in favor of Origenian influence when we note that B^{ab} also reads *ἀφανισμοῖς*.

In the vexed passage, 9 27, 𝔈^{S} follows in general A and Q with some unique readings or an attempt at interpreting what is a desperate verse. What we find here is a doublet of Θ 's text, and not any Origenian influence. In the text of A and Q, 27^{a} is a doublet of 27^{b}. The antiquity of 27^{a} is attested by Tertullian's *destruet pinnaculum usque ad interitum*. Thus reads the text of A and Q with the translation of 𝔈^{S}: *καὶ δυναμώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς ἑβδομὰς μία· καὶ ἐν τῷ ἥμισυ τῆς ἑβδομάδος*

καταπαύσει θυσιαστήρια (-ριον A) καὶ θυσίας (-σίαν A) καὶ ἕως (om. ἕως Q) πτερυγίου ἀπὸ ἀφανισμοῦ καὶ ἕως συντελείας καὶ σπουδῆς τάξει ἐπὶ ἀφανισμῷ (-σμου A) καὶ δυναμώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς ἑβδομὰς μία· καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει (-συ A) τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἀρθήσεταί μου (om. Q) θυσία καὶ σπονδή, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων, καὶ ἕως τῆς συντελείας καιροῦ συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν: ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧ̄ⲡⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ· ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲃⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ· ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲧⲉⲣⲩⲅⲓⲟⲛ ⲉ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲥ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ· ⲛⲫⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲱⲗ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̄ⲭⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧ̄ⲛⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲗⲍ: ⲟⲩⲍⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲃⲇⲱⲙⲁⲥ· ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ· ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲉ̄ⲃⲟⲗ: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲃⲟⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲕ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲓⲭⲙ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲉ· ⲱⲗ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲉ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ· ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲟⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲱⲕ: "A week and the half of the week. He will cause to cease the altars and the sacrifice of the *πτερύγιον* from the destruction; he will place them up to upon the completion of the excitement upon a destruction. And he will give the covenant to many; a week; and in the half of the week; they will remove the sacrifice and the libation; (and) there will be the abomination of the destruction upon the temple until upon the fulfillment of the time; they will give an abomination of the destruction."—whatever that may mean.

Let us now note the differences between $\mathfrak{C}^S$ and the text of A and Q (9 27) and also the cases where it follows the reading of either A or Q:

1. it omits at the head of the verse A and Q, *καὶ δυναμώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς*:
2. *καὶ ἐν τῷ ἥμισυ* omits *ἐν*;
3. *θυσιαστήρια*, agrees with Q in having the plural;
4. *θυσίαν*, agrees with A in having the singular;
5. with Q it omits the first *ἕως*;
6. for the sake of making sense it omits *καί* after *θυσίαν*;
7. $\mathfrak{C}^S$, definite article before *ἀφανισμοῦ*;
8. $\mathfrak{C}^S$ omits *καί* after *ἀφανισμοῦ*;
9. $\mathfrak{C}^S$ interprets *ἕως* 2° as *ἐπί*;
10. for the sake of making sense it omits *καί* before *σπουδῆς*;
11. $\mathfrak{C}^S$, definite article with *σπουδῆς*;

12. with Q it omits *μου* before *θυσία*;

13. $\mathfrak{C}^S$, definite article before *θυσία* and *σπονδή*;

14. $\mathfrak{C}^S$ supplies a verb with *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων*;

15. due to New Testament influence it read *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*;

16. last *καί* is omitted;

17. $\mathfrak{C}^S$, definite article with *καιροῦ*;

18. *συντέλεια* is omitted;

19. *ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν* was read as *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*.

There are a few instances which apparently show a Lucianic influence, but they cannot be pressed too hard. Here there may be agreements with Lucian's particular primitive text, or they merely reflect a method of translation which happens to coincide with Lucianic readings.

In 7 14, *ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος*, c omits the second *ἐξουσία*. So does $\mathfrak{C}^S$: ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉϥϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛⲉⲛⲉϩ: "And his authority shall remain for ever and ever." This rendition is probably merely a free rendering.

In 8 25 *συντρίψει*, Lu (22, 36, 48, 51, 231) adds *αὐτούς*. So does $\mathfrak{C}^S$, ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ: "He shall rub them to pieces." But we must bear in mind that $\mathfrak{C}^S$ may have added the object merely for the sake of a smoother rendering.

It is important to look into the psychology of the translator and not expect him to make a literalistic translation. An occasional freedom in his renderings does not always imply that he had a different reading before him. Thus in 3 31 *ἐν ἀληθινῇ κρίσει*, the rendering ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ, 'in a judgment and a truth,' involves no textual problem.

10 7, *οὐκ ἴδον τὴν ὀπτασίαν*: ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ: "They did not see it." This translation does not signify that we are dealing with a different text. Since the accusative of the same noun occurs shortly before in the same verse, the translator chose to use the pronoun instead of repeating the noun.

When we meet 7 11, ⲉⲩⲟϣ, 'being many' for *μεγάλων*, we simply have a free rendering. Similarly in 10 11, *ἐπὶ τῇ στάσει σου*: ϩⲓⲥⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ, 'upon thy feet,' we have an attempt at interpretation.

When the translator found rougma in the Greek, he recognized the necessity of using two verbs in the Sahidic. Thus in 7 13, ἐθεώρουν τότε ἀπὸ φωνῆς τῶν λόγων τῶν μεγάλων ὧν τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο ἐλάλει: ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲱⲡ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲣⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲱ ⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲁⲉ: "I looked forthwith and I heard voices; they are many."

Semitisms are correctly understood: 9 7, *οἱ . . . ἐκεῖ* = אֲשֶׁר . . . שָׁם. *ἐκεῖ* is not translated: ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲥⲟⲟⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲣⲏⲧⲟ̄: "Thou didst scatter them in it = in which thou didst scatter them."

We notice a case of wrong verse division in 9 8, *ad finem*, *σοι*: ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ: "We have sinned." *σοι* is not represented, but by wrong division it appears in the following verse, 9 9, *τῷ κυρίῳ Θεῷ ἡμῶν οἱ οἰκτιρμοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱλασμοί*: ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲣⲥⲧⲏⲫ· ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ· ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲥⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. "The states of pitying and the forgivenesses are to thee, our Lord, our God."

We meet an interesting instance of a slavish (and at the same time inaccurate) translation in 9 19: *κύριε, ἐν πάσῃ ἐλεημοσύνῃ σου ἀποστραφήτω δὴ ὁ θυμός σου καὶ ἡ ὀργή σου ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεώς σου Ἰερουσαλήμ*: ⲡⲥⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲣⲁⲓ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ· ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲫⲕⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲟⲣⲅⲏ· ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲑⲓⲗⲏⲙ: "May the Lord in all *thy* mercies avert it, i. e. *thy* wrath and *thy* anger from Jerusalem." The Coptic follows the Greek in the possessives. Since the Coptic does not have a passive, the translator had to use the third person active, but in rendering *κύριε* as a nominative and in using the optative, he forgot to bring his possessives into concord with the subject.

In studying the translator's methods of rendering the Greek into Sahidic, it is interesting to notice how he avoids or simplifies his difficulties by interpreting rather than translating—

7 13, *ἔφθασεν*, ⲁⲩⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲭⲟⲩⲛ: "He approached inside."

7 15, *ἐφρίξεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τῇ ἕξει μου*: ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ: "But I made excitement (became excited) in my soul." The translator changed the person merely to make sense.

7 15, ἐγὼ Δανιήλ is removed from its place and put at the end of the verse; ἐτάρασσόν με is followed by ἐγὼ Δανιήλ. Then we have a unique addition, which will be considered in its proper category.

9 2. ἐγὼ Δανιὴλ συνῆκα ἐν ταῖς βύβλοις τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐτῶν, ὃς ἐγενήθη λόγος Κυρίου πρὸς Ἱερεμίαν κ. τ. λ.: ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ Ⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ ⲁⲓⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉ̄ⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲗⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ· ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲡⲱⲥ ⲱⲗ ⲓ̄ⲉⲣⲙ̄ⲓⲁⲥ: "But I, Daniel, knew in the books the number of the years from the word of the Lord which reached Jeremias." This is not a literal translation, but the translator found the sense of the passage. It is not likely that he had a different text.

9 13, ἀποστρέψαι, 𝔊 ἀποστῆναι: ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲕⲧⲟⲛ: "that we may turn ourselves." Whence the object pronoun? It probably is merely a matter of finding the sense of the passage. It is hardly necessary to assume that the translator knew 𝔊 ἀποστῆναι.

In 7 10, we note that the abstract has been rendered by a *nomen agentis*; κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν: ⲁⲩⲥ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ: "Sat, namely the judge." *Cf.* Greek ἡ ἀρχή 'the governor;' αἱ ἀρχαί, 'the authorities.'

In 9 27, δυναμώσει, by haplography, is represented by δώσει, ⲫⲛⲁϯ, "He will give." May this be due to the influence of δοθήσεται at the end of the verse?

We may wonder whether a gloss aided in the rendering of 10 9, ἤμην κατανενυγμένος: ⲛⲉⲓⲗⲩⲡⲉⲓ: "I was grieved." Why is a Greek word used to translate κατανενυγμένος? In this place the Arabic has a facile expression. صرت متخشعا. I raised the question[1] whether that was a direct translation or whether it was influenced or aided by a gloss καταφερόμενος as is found in the margin of 36. It is quite possible that the translator read καταλυπούμενος. If not, then it is almost apparent that a form of λυπέω was used as a scholium to this passage. Or did the translator simply borrow what he thought was a verb that would be readily taken over into Coptic?

In 9 26, we have what at first sight appears peculiar, but it

[1] *J. B. L.*, XLIV, 343.

is merely an attempt at interpretation: *καὶ κρίμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ*: ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲡ ⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ: "(and) the judgment is to him something which is empty (or vain)."

There are some unique additions which should now be considered—

In 7 9 we meet the plus, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲱⲏ: "I, Daniel, saw in a vision of the night."

In 7 15, *ἐγὼ* Δ., ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ, is placed at the end of the verse and is followed immediately by this plus: ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲥⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲓⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲧⲕ̄: "But I, Daniel, when I saw these in the vision, I fell asleep."

There are many additions which may not mean anything from the point of view of textual criticism. Let us first consider the pronouns in 3 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, *ὑμνεῖτε*, ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ: "Praise unto him." These are all merely a matter of the influence of *αὐτόν*, the object of the following verb *ὑπερυψοῦτε*. In 3 62, we meet ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ, "Praise unto the Lord."

The following pronouns may all have been added merely for the sake of giving better sense:

8 27, *συνίων*, ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ: "He who knows it."

9 19, *εἰσάκουσον*, *κύριε*: ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ: "Listen to us, Lord."

9 19, *ἱλάσθητι*, *κύριε*: ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ: "Forgive us, Lord."

9 19, *ποίησον*, ⲁⲣⲓⲥ, "Do it."

9 27, *τάξει*, ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ: "He will place them."

An adverb may be added epexegetically. Thus in 3 24 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, 'there' follows *συστάς*.

The addition of the definite article cannot be regarded as of serious consequence in textual criticism: 9 24, *ὅρασιν*, ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ, 'the vision,' 9 25, *περιτεῖχος*, ⲡⲥⲟⲃⲧ̄, 'the wall.'

Through the influence of adjacent nouns with modifiers, an adjective may be joined to a noun which in our Greek text is not qualified by the particular adjective; thus in 3 27, *καὶ εὐθεῖαι αἱ ὁδοί σου*: ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ: "And all thy ways are straight." This addition doubtless is due to the influence of the preceding *πάντα τὰ ἔργα* and the

following *πᾶσαι αἱ κρίσεις*. Similarly a possessive is joined to a noun. Thus in 10 6, *τὰ σκέλη*, ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ, 'his legs;' the other parts of the body are modified by *αὐτοῦ*, which is then repeated with 'legs.'

In 10 9, a verb is added, but it may be only a means of interpreting the passage: *καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*: ⲁⲓⲡⲱϩ̄ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϩⲟ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϧⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁϩ: "I poured my face upon the earth."

In 3 33 we meet the addition of a conjunction, but this plus may be explained as an attempt to make a more fluent rendering; *αἰσχύνη καὶ ὄνειδος ἐγενήθη τοῖς δούλοις*: ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲓⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲛⲟ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϩⲙ̄ϩⲁⲗ: "For shame and reproach happened to thy servants."

There are also some unique omissions which should be noted at this point: 3 28, *τὴν ἁγίαν*; 3 32, *καὶ ἐχθίστων*; 7 12, *λοιπῶν*. The following are not important and probably do not mean anything. Thus in 9 12 *ἡμῶν* is omitted with *ἐπὶ τοὺς κριτάς*, ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥ† ϩⲁⲡ, 'those giving judgment.' On the other hand, the translator may not have deemed it necessary, since the expression is clear from *οἳ ἔκρινον ἡμᾶς*, ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲕ̄ⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ.

In 9 16, *τῆς πόλεώς σου* is omitted, but *Ἰερουσαλήμ* is translated.

In 9 17 $\mathfrak{C}^{S}$ agrees with 232 in omitting *ἡμῶν* with *ὁ θεός*; but this also may be of no significance.

We should also note the omission of the demonstrative in 7 11, *το κέρας ἐκεῖνο*, ⲡⲧⲁⲡ, 'the horn.' Here $\mathfrak{C}^{S}$ agrees with 230. In this connexion compare 10 7, where $\mathfrak{C}^{S}$ has the demonstrative for the article; *τὴν ὀπτασίαν*, ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲃⲱⲗⲡ̄, 'this vision.'

There are some unique readings which can hardly be considered as of serious textual importance, but which nevertheless should be noted—

7 11, *φωνῆς*, ϩⲛ̄ϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ, 'voices.'

8 25, *ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ*, ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲃⲓⲁ, 'in his hand.' But in this connexion compare 9 10, *ἐν χερσίν*, where it is translated by the singular, ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲃⲓⲁ, 'in the hand.' The singular is probably only an idiomatic rendering; cf. בְּיַד.

9 16, *ἐλεημοσύνη σου*, ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲁ, 'thy mercies.'

9 18, *τὸν οἰκτειρμὸν ἡμῶν*, ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲫⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲏⲫ, 'our mercies.' This was probably influenced by *ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκτειρμούς σου* in the same verse: ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛ̄ ⲉⲧⲏⲫ, 'upon thy mercies.'

The translation shows considerable freedom in the treatment of coordinate conjunctions. *καί* is very frequently left out in Coptic; in many cases this omission represents the spirit of the language, as is clear to one who has studied this tongue. On the other hand many of these omissions seem to depend on the mood of the translator. There are, however, five cases, where for no apparent reason *καί* has been added: 7 9, *ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ*, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϥⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ; 7 10, *ποταμὸς πυρός*, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ; 7 10, *κρτήριον ἐκάθισεν*, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲥⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ; 7 14, *φυλαί*, ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲫⲩⲗⲏ; 10 4, *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲥⲛ̄ etc. On the other hand we have thirteen cases where Greek *καί* has been rendered by Sahidic ⲁⲫ. This does not necessarily imply that the Greek original had *δέ*. These particles are a subtle matter, and in many instances it appears that the translator was not careful in his rendition of them and allowed himself considerable freedom. These are the passages where ⲁⲫ is used for Greek *καί*: 3 22; 3 24; 7 9; 8 23; 8 26; 8 27, *bis*; 9 26; 10 7; 10 8; 10 10; 10 11, *bis*. Furthermore we have three examples where ⲁⲫ has been added: 7 15, *ἐγὼ Δανιήλ*, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲫ ⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ; 7 15, *ἔφριξεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου*, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲫ ⲁⲓⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲥⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ; 9 2, *ἐγὼ Δανιήλ*, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲫ ⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ.

From this study of the fragments of the Sahidic version of Daniel, it is apparent that it follows the Greek text of Theodotion as represented by B. There is, moreover, a tinge of 𝔊 and an Origenian influence from Or^{C}. There are about fifteen cases of Origenian contamination in the text; seven of these instances are well represented in various Origenian manuscripts. There are two cases of Or^{C} where Q and 230 are not represented; five cases of Or^{C} where Q and 230 are represented; one agreement with Lu and 230; and two with Q and 230 alone. The Origenian influence came in through Or^{C}, and the latter was the Egyptian variety as is proved by the frequent presence of Q and 230. Where Q and 230 stand

alone, we are dealing not with Origenian influence, but with an older Egyptian text. These two manuscripts in many respects have characteristics not common to the Or^C group and constitute a small family within Or^C. We cannot determine whether we have before us the original Sahidic version of Daniel or not. It is possible that the first edition had no Origenian influence. How much revision took place we do not know with our present manuscript evidence. It is certain, however, that we are dealing with a version that in the main is based on a pre-Origenian text. As regards $\mathfrak{C}^S$ in its *present* form, the Origenian influence fixes the *terminus a quo* as not previous to 250 A. D. The following study of this book in the Bohairic makes it very clear that of the two versions the Sahidic is decidedly the older.

THE BOHAIRIC VERSION OF DANIEL

In his Introduction to the *Prophetae Majores*, Tattam informs us that for the Book of Daniel he first made a copy from a codex in the National Library at Paris, which, as Ascarius noted, had been copied *Anno Hegirae* 1071 = A. D. 1660–61. He took his transcription of this codex to Egypt, where he compared it with another one of more recent origin. He finally collated his work with two Copto-Arabic codices which he brought with him from Egypt to England. One of these was a bombycine manuscript in folio, but not very old; the other was in quarto and had been recently transcribed. Speaking of the divisions of the book, Tattam says: "Liber Prophetae Danielis in Codicibus Copticis sequitur divisiones apud Graecos usitatas; sicut etiam in Codicibus Alexandrino et Vaticano reperitur."

All his Bohairic manuscripts divide Daniel into thirteen visions as follows: the first vision, *Susannae Historia;* the second vision follows *Susannae Historia,* and the title is placed at the beginning of the first chapter; the title, "The Third Vision," is placed at the beginning of the second chapter; the fourth vision begins with chapter 3 and extends to verse 30, including the *Canticum trium puerorum;* the fifth vision begins

with 3 31 and ends with chapter 4 inclusive; the sixth vision begins with 5 1 and extends to verse 29 inclusive; the seventh vision consists of 5 30–31 and all of chapter 6; the eighth vision is chapter 7; the ninth, chapter 8; the tenth, chapter 9; the eleventh, chapters 10, 11, and 12; the twelfth is the *Historia Belis;* and the thirteenth, *De Dracone Babylonico.*

A careful collation of Tattam's text shows that $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ is decidedly a member of Or^{C}. First of all it agrees with Or^{C} in numbering the visions and placing †ϩopacic with the proper number at the head of the respective visions. In this it agrees with $\mathfrak{A}$, which is our best representative of Or^{C}. When we come to the text itself, the constant agreements between $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ and Or^{C} are so numerous that there is no scientific value in publishing the list. On the other hand it is important to record all the cases of Origenian readings which are found in Or^{P} or Lu, but not in A, Q, 106, 35, 230, 42. Finally all agreements with unclassified manuscripts will be considered as well as the influence of $\mathfrak{G}$.

First we shall consider the cases where $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ agrees with $\mathfrak{A}$ alone:

3 3, *ἡγούμενοι τύραννοι μεγάλοι.*

Here both $\mathfrak{A}$ and $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ have the conjunction 'and' before each of the above words: والجند والمقدمون والملكون; NEM NIϩHГOYMENOC NEM NITYPANNOC NEM NINIϢ†.

11 15, *καὶ ἐκχεεῖ πρόσχωμα.* Here both the Aldine Edition and $\mathfrak{A}$ made a wrong division, reading *πρὸς χῶμα.* $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ is based upon a similar error; ЄqÈxωϢ ÑOYKAϩI: "He will pour upon the earth."

Sometimes $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ agrees with $\mathfrak{A}$ where the latter's reading has no representative among its confrères in Or^{C}, but agrees with 34—

1 18, *εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτούς.* Here $\mathfrak{A}$ and 34 add *πρὸς αὐτόν.* So does $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$; ÈÑXINÒΛOY ÈƀOYN ϢAPOq: 'to bring them in unto him.'

8 2, *καὶ ἤμην* 2°; in the Or^{C} group this is preceded by *καὶ εἶδον (ἴδον) ἐν ὁράματι.* But for *καὶ ἤμην* $\mathfrak{A}$ and 34 read *ὅτι ἤμην.* So does $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$; OYOϩ NAINAY ƀEN OYϩOPOMA ϩωC

ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲭⲏ ϩⲓⲝⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲗ ⲡⲉ: "And I saw in a vision that I was upon the ⲟⲩⲁⲗ." Did the translator have ὡς in his text?

11 24, *καὶ ἕως καιροῦ*. Here 230 joins 𝔄 and 34 in omitting *καί*. This may be only a minor point, but it is interesting to note that 𝔠^{B} also omits *καί*, having simply ϣⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ, 'until a time.'

Now although 𝔠^{B} belongs to the Or^{C} group, that does not necessarily imply that the complete series (𝔄, A, Q, 106, 35, 230, 42) always agrees with it. Sometimes only a few of the group may agree with 𝔠^{B}, but it is worthy of note that usually both Q and 230 are represented. If the one is missing, the other is generally in evidence. Now Q and 230 in many cases run together, and since Q is supposed to be of Egyptian (Hesychian) origin, we should not be surprised at the observation that 𝔠^{B} shows a strong leaning toward Q.

First let us note a 𝔊 influence which is found in 230 and 𝔠^{B}. In 𝔊 3 24 we have the order Ἀνανίας καὶ Ἀζαρίας καὶ Μισαήλ. This tendency to place Ἀζαρίας in the middle is reflected in 1 7, ⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ ⲝⲉ ⲃⲁⲗⲇⲁⲍⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ ⲝⲉ ⲥⲇⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲍⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲝⲉ ⲙⲓⲥⲁⲕ ⲙⲓⲥⲁⲏⲗ ⲝⲉ ⲁⲃⲇⲉⲛⲁⲅⲱ, agreeing with c. We note the same order in 1 11, ⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲍⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲓⲥⲁⲏⲗ, agreeing with 230 (and also 34), Ἀζαρ. καὶ Μισ. Furthermore in 1 19 we have the same order in 𝔠^{B}, which in this case corresponds to the reading found in 230 (and also 34 and c). Likewise in 2 17 we meet the same order of names; in this case we have an agreement with 230 (also 130 and c). Although this 𝔊 influence is also found in c, it appears that 𝔠^{B} got it from 230 or rather from the small group to which it belongs.

We shall now note the special cases where 𝔠^{B} shows a close relationship with either Q or 230, or with both of them—

Making all allowance for freedom in translation, the influence of Q is evident in 2 5, *καὶ οἱ οἶκοι ὑμῶν διαρπαγήσονται*. Here Q substitutes for the verb *εἰς διαρπαγήν*. 𝔠^{B} ⲉⲛϩⲟⲗⲙⲟⲩ, 'for plundering them' evidently shows the influence of Q.

2 23, *ἃ ἠξιώσαμεν παρὰ σοῦ*. Here 230 reads *ἠξιωσάμην*. So 𝔠^{B} ⲉⲛⲏⲉⲧⲁⲓⲉⲣϫⲓⲟⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲕ: 'which I asked of thee.'

3 1, *ἑξήκοντα, εὖρος*; Q inserts *καί* between these two words. So does 𝔈^{B}: **ογος τεcογηωcι**, 'and its breadth.'

In 2 33 we have what may appear to be a minor point, and yet we should not pass it by. For *μέρος τι*, A and Q have *μέρος μέν τι*. 𝔈^{B} **ca men** may be derived from the *μέν* of A and Q.

2 34, *καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν*. Here B^{ab}, A, Q^{mg} add *αὐτούς*. So does 𝔈^{B}; **ογος ⲁϥⲱⲧⲙⲱⲟⲩ**: "And it made them small."

Similarly in 2 38, 𝔈^{B} agrees with A and Q, which give an object to the verb in *κατέστησεν κύριον*; **ⲁϥⲭⲁⲕ ⲛ̀ⲟ̄ⲥ̄**: "He established thee as Lord."

In 3 4, for *λαοῖς*, 𝔄 and A have *ἔθνη λαοί*. So does 𝔈^{B}, **ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ**, 'nations, people.' But the influence of Q cannot be ignored, when we notice: Q* *λαοί*, Q^{mg} *ἔθνη*.

In 3 (25) 92, 𝔈^{B} agrees with B^{ab}, A, and Q in having a plus: *καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεύς*: **ογος ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ**: "And the king said."

In 5 2 𝔄. A, and Q agree in leaving out *αὐτοῦ* in *ἐν τῇ γεύσει τοῦ οἴνου αὐτοῦ*. So does 𝔈^{B}: **ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϫⲉⲙ†ⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲣⲡ**, 'in the tasting of the wine.'

In 5 10, for *καὶ εἶπεν Βασιλεῦ*, 230 reads as follows: *καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα εἶπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ*: **ογος ⲁⲥⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲩⲱ̀ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉ †ⲟⲩⲣⲱ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ**: "And the queen replied and said to the king." The only difference is that the Coptic repeats the word for 'queen.'

5 13, *καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Δανιήλ*: 230 omits *τῷ Δ.*; 𝔈^{B} also leaves out *τῷ Δ.*, but writes **ⲛⲁϥ**, 'to him,' which is probably added for the sake of clearness.

6 2 (3), *καὶ ἐπάνω*; 230 omits *καί*. So does 𝔈^{B}, **ⲁϥⲭⲱ**, "He set." But we cannot press this point too hard, since the Coptic frequently does not translate *καί*. At any rate it here agrees with 230.

7 6, *πετεινοῦ*. This is omitted both in 230 and in 𝔈^{B}.

8 11, *καὶ δι' αὐτὸν θυσία ἐράχθη*: **ογος ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ⲁϥⲱⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲟⲩⲱ**: "And through him was disturbed a sacrifice." This translation suggests *ἐταράχθη* of A and Q.

In 8 19 𝔈^{B} agrees with Q in omitting *ἡ ὅρασις*.

9 26, *τάξει ἀφανισμοί*. Here B^{ab}, A, and Q read *ἀφανισμοῖς*.

This is followed by $\mathfrak{C}^B$: ϩⲛⲁⲑⲱϣ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟ: "He will decree for destruction."

10 4, *Τίγρις* is omitted by Q*, 230, and 34; likewise in $\mathfrak{C}^B$. It is added, however, in Q^{mg}.

10 14, *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων*. For the plural, Q has the singular *ἐσχάτῳ*: $\mathfrak{C}^B$ ⲉⲡ̀ⲃⲁⲉ̀: 'at the last.'

10 16, *καὶ ἰδού*: 230 omits *ἰδού*. So does $\mathfrak{C}^B$.

10 16, *καὶ ἤνοιξα τὸ στόμα μου*: here 230 has the third singular, *ἤνοιξεν*. $\mathfrak{C}^B$ agrees; ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲓ: "He opened my mouth."

In 10 20 we have what may cause us to wonder whether we have the influence of 230: *καὶ εἶπεν Εἰ οἶδας*. Here 230 omits *εἰ*. $\mathfrak{C}^B$ ⲡⲉϩⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ: "He said, 'Do you know?'" Although it is permissible to omit the interrogative particle in Coptic, it is more usual to have it. Is this due to the influence of 230?

In 11 14, for *τῶν λοιπῶν* A and Q^{mg} (marked as $\theta' : o'$) correctly read *τῶν λοιμῶν*; so does $\mathfrak{C}^B$, ⲛⲓⲗⲟⲓⲙⲟⲥ. *τῶν λοιμῶν* is original Θ.

11 15, A and Q unite in omitting *καί* before *οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ αὐτοῦ*; so $\mathfrak{C}^B$ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ: 'namely his elect.'

In 11 29, $\mathfrak{C}^B$ agrees with Q* in omitting *καὶ ἡ ἐσχάτη*.

11 37, *καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς θεοῦ*. Here B^{ab}, $\mathfrak{A}$, A, and Q have *πάντας θεούς*. $\mathfrak{C}^B$ agrees with this, ⲉ̀ϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ† ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, 'upon all the gods.'

11 43, *καὶ Λιβύων*. Here 230 reads *Λιβύης*; so does $\mathfrak{C}^B$, †ⲗⲩⲃⲏ.

In 12 4, Q* reads *λόγους* for *λοιπούς*; thus goes the sentence: *ἔμφραξον τοὺς λόγους καὶ σφράγισον τὸ βιβλίον*. With this $\mathfrak{C}^B$ agrees, even in word order: ⲧⲱⲃ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲁ̀ⲣⲓⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ: "Seal the words and close the book."

In 12 8, Q, 230, and 35 omit *οὐ* in *καὶ οὐ συνῆκα*. So does $\mathfrak{C}^B$, ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲕⲁ†, "And I understood."

In 12 11 for *χίλιαι* Q* reads *δισχίλιαι*, with which $\mathfrak{C}^B$ agrees, ϣⲟ ⲃ̄, 'two thousand.'

Now although $\mathfrak{C}^B$ belongs to the Or^C group by overwhelming evidence, there are cases where its readings may have only

a few representatives in the Or^C group and a good many in the Or^P and Lu groups. In this connexion we must bear in mind that the number of manuscripts has nothing to do with fixing the group to which our text belongs. In this case the Lucianic and Or^P agreements merely are evidence of Hexaplaric origin in a general sense. It is interesting to note, however, that the few representatives of Or^C in such cases are generally Q and 230. We shall not cite any passages where Or^C is represented by almost all the manuscripts of the group as well as Or^P and Lu in addition. In all instances where the reading is supported by a goodly number of Or^C manuscripts, Q and 230 are generally present; if not both, at least one of them—

In 2 35, *ἐξῆρεν τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ πνεύματος*, A and Q insert *αὐτά* after the verb. So does $\mathfrak{C}^B$: ⲁϥϥⲟⲧⲟⲩ, 'destroyed them.' In this case Lu (22, 36, 48, 51, 231) adds *αὐτούς* as the object.

In 2 38, $\mathfrak{A}$, A, and Q^{mg} have a plus, *καὶ ἰχθύας τῆς θαλάσσης*. We meet the same addition in $\mathfrak{C}^B$: ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲃⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϥⲓⲟⲙ, 'and the fish of the sea.' Lu (22, 36, 48, 51, 231) has the same plus.

In 2 46, *εὐωδίας*, $\mathfrak{C}^B$ reads ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲑⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ, 'a good odor.' The singular *εὐωδίαν* is found in Q, 230, and 106, but also in Lu (51, 231, c).

In 3 9, we meet a plus, *καὶ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπον τῷ βασιλεῖ* N. This is found only in 230 of the Or^C group, while in Lu it is represented by 22, 48, 51, 231, c: ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲩⲱ̀ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲭⲟⲇⲟⲛⲟⲥⲟⲣ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ: "And they replied, they said to N., the king."

In 3 15, *τῇ εἰκόνι* is followed in A and Q by *τῇ χρυσῇ*. $\mathfrak{C}^B$ has the same plus: ⲛ̀ϯⲥⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ, 'the image of gold.' Or^P (V) and Lu (22, 51, 231) have the same addition.

In 4 7 (10) at the head of the verse we have a plus, *καὶ αἱ ὁράσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς μου* in Q^1 (*subt lineas*) and 42. $\mathfrak{A}$ joins it to the end of the preceding verse as an accusative. $\mathfrak{C}^B$ follows the word order of Q^1 (*subt lineas*), but interprets *ὁράσεις* as an accusative depending on *ἐθεώρουν*: ⲛⲓϩⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲗⲫⲉ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ̀ⲣⲱⲟⲩ: "And the visions of my head, I saw them."

In 4 20 (23), A, Q, and 230 agree in omitting *ἐν* with *χαλκῷ*; so $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$, ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲙⲧ, 'and copper.' Or^{P} and Lu also agree with this reading.

In 5 12, *τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ*, Q and 230 omit *αὐτοῦ*; $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲟ̀ϩⲉⲙ, 'the interpretation.' Or^{P} and Lu agree with this reading.

In 7 12 for *ἕως καιροῦ*, Q and 230 read *ἕως χρόνου*; $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ ⲱⲗ ⲟⲩⲭ̀ⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ. Or^{P} and Lu also agree in having *χρόνου*. Now of course it is possible that the translator rendered *καιροῦ* by ⲟⲩⲭ̀ⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ, but it is more probable that he transliterated or borrowed what he had before him.

In 8 10, *ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, Q* and 42 omit *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; so does $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$, ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗϩⲗ ϯⲭⲟⲙ, 'from strength.' Or^{P} and Lu also agree with this reading.

In 8 19, Q and 35 omit *ἡ ὅρασις*; so does $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$. In this it also agrees with Or^{P} and Lu.

In 8 23, *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων*, A and Q have the singular, *ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ*; so $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$, ⲉ̀ⲡ̀ⲃⲁⲉ̀, 'at the end.' Or^{P} and c also have the same reading.

In 9 5, $\mathfrak{A}$, Q, and $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ agree in the order of the verbs: *ἡμάρτομεν, ἠδικήσαμεν, ἠσεβήσαμεν καὶ ἀπέστημεν καὶ ἐξεκλίναμεν*: ⲁⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲁⲛⲟ̈ⲓⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲁⲛⲉⲣⲁ̀ⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲁⲛϩⲉⲛⲉⲛ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛⲣⲓⲕⲓ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ: "We have sinned, we have done wickedly, we have been sacrilegious, we have separated ourselves, we have turned away." This order is also found in Or^{P} (23, 62, 147) and in Lu (22, 36, 48, 231).

In 9 8, $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ agrees with Q, 35, and 230 in omitting *ἔστιν ἡμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη*. This is an Origenian correction as is shown by the agreement of Or^{P} and Lu in omitting this intrusion from verse 7. In Θ texts, only B and 87 have it; not $\mathfrak{L}$, $\mathfrak{C}^{S}$, although it is taken over into A, 106, and $\mathfrak{A}$.

In 9 13 *ad finem*, *ἐν πάσῃ ἀληθείᾳ σου*, Q and 230 omit *σου*. So does $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$; ϧⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ, 'in all truth.' Lu also omits *σου*.

In 10 20, Q, 35, 106 omit *τοῦ* in *μετὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος*; so does $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$, ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ, 'a ruler.' Or^{P} agrees in this omission.

In 11 13, *ἐνιαυτῶν* is omitted by Q and $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$. Lu and Or^{P} also omit this.

In 11 37, for *ἐπιθυμίᾳ*, Q, 230, and 42 read *ἐπὶ ἐπιθυμίαν*; so does $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$, ⲈⲬⲈⲚ ⲦⲈⲠⲓⲑⲨⲘⲓⲀ. Or^{P} and Lu also agree with this reading.

In 12 11, for *δοθήσεται*, Q and Γ have *τοῦ δοθῆναι*, with which $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ ⲈⲠⲤⲒⲚ† agrees. Or^{P} and Lu in this passage also have the infinitive.

On account of its difficulty and textual importance, 9 27 should be considered by itself. Where Q and A differ in this passage, $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ agrees with Q. Thus reads Q: *καὶ δυναμώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς ἑβδομὰς μία· καὶ ἐν τῷ ἥμισυ τῆς ἑβδομάδος καταπαύσει θυσιαστήρια καὶ θυσίας καὶ πτερυγίου ἀπὸ ἀφανισμοῦ καὶ ἕως συντελείας καὶ σπουδῆς τάξει ἐπὶ ἀφανισμῷ καὶ δυναμώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς ἑβδομὰς μία· καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἀρθήσεται θυσία καὶ σπονδή, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων, καὶ ἕως συντελείας καιροῦ συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν*: ϩⲛⲁ†ϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲛϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲯ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧϥⲁⲯⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ ϩⲛⲁⲃⲣⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁⲛⲉⲣⲯⲟⲩⲱⲩⲓ ⲕⲏⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲯⲟⲩⲯⲟⲩⲱⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲁ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲯⲁϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲛⲁⲑⲱⲯ ⲉϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲉϥⲉ†ϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲛϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲯ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧϥⲁⲯⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ†ⲉⲃⲇⲟⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲗⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲟⲩⲯⲱⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲱϥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲯⲱϥ ⲯⲁ ⲛⲁϫⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲉ† ⲛⲟⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲓⲛⲯⲱϥ: "And he will confirm a covenant to many one week, and in the half of a week he will cause to cease altars and sacrifices and libation from a destruction, and he is accustomed to complete with a haste, and he will determine upon a destruction; he will confirm a covenant with many a week, but in the half of the week they will remove a sacrifice and libation, and upon the temple an abomination of a destruction, until the ends of a time he will give an end of the destroying (destruction)."—whatever that may mean.

There are, however, some differences between $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ and Q:

1. instead of *πτερυγίου* the translator read *σπονδήν*;

2. *καὶ ἕως συντελείας καὶ σπουδῆς* was probably read as *καὶ εἴωθε συντελέσαι (σὺν) σπουδῇ*:

3. *καί* before *σπουδῆς* may have been transposed and

placed before *τάξει* or ⲟⲩⲟⲥ may have been added by the translator for stylistic reasons;

4. *καί* translated ⲁⲫ may not involve any different reading;

5. *βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων*, $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ read *ἐρημώσεως* under New Testament influence;

6. the last *καί* is dropped;

7. *συντελείας* was probably understood as a plural.

I have stated before that $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ beyond any doubt at all belongs to the Or^{C} group, but from this list of examples it is apparent that Q and 230 form within Or^{C} a special group with which $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ has strong affinities. In fact it is clear that it belongs to this special group.

Even though I maintain that $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ belongs to the special group of Q and 230, I do not wish, however, to leave the impression that Q or 230 is represented in every case where we have readings from the Or^{C} group--

2 23, *σοί, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου.* Here Or^{P} (147) has *σύ* and Or^{C} (35) *σύ εἶ*. This is reflected in $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$: ⲛⲑⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲫ† ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲟ†: "Thou art the God of my fathers."

In 3 (30) 97 we have a conflate of B and A; *ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Βαβυλῶνος.* Here A has a plus, *ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῆς χώρας.* $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ ⲉⲛⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲙⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ, 'over all the affairs of the land of Babylon.'

In 6 10 (11), *ἐν τοῖς ὑπερῴοις αὐτοῦ*, codex 106 reads *ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ αὐτοῦ.* $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ has the singular, but also agrees with 34 (also 33, 49, 90, 91, 228) in omitting *αὐτοῦ*: ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲛϣⲱⲓ, 'in the upper place.'

In 6 14 (15), after *αὐτοῦ*, A and $\mathfrak{A}$ (also B^{ab} mg. inf.) add *καὶ ἕως ἑσπέρας ἦν ἀγωνιζόμενος τοῦ* (omit A) *ἐξελέσθαι αὐτόν*: ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲁⲫⲉⲣⲁⲅⲱⲛⲓⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ϣⲁ ⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲏⲛⲁⲥⲙⲉϥ: "And he labored until evening to free him."

9 8, *ad finem, καὶ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν, οἵτινες ἡμάρτομέν σοι.* Codex 35 reads *ἥμαρτον.* The verb is also third person in Bohairic: ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟ† ϩⲁ ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ: "And to our fathers, they who sinned against thee."

In 9 19, $\mathfrak{A}$, 35, and 42 place *ποίησον* before *μὴ χρονίσῃς.* $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ has the same plus: ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲓ, "Do." Lu (22, 48, 51, 231) has the same addition.

In 9 20, *ad finem*, *ἁγίου*, A and 𝔄 add *τοῦ θῡ μου*. So does Lu (22, 36, 48, 51, 231). 𝔈B also has this plus, ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ, 'of my God.'

In 11 39, after *ἀλλοτρίου*, 35 adds *οὗ ἂν ἐπιγνῷ*. So does 130. 𝔈B ⲫⲏⲉⲧ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ, 'whom he will know,' may go back to this reading. In this connexion *cf.* 𝔊 *οὗ ἐὰν ἐπιγνῷ*.

11 40, *συνκερατισθήσεται μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ νότου*. Here 35 has *μετὰ αὐτοῦ ὁ βασ*. 106 also has this reading, but omits *ὁ*. Or^{P} (V) omits *ὁ* as does Lu (36, 48, 231). 𝔈B follows this reading: ⲉϥⲉϯ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲣⲏⲥ: "There will contend with him the king of the South."

In 11 43, *καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπιθυμητοῖς*, A and 106 omit the conjunction *καί*. So does 𝔈B, but this cannot be considered very seriously, since Coptic frequently omits the conjunction 'and.'

11 45, *Ἐφαδανώ*. A reads *Ἐνφαδανώ*; 106, *ἐν φαδανώ*. 𝔈B agrees with this reading, ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲇⲁⲛⲱ.

There are only a few Or^{P} and Lu readings which are not also found in the Or^{C} group—

In 3 2, for *τοὺς ὑπάτους*, 𝔈B reads ⲛⲛⲓⲥⲩⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ. Now Lu (22, 36, 48, 51, 231, c) has *πάντας τοὺς ὑπάτους*. On the other hand, it is possible that ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ is due to the influence of *πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας* in the same verse.

6 20 (21), *καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν τῷ λάκκῳ*. Lu (22, 36, 48, 51, 231) places *ἐν* before *τῷ λάκκῳ*. It is possible that such a reading is reflected in the translation: ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲗⲁⲕⲕⲟⲥ, "And when he approached within to the den."

7 11, *ἐλάλει*. Here Or^{P} (V, 62, 147) and Lu (36, 48, 51, 231) add *θεωρῶν ἦν*. So does 𝔈B ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ, "I saw."

In 11 9, *τοῦ βασιλέως* is omitted by 62 and 147. Likewise the words do not occur in 𝔈B.

In 12 9 we have an agreement with Lu (22, 36, 48, 51, 231) which adds *μοι* to *καὶ εἶπεν*, ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ, "He spake unto me." But the dative may have been added merely for the sake of a more fluent translation and need not have been in the original manuscript.

These examples argue for Hexaplaric origin in the general sense of the word, and do not disprove the conclusion that $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ belongs to the special group of 230 and Q within Or^{C}.

There are some readings that can best be explained by the influence of $\mathfrak{G}$—

In 9 14, *καὶ ἐγρηγόρησεν κύριος*, Q, $\mathfrak{A}$, and 106 add *ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν*. Here $\mathfrak{G}$ has *ἐπὶ τὰ κακά*. This plural is found in $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$, ⲈϨⲈⲚ ⲚⲒⲠⲈⲦⲤⲰⲞⲨ, 'upon the evils.' In 11 17, *ad finem, καὶ οὐκ αὐτῷ ἔσται*, we notice that $\mathfrak{G}$ does not have *αὐτῷ*. This influence is reflected in $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ ⲞⲨⲀⲈ ⲚⲚⲈⲤⲰⲰⲠⲒ, "And she will not be."

In 9 19, we may question $\mathfrak{G}$ influence; *ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν* is rendered ⲈϨⲈⲚ ⲠⲈⲔⲖⲀⲞⲤ ⲠⲒⲤ̄Λ, 'upon thy people Israel.' $\mathfrak{G}$ reads *ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου Ἰσραήλ*. But it is possible that we have here an influence from 9 20, *τοῦ λαοῦ μου Ἰσραήλ*.

Further $\mathfrak{G}$ influence is found in 11 33, *καὶ οἱ συνετοὶ τοῦ λαοῦ συνήσουσιν εἰς πολλά*: ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲚⲒⲔⲀⲦⲤⲎⲦ ⲚⲦⲈ ⲠⲒⲖⲀⲞⲤ ⲈⲨⲈ†ⲔⲀ† ⲚⲤⲀⲚⲘⲎⲰ: "and the wise of the people will inform many." Instead of *εἰς πολλά*, $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ represents *εἰς πολλούς* of $\mathfrak{G}$.

We may question the influence of $\mathfrak{G}$ in 8 4, where *καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία οὐ στήσονται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ* is rendered ⲚⲒⲐⲎⲢⲒⲞⲚ ⲦⲎⲢⲞⲨ ⲘⲠⲞⲨⲰ̀ⲞⲤⲒ ⲈⲢⲀⲦⲞⲨ ⲘⲠⲈⲪⲘ̀ⲐⲞ: "All the animals could not stand before him." ⲱ ('to be able') may have been added as an interpretation by the translator. Why does $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ use the negative of the first perfect? Is it the influence of $\mathfrak{G}$, which reads *καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία οὐκ ἔστησαν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ*? It is possible, however, that the Coptic first perfect is merely an interpretation due to the other verbs in the verse, *ἴδον, ἦν, ἐποίησεν, ἐμεγαλύνθη*.

There are a few readings which are neither Hexaplaric nor $\mathfrak{G}$—

1 16, *σπέρματα*, ⲚⲚⲓⲭⲢⲞⲤ ⲚⲦⲈ ⲠⲔⲀⲤⲒ, 'the seeds of the earth.' Codex 34 also has this plus.

3 (28) 95, *παντὶ θεῷ*, ⲚⲔⲈⲚⲞⲨ†, 'another god.' Codex 229 places *ἑτέρῳ* after *θεῷ*.

In 6 20 (21), *ἐβόησεν φωνῇ ἰσχυρᾷ*, A, 106, 230 read *εβ. φ. μεγαλῇ*; 149 has a conflate of these two readings: *φ. μεγάλῃ*

ισχ. εβ. ⲤB also has this conflate: ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥϫⲟⲣ ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ, 'in a great voice which is very strong.'

The addition or the omission of *καί* cannot be taken too seriously in Coptic, but we may note 8 18, where Codex 130 places *καί* before *ἥψατο*. So does ⲤB ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲁϥϭⲓⲛⲉⲙ, "And he touched."

In 10 11, *τὸν λόγον τοῦτον*, Codex 229 omits *τοῦτον*. So does ⲤB ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲁⲓ, 'the word.'

While there is no doubt about the conclusions reached concerning the provenance of ⲤB, in many places it runs wild. In various passages the translator shows considerable independence and originality. In some instances he shows a tendency toward verbosity, but most of the unique additions and readings doubtless are due to the manuscript from which the translation was made. As in the case of the Arabic and the Sahidic versions, I believe that the translator had only one manuscript before him, and that from it he made the Bohairic rendering to the best of his ability.

In this connexion we have to consider unique additions and omissions as well as readings whose general context is unique. At times it is not easy to determine whether we are dealing with a unique reading or an attempt at interpretation. All unique passages, however, will be recorded in various categories; and while in some instances it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line where one division ends and the other begins, an attempt has been made to visualize the psychology of the translator as he was at his task and to classify the various unique readings and also the methods of translation, interpretation, etc. under definite heads.

We shall first consider unique additions—

1 4, *ἰσχύς*, ϫⲟⲣ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲙϯ, 'strength of strength.'

1 5, ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲕⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲁ̀ⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ̀ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲉ̀ϫⲙⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲁ̀ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ: "And they led forth the boys of the captivity into the palace of the king."

1 10, *τὸν ἐκτάξαντα*. Here codex 35 adds *με*, but ⲤB has a further addition: ϥⲛⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲁⲥⲥⲁⲥⲛⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ . . . ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲛⲓ, 'him who commands me . . . daily.'

1 10, *μή ποτε ἴδῃ*, ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫⲛⲁⲩ: 'lest he come and see.'

1 10, *τὰ παιδάρια*, ⲛⲓⲁ̀ⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, 'all the boys.'

1 12, *πείρασον δὴ τοὺς παῖδάς σου*: ⲭⲉ ⲃⲟⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱ ⲏⲁ ⲛⲉⲕⲁ̀ⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ̀: "Just try us, thy servants."

1 12, *τῶν σπερμάτων*, ⲛⲓⲭ̀ⲣⲟⲝ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧ̀ⲕⲟⲓ, 'the seeds of the field.'

1 17, *καὶ φρόνησιν ἐν πάσῃ γραμματικῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ*. Here we have a plus after *φρόνησιν*, ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲥⲁⲓⲉ ⲛ̀ⲏⲣⲏⲓ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ: 'and a beauty in knowing.' This addition leads to a syntactical interpretation, ⲥ̀ⲃⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲟⲩⲫⲓⲁ̀, 'all writing and wisdom.'

1 18, *ἐναντίον* N.; ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲍⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ: "He set them before the king."

1 20, *ἐπιστήμης ὧν ἐζήτησεν παρ' αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεύς*: ⲟⲩⲉ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲏⲙⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲛⲏⲉ̀ⲧⲁⲫⲕⲱ† ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ: 'knowledge and whatever things the king sought from them.'

1 20, *τοὺς μάγους* + ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁ̀ⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ̀: 'and the youths.'

2 19, *τὸ μυστήριον ἀπεκαλύφθη* + ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗⲍⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄, 'from the Lord.'

2 21, *μεθιστᾷ*, ⲫⲟⲩⲱ̀ⲧⲉⲃ ⲛ̀ⲍⲁⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ: "He deports mountains."

2 28, ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲫ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉ Δⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ: "Daniel spake unto him."

2 38, *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*: ⲛⲓⲱⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, 'all the sons of men.'

3 3, *ad finem*, *ἐνώπιον τῆς εἰκόνος* + ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ; 'of gold.' This plus may be due to the influence of 3 1.

3 11, *τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ* + ⲑⲏⲉ̀ⲧ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲍⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲣⲁⲧⲥ: 'which thou didst set up.'

3 13, *ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως*, ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲩⲭⲟⲇⲟⲛⲟⲥⲟⲣ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ. The king's name is added.

3 16, ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ, "O king."

3 20, *εἶπεν*, ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ, "Said the king."

3 (24) 91, *τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ*, ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲫⲛⲓⲱ† ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲫⲣⲉⲫ-ⲱⲉⲙⲱⲓ: 'to his grandees and his ministers.'

3 (26) 93, *καὶ δεῦτε*, ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲙⲟⲱⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲙ̀ⲑⲟ: "And come forth before me (into my presence)."

3 (26) 93. *ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρός* + ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲱⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲓⲱϯ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ: 'coming forth into the presence of the king and all the grandees.'

3 (29) 96, *πᾶς λαός, φυλή, γλῶσσα*: ⲛ̀ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲥⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ: 'every people and every tribe and every tongue.' The translator may have repeated *πᾶς* (or *πάση*) with the following two nouns, since the first one, *λαός*, had it. But note that below in (4 1) 3 98, he does not repeat it. Accordingly he may have translated literally from his Greek copy.

3 (30) 97, ⲉ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉ̀ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϣ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ̀ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, 'over all the affairs.'

4 (4) 1, *ἐγὼ Ναβουχοδονοσόρ* + ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ, 'the king.'

4 (17) 14, *ὁ ὕψιστος τῆς βασιλείας*, ⲉⲧⲃⲟⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ: 'the exalted one upon the kingdom.'

4 (27) 24, *ὁ θεός*, ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧ̀ⲫⲉ, 'the god of heaven.'

4 (33) 30, *ὡς ὀρνέων* + ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧ̀ⲫⲉ, 'of heaven.'

4 (37) 34, *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* + ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡ̀ⲕⲁϩⲓ, 'and of earth.'

5 9, *συνεταράσσοντο* + ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ, 'with him.'

5 11, *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ πατρός σου* + ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲡⲉⲕⲓⲱⲧ, '*of the king*, thy father.'

5 12, *ὅτι πνεῦμα περισσὸν ἐν αὐτῷ*: ϫⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲟ̀ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ: "that pure was a spirit of abundance within him."

5 12, *καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς*, ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲡⲉⲕⲓⲱⲧ, 'the king, thy father.'

5 17, *σοι ἔστω*, ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ, 'to thee, O king.'

6 (4) 3, *καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς*, ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ, 'on account of this,' but *καί* is left out.

6 (11) 10, *καὶ Δανιήλ, ἡνίκα ἔγνω*: ⲁⲥⲱⲟⲡⲓ ⲉ̀ⲧⲁϥⲉ̀ⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ: "It happened when Daniel knew."

7 1, *καὶ αἱ ὁράσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης αὐτοῦ*. After *αὐτοῦ* 1° read ⲁⲩⲓ, 'came.'

7 20, *καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου*, ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲡ: "And as regards the other small horn." This plus may be due to the influence of verse 8.

8 17, *principio*, ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡ̀ϫⲓⲛⲑⲣⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲓ: "And while he was speaking with me."

9 4, *ἐξωμολογησάμην* + ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲕⲱϯ, "And I inquired."

9 5, *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κριμάτων σου*, ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲁ ⲛⲉⲕϩⲁⲡ ⲙⲙⲏⲓ: 'and from thy *true* judgments.'

9 6, *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου*, ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ, 'in thy holy name.'

9 11, *καὶ ἐξέκλιναν τοῦ μὴ ἀκοῦσαι*: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲣⲓⲕⲓ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲱⲧⲉⲙⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ . . . ⲡⲟⲥ: "They turned aside from thy commands so as not to hear . . . O Lord."

9 22, *καὶ συνέτισέν με* + ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲫⲣⲓⲕⲁϯ: "And he made me understand."

10 6, *ὡσεὶ ὅρασις ἀστραπῆς* + ⲉⲫϯⲙⲟⲩⲉ, 'gleaming.'

10 10, *ad finem, γόνατά μου* + ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲫϯⲭⲟⲙ ⲛⲛⲁⲭⲓⲥ: "And he strengthened my hand."

11 2, *καὶ ὁ τέταρτος* + ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲱⲛⲫ, 'will rise;' this probably came in through the previous *ἀνατήσονται*. *Cf.* also *ἀναστήσεται* in verse 3.

There are also a number of unique readings which will now be considered. Some may not be of any serious value in the study of the text, and yet they should not be passed over in silence—

1 5, *ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ βασιλέως*, ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲓ ⲧⲉϥⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ, 'from his table.'

1 15, *ταῖς σαρξίν*, ϩⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣⲝ; singular for the Greek plural, 'in their flesh.'

1 15, *ὑπὲρ τὰ παιδάρια τὰ ἔσθοντα τὴν τράπεζαν τοῦ βασιλέως*: ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϥⲏⲣ ⲙⲙⲁⲓⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ: "more than all their companions, the boys who were in the house of the king."

1 17, *ἐν πάσῃ ὁράσει καὶ ἐνυπνίοις*: ϩⲉⲛ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ, 'in all their learning and in dreams.' The first noun is not a translation.

1 18, *ἐναντίον* N. Here codices 34 and 233 add *τοῦ βασιλέως*, but $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ omits the name of the king, ⲙⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ, 'before the king.'

1 20, *εὗρεν αὐτούς*, ⲁⲩⲭⲉⲙⲟⲩ: "They found them."

2 6, *τὸ ἐνύπνιον* 1°; pronoun for noun: ⲉⲣⲟⲥ, 'it.'

2 10, *ἐπαοιδόν, μάγον καὶ χαλδαῖον*: ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲃⲓⲱⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲭⲁⲗⲇⲉⲟⲥ, 'the enchanters, the sorcerers, and the Chaldaeans.'

2 24, *καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναγγελῶ*: ⲧⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ̀ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲟ̀ⲍⲉⲙ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲥ: "The dream and its interpretation I will tell the king."

2 25, *ὅστις τὸ σύγκριμα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναγγελεῖ*: ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲱ̀ϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲁⲟⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉ̀ⲧⲉⲩⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ̀: "One who is able to declare my lord, the king, his dream." This, however, may be partly an interpretation.

2 36, *καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ ἐροῦμεν ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως*: ⲡⲉⲥⲕⲉⲟⲩⲟ̀ⲍⲉⲙ ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲧⲛⲁϫⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ: "Of its interpretation also I will inform you and will tell it in the presence of thee, O king." It should be noted in this connexion that here Ⱥ also has the verb in the first person singular.

2 38, *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὅπου κατοικοῦσιν*: ϧⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ: 'in all places in which dwell . . .'

4 (19) 16, *καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Βαλτασὰρ καὶ εἶπεν*: ⲁⲫⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ̀ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ: "Daniel replied."

4 (30) 27, *ἐν τῷ κράτει τῆς ἰσχύος μου*: ⲉ̀ⲍⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲍⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ: 'in the strength of my kingdom.'

5 18, *τὴν βασιλείαν*, ⲛ̀ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲣⲁⲙⲁ̀ⲟ, 'riches.' It is possible that this rendering is based upon a reading like that found in codex 233, which here has *τὴν δύναμιν*.

5 22, *τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐ πάντα ταῦτα ἔγνως*: ⲙ̀ⲫⲧ ⲫⲏ̀ⲧⲁⲕⲉ̀ⲙⲓ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲍⲱⲃⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ: "The God whom thou hast known, because everything belongs to him."

6 (13) 12, *καὶ προσελθόντες λέγουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ*: ⲁⲩⲓ̀ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲡⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ: "They came to the king, they said to him." This probably is an interpretation.

8 5, *ἀπὸ λιβός*, ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲙⲍⲓⲧ, 'from the North.' This probably is an interpretation.

9 4, *ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ θαυμαστός*, ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲱϯ ⲫⲏⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲱ̀ⲫⲏⲣⲓ: "My great God, who is wonderful." This, however, may be only an interpretation.

9 9, *καὶ οἱ ἱλασμοί*, ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϫⲱ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ, 'and the forgiveness (sg.).'

9 9, *ad finem, ὅτι ἀπέστημεν*, ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲁⲛⲍⲉⲛⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲕ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅: "Since verily we separated ourselves from thee, O Lord." I did not call this an addition, since *ἀπὸ κυρίου* is

found in A, Ⲁ, 106, 230. It is also possible that ⲟⲩⲏⲓ and ⲛ̀ⲙⲟⲕ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ may be due to the translator's desire to make a more fluent rendering.

9 18, *τὸν οἰκτειρμὸν ἡμῶν*; here ℭ^{B} renders the singular by the plural, ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧⲱⲫⲛⲉⲓϩⲏⲧ.

10 6, *ὡς ὅρασις χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος*, ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲧⲉⲃⲣⲏⲝ, 'of a flash of lightning.'

10 9, *ἤμην κατανενυγμένος*, ⲛⲁⲓⲙⲟⲕⲙⲉⲕ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲓ ⲡⲉ, "I was considering." Or is this merely a guess at the meaning? *Cf.* ℭ^{S} on this passage.

11 10, *καὶ συνπροσπλακήσεται*, ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲉ̀ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲉ̀ⲫⲉⲣ-ⲥⲩⲛⲡ̀ⲗⲉⲓⲛ: "And he will be first, he will strive."

11 21, *ἥξει*, ⲉⲫⲉ̀ϩⲉⲓ, "He will fall."

11 26, *τραυματίαι πολλοί*, ⲛ̀ⲝⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲱ ⲛ̀ⲃⲱⲧⲉⲃ, 'many dead.' This is probably an interpretation.

11 27, *ὅτι ἔτι πέρας εἰς καιρόν*: ⲝⲉ ⲉ̀ⲧⲓ ⲟⲩⲝⲱⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ: 'that there still was an end of a time.'

11 36, *ἐπὶ πάντα θεόν*, ⲉ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲝⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ: 'upon all the gods.' Is this due to the influence of 11 37?

12 1, *ὁ λαός σου πᾶς*: ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲝⲉⲙⲫ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ: "All whom they will find in thy people."

12 9, *ἕως καιροῦ πέρας*, ⲱⲁ ⲛ̀ⲝⲱⲕ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲁ̀, 'until the consummation of the end.' Inasmuch as a Greek word has been employed, it is possible that the original had a unique reading.

12 11, *ἀπὸ καιροῦ*, ⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ, 'in the times.'

We shall now consider the unique omissions—

1 5, *ὁ βασιλεύς*.

1 16, *τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῶν*; *αὐτῶν* is not translated: ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲓⲡⲛⲟⲛ, 'the food.'

2 2, *καὶ ἦλθαν*.

2 13, *καὶ ἐζήτησαν Δανιὴλ καὶ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ ἀνελεῖν*.

2 16, *Δανιήλ*.

2 24, 1°, *τοὺς σοφοὺς Βαβυλῶνος*; omits *Βαβυλῶνος*.

2 26, *καὶ ἀπεκρίθη*. *ὁ βασιλεύς* is then placed after *εἶπε*.

2 39, *ἥττων σου καὶ βασιλεία τρίτη*.

2 40, *ἰσχυρά*.

2 43, *καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται προσκολλώμενοι*.

2 47, *ὅτι ἠδυνήθης ἀποκαλύψαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο.*

2 48, an omission with an interpretation; *καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάσης χώρας Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἄρχοντα*: ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲁⲫⲧⲁ-ⲥⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲩ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲥⲓⲛⲉⲛ ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲙⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ: "And he appointed him ruler over all the land of Babylon." There is an omission of *σατραπῶν ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς Βαβυλῶνος.*

4 (18) 15, *ὅτι πάντες οἱ σοφοὶ τῆς βασιλείας μου οὐ δύνανται τὸ σύγκριμα αὐτοῦ δηλῶσαί μοι.*

4 (23) 20, *καὶ ὅτι ἴδεν ὁ βασιλεύς*: ⲁⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ: "The king saw."

4 (27) 24, *πενήτων.*

5 7, *ἐν ἰσχύι.*

5 14, *περισσή.*

5 23, *καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοί σου.*

6 (3) 2, *τοὺς σατράπας.*

6 (11) 10, *ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ*; omits *αὐτοῦ.*

6 (13) 12, *βασιλεῦ* 1°.

6 (16) 15, *Γνῶθι, βασιλεῦ.*

6 (16) 15, *πᾶν ὁρισμὸν καὶ στάσιν*: ⲡⲓⲍⲟⲣⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓ-ⲥⲉⲙⲛⲓ: 𝔊B omits *πᾶν*, but both nouns have the definite article.

6 (17) 16, *ἐνδελεχῶς*; it is also omitted by some Armenian manuscripts. But note in 6 (21) 20 that it is translated by ⲉⲫⲙⲏⲛ. In other words, this omission is not a matter of interpretation.

7 19, *φοβερὸν περισσῶς*: ⲉⲫⲟⲓ ⲛⲍⲟⲧⲓ, "It is frightful." 𝔊B omits *περισσῶς.*

8 13, *ἡ δοθεῖσα.*

8 15, *ὡς ὅρασις ἀνδρός*; omits *ὡς*: ⲟⲩⲍⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ.

8 17, *καὶ ἦλθεν.*

8 21, *ὃ ἦν ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ.*

8 24, *καὶ κατευθυνεῖ καὶ ποιήσει.*

8 26, *ὅτι εἰς ἡμέρας πολλάς.*

9 5, *ἠνομήσαμεν.*

9 13, *καὶ τοῦ συνιέναι*; omits *καί*, but the addition or the omission of 'and' in Coptic is not to be taken too seriously.

9 15, *ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ.*

10 3, *ad finem, ἡμερῶν.* Tertullian also omits this word.

10 4, *τοῦ πρώτου.*

10 14, *ὅτι ἔτι ἡ ὅρασις εἰς ἡμέρας.*

11 2, *πλοῦτον μέγαν*; omits *μέγαν*, but it may have been left out as unnecessary; ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ̀, 'wealth.'

11 13, *καὶ ἄξει ὄχλον πολὺν ὑπὲρ τὸν πρότερον.* This was probably regarded as a doublet of what follows.

11 14, *τοῦ λαοῦ σου.*

11 29, *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται. οὐκ* is left out. It should, however, be noted that codex 26 and some Armenian manuscripts also have this omission; ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲉ̀ⲱⲱⲡⲓ; "And it will be."

11 45, *ὁ ῥυόμενος αὐτόν*; *αὐτόν* is omitted.

12 1, *σωθήσεται.*

12 2, *χώματι*; it may have been omitted as unnecessary.

12 5, *ἕτεροι.*

12 10, *καὶ οὐ συνήσουσιν ἄνομοι.*

There are some passages where the addition of a pronoun or of a possessive or the use of the demonstrative instead of the Greek definite article probably does not imply that the translator had a different text. In most cases (if not all) these apparent unique readings represent merely an idiomatic rendering or an attempt to make a fluent translation.

We shall now consider the instances of the addition of pronouns—

2 4, *ἀναγγελοῦμεν* + ⲛⲁⲕ, 'to you.'

2 7, *ἀναγγελοῦμεν* + ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲫ, 'to him.'

2 8, *εἶπεν*, ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ: "He said unto them."

2 23, *καὶ αἰνῶ*; ⲧⲛⲁⲥ̀ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲕ, "I shall praise thee."

2 47, *ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια*: ⲡⲉⲫⲃⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲛⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ: "He who reveals mysteries to thee."

3 13, *ἀγαγεῖν* + ⲛⲁϥ, 'to himself.'

4 (18) 15, *εἰπόν* + ⲛⲏⲓ, 'to me.'

5 17, *ἀναγνώσομαι* + ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲕ, 'for thee.'

We shall now note the additions of possessives—

2 5, *τὸ ἐνύπνιον*, ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ̀, 'my dream.'

2 6, *τὸ ἐνύπνιον* 2°, ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ̀, 'my dream.' In this connexion we may note that for *τὸ ἐνύπνιον* 1° codex 34 reads *ἐνύπνιόν μου.*

2 7, *τὸ ἐνύπνιον*, ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ̀, 'his dream.'

2 9, *τὸ ἐνύπνιον* 1°, **ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ**, 'my dream.'

2 26, *τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὃ ἴδον*, **ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ**, 'my dream.'

2 32. *αἱ χεῖρες καὶ τὸ στῆθος*, **ⲛⲉⲥⲭⲓⲭ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲥⲙⲉⲥⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ**, 'its hands and its chest.' Lu (22, 36, 48, 51, 231) adds *αὐτῆς* after *αἱ χεῖρες*. But there is no reason to assume Lucianic influence here. The addition of the possessive is a natural plus, especially on account of *οἱ βραχίονες αὐτῆς*. From this noun it was carried to the names of the other anatomical parts in the series.

2 36, *τὸ ἐνύπνιον*, **ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ**, 'thy dream.'

2 41, *τοὺς πόδας καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους*: **ⲛⲉⲥⲫⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲏⲃ**: 'its feet and its toes.'

3 14, *τῇ εἰκόνι*, **ⲧⲁϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ**, 'my image.'

4 (7) 4, *τὸ ἐνύπνιον*, **ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ**, 'my dream.'

4 (19) 16. *τὸ ἐνύπνιον*, **ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ**, 'thy dream.'

6 (11) 10. *αἱ θυρίδες*, **ⲛⲉⲫⲱⲟⲩⲱⲧ**, 'its windows.'

9 7, *ἡ αἰσχύνη τοῦ προσώπου*, **ⲡⲱⲓⲡⲓ ⲛⲡⲉⲛϩⲟ**, 'the confusion of our face.' The same phrase occurs in 9 8.

We shall now consider the cases of the use of a demonstrative which do not imply a different text—

2 10, *τὸ ῥῆμα*, **ⲡⲁⲓ ⲥⲁϫⲓ**, 'this word.' Similarly in 2 15, **ⲡⲁⲓ ⲥⲁϫⲓ** for *τὸ ῥῆμα*.

2 11, *ὁ λόγος*, **ⲡⲁⲓ ⲥⲁϫⲓ**, 'this word.'

2 15, *ἡ γνώμη*, **ⲡⲁⲓ ⲥⲁϫⲓ**, 'this word.'

4 (34) 31, *τῶν ἡμερῶν*, **ⲛⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ**, 'of those days.' It is safe to assert that in all these cases of the use of the demonstrative for the article we are not dealing with any textual problems.

In 10 4, **ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ** 'that' is added to *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*, **ⲛϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ**. That is done merely as a matter of securing a fluent translation.

In 3 15, *αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ* is rendered **ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ**, 'in that hour.' This is merely an interpretation of the phrase.

There are a number of words or phrases which are idiomatic and do not involve any textual problems. Many of these idioms are very expressive and reveal our translator as a man who was aiming not at a literalistic version, but who made an honest attempt at securing a fluent and idiomatic rendering.

Among some of his idiomatic and emphatic expressions note—

2 11, *ἀλλ᾽ ἢ θεοί*, ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲁⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ, 'unless perhaps gods.'

2 18, *Δανιήλ*, ⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲗ ⲥⲱϥ, 'Daniel himself.'

2 18, *μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλοίπων σοφῶν Βαβυλῶνος*: ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲥⲱⲭⲡ ⲛⲛⲓⲥⲁⲃⲉⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ: 'with the rest of the wise men of Babylon, all of them.'

6 (11) 10, *καθὼς ἦν ποιῶν ἔμπροσθεν*: ⲕⲁⲧⲁϩⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲛⲁϥⲣⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲣⲱ ⲓⲥⲭⲉⲛⲱⲟⲣⲡ: "As he was doing even from the beginning."

6 (23) 22, *καὶ ἐνώπιον δὲ σοῦ*, ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲑⲟ ⲥⲱⲕ: 'and in the presence of thee thyself.'

7 7, *καὶ αὐτό*, ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛⲑⲟϥ ⲥⲱϥ, 'and it also.'

8 9, *κέρας ἓν ἰσχυρόν*, ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉϥⲭⲟⲣ, 'a single strong horn.'

While in 7 7 he renders *ἰσχυρὸν περισσῶς* by ⲉϥⲭⲟⲣ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲟ̀, he does not translate *περισσῶς* in 7 19 with *φοβερόν*. On the other hand it is interesting to note his addition of ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ: 3 100 (4 3), *ὡς μεγάλα καὶ ἰσχυρά*: ⲥⲱⲥ ⲥⲁⲛⲛⲓⲱϯ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲟⲣ ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ: "How great they are, and they are very powerful." Similarly note the addition of the same word in 11 31, *βδέλυγμα ἠφανισμένον*, ⲟⲩⲥⲱϥ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ: 'a desolation which is utterly destroyed.'

We shall now note the occurrence of ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ 'in this manner.' In all cases this expression is merely an idiomatic addition—

2 4, has a unique addition, *Συριστί* + ⲉⲩⲭⲱⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ, 'saying it in this manner' = 'saying as follows.' This addition probably involves no different reading.

3 (26) 93, *καὶ εἶπεν*, ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ: "And he spake as follows."

4 (23) 20, *καὶ εἶπεν*, ⲁϥⲭⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ: "He said it in this manner" = "He spake as follows."

8 16, *καὶ εἶπεν*, ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ: "And he spake in this manner."

10 19, *καὶ εἶπέν μοι*, ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ: "He spake to me in this manner."

12 9, *καὶ εἶπεν*, ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏ†: "He spake to me as follows." The addition of ⲛⲏⲓ hardly means anything textually.

The use of the word 'heart' in several cases gives an interesting idiomatic turn—

2 8, *ὅτι ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ῥῆμα*: ⲭⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲁⲓ ϩⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ ⲉ̀ϩⲑⲏⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ: "that the word departed from my heart, *me*."

6 (15) 14, *πολὺ ἐλυπήθη ἐπ' αὐτῷ*: ⲁϥⲉⲣⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲉ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲭⲱϥ: "He was grieved in heart about him."

We may also observe the occasional use of *ὅτι, καθότι* translated by ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓ, 'since verily.' 2 10, *καθότι*, ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓ; 3 (29) 96, *καθότι*, ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓ; 9 16, *ὅτι*, ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓ. For another emphatic particle, ⲉ̀ⲡ̀ⲧⲏⲣϥ, note: 2 1, *καὶ ὁ ὕπνος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* + ⲉ̀ⲡ̀ⲧⲏⲣϥ, 'entirely.'

6 (18) 17, *ἐν τῷ Δανιήλ* + ⲉ̀ⲡ̀ⲧⲏⲣϥ, 'at all.'

11 19, *καὶ οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται*, ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉⲙϥ ⲉ̀ⲡ̀ⲧⲏⲣϥ: "And they will not find him at all."

In a number of his renderings our translator has shown that he understood the meaning of the passage, but chose not to make a literalistic translation. Thus far our attention was drawn to single words or short phrases which involved a matter of idiom or fluent translation. It is important, however, to observe also that he shows originality and independence of thought in the interpretation of individual words and even whole sentences.

We shall first consider brief expressions—

In 2 6 we have an emphatic translation: *καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ*, ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲥⲕⲉⲟⲩⲟ̀ⲥⲉⲙ, 'and its interpretation also.' In 2 7 we meet the same expression, but $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ does not translate *καί*. In 2 9 and 2 36 the same expression occurs without the *καί* in Bohairic, while the Greek has the conjunction in 2 9.

In 8 23 *βασιλεύς* is rendered by ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲣⲟ 'another king.' This is an interpretation based upon the context. Similarly in 7 24 an addition is made for the sake of clearness; *καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἀναστήσεται ὅς . . .*: ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ϩⲛⲁⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲥⲁϥⲁⲥⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲩ ϥⲏⲉ̀ⲑⲛⲁⲉⲣⲥⲟⲩⲟ̀: "And there will arise after them another one who . . ."

No textual problem is involved in 12 2. *καὶ οὗτοι* 2°, ⲛⲓⲕⲉ-ϫⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ, 'and the others.' Again we have an interpretation that is obvious from the context of the Greek.

In 3 21 *καὶ τιάραις* is rendered by ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩⲓ̀, 'and their sandals.'

In 4 (11) 8 it appears that the translator guessed the meaning of *κύτος* from the context; *καὶ τὸ κύτος αὐτοῦ*: ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲛⲓⲱϯ: 'and its magnitude.' Here A has ܩܘܡܬܗ 'and its width, extent.' In 4 (20) 17, however, he does not render this expression in the same way, but ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲓ̀ⲏ, 'and its form, quality, or stature.' In this case A retained the same translation as in 4 (11) 8.

In 11 10, *καὶ κατακλύζων* is rendered by the same verb in $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$, ⲉϥⲉ̀ⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕ̀ⲗⲩⲍⲓⲛ, but when we come to 11 26, we note that the same verb is rendered into Bohairic by a native word; thus *καὶ δυνάμεις κατακλύσει* is translated literally, ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲉ̀ϫⲱⲗⲕ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲛϫⲟⲙ. Why was our translator inconsistent in this particular verb? Did a gloss aid him in the latter passage, or did he intentionally keep a foreign word in the former case?

It cannot always be determined whether we are dealing with a unique reading or an interpretation. Let us now note some cases where the free interpretation of a word or passage does not warrant us in assuming a different text. In all these cases the translator did no violence to the meaning of the context, but chose rather not to make a literalistic version—

1 5, *καὶ διέταξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ πότου αὐτοῦ*: ⲭⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧ̀ⲃⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉ̀ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲃⲁⲧⲥⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉ̀ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗⲥⲓ ⲧⲉϥⲧ̀ⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗⲃⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲣⲡ ⲉ̀ϣⲁϥⲥⲱ ⲛ̀ⲃⲏⲧϥ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ: "That they should give them of the food of the day by the day from his table and from the wine of which the king was accustomed to drink."

1 7, *καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀρχιευνοῦχος ὀνόματα*: ⲟⲩⲁⲥ ⲁ̀ ⲡⲓⲭⲱⲭ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱ̀ⲧⲉⲃ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲁϥⲧ̀ⲣⲁⲛ: "And the chief eunuch changed their names: he named . . ."

1 8, *ὡς οὐ μὴ ἀλισγηθῇ ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐν*

τῷ οἴνῳ τοῦ πότου αὐτοῦ . . . ὡς οὐ μὴ ἀλισγηθῇ: ⲉⲱⲧⲉⲙⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ϯⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲏⲣⲡ ⲉⲱⲁϥⲥⲱ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ . . . ⲉⲱⲧⲉⲙⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ: 'not to eat from the table of the king and to drink from his wine . . . not to eat of them.'

In 1 12 *καὶ φαγόμεθα* is rendered ⲥⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ, 'that we may eat.' Here the text of Holmes-Parsons reads *φαγώμεθα*, a reading found in Or^{L^1} (V) and Or^{C} (230, 42). Of course it is easy to confuse *o* and *ω* in manuscripts. $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ appears to be based on the subjunctive form. If not, the translator saw the meaning of the passage and made an interpretation. Similarly *καὶ ὕδωρ πιόμεθα* in the text of Holmes-Parsons is subjunctive, *πιώμεθα*, a reading which is also found in Or^{P} (V, 62, 147) and Or^{C} (42, 230). Whether the translator had a subjunctive in this case or not, he found the true meaning, ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟϥ, 'and some water which we may drink.'

1 13, *καὶ ὀφθήτωσαν ἐνώπιόν σου αἱ εἰδέαι ἡμῶν καὶ αἱ εἰδέαι τῶν παιδαρίων*: ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲉⲛⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲙⲑⲟ ⲙⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲗⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲟⲓ ⲛⲙⲟϥ: "And we shall reveal before thee the manner that we have become in consequence of it and the manner that the youths have become on account of it."

1 15, *καὶ ἰσχυροὶ ταῖς σαρξίν*: ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙⲛⲟⲙϯ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣⲝ: "They found strength in their flesh."

2 3, *τοῦ γνῶναι τὸ ἐνύπνιον*: ⲙⲡⲓⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ: "I did not know it." Probably this translation is based not on a different text, but rather is a psychological interpretation: "I dreamed a dream, my soul was disturbed, I did not know it." If my soul was disturbed to know, I did not know. Else why was it disturbed?

2 16, *καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ ἀναγγείλῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ*: ⲛⲧⲉϥⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉⲃⲫⲱⲗ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ: "That he might inform the king about the solution of his dream." The noun used instead of the pronoun.

2 21, *φρόνησιν τοῖς εἰδόσιν σύνεσιν*: ⲟⲩⲕⲁϯ ⲛⲛⲏⲉⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ, 'prudence of those who know it.' The pronoun used instead of the noun.

2 34, *ἄνευ χειρῶν*, ⲘⲠⲈ ⲭⲓⲍ Ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲃⲓⲚⲈⲘⲁϥ: "The hand of man has not touched it."

3 18, *καὶ ἐὰν μή*, ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲈⲂⲱⲠ ⲟⲩⲚ ⲁϥⲱⲦⲈⲘⲚⲁⲍⲘⲈⲚ: "And if therefore he does not liberate us."

4 (25) 22, *καὶ χόρτον ὡς βοῦν ψωμιοῦσίν σε*: ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲈⲔⲈⲞⲨⲈⲘ ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲃⲈⲚ Ⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲚⲞⲨⲈⲂⲈ: "And thou shalt eat hay like an ox." But in 4 (32) 29, we have a literal translation of the same Greek, ⲈⲨⲈⲐⲢⲈⲔⲞⲨⲈⲘ ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲃⲈⲚ Ⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲚⲞⲨⲈⲂⲈ: "And they will feed thee hay like an ox."

5 7, *καὶ ὁ μανιάκης ὁ χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ*: ⲚⲈⲘ ⲟⲩⲘⲁⲚⲓⲁⲔⲓⲥ ⲚⲚⲟⲩⲃ ⲈⲨⲈⲦⲏⲓⲧ ⲥⲓⲱⲦⲧ: "And a necklace of gold they will place upon him."

5 16, *καὶ ὁ μανιάκης ὁ χρυσοῦς ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ σου*: ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲚⲓⲀⲢⲓⲥ ⲚⲚⲟⲩⲃ ⲉϥⲈⲂⲱⲠⲓ ⲉϥⲦⲟⲓ ⲚϧⲏⲦⲔ: "And a necklace of gold will be placed upon thee."

5 21, *καὶ χόρτον ὡς βοῦν ἐψώμιζον αὐτόν*: ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲚⲁϥⲟⲩⲈⲘ ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲃⲈⲚ Ⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲚⲟⲩⲈⲂⲈ: "And his food was hay in the manner of an ox."

5 23, *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψώθης*: ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲔⲃⲓⲥⲓ ⲘⲠⲈⲔⲥⲏⲦ ⲈⲬⲈⲚ ⲠⲞⲤ̄ ⲫϯ ⲚⲦⲈ ⲦⲪⲈ: "And thou didst lift thy heart against the Lord, the God of heaven."

5 29, *καὶ τὸν μανιάκην τὸν χρυσοῦν περιέθηκαν περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ*: ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲠⲓⲘⲁⲚⲓⲀⲔⲓⲥ ⲚⲚⲟⲩⲃ ⲁⲩⲦⲏⲓⲧ ⲚϧⲏⲦⲧ: "And the necklace of gold they placed upon him."

6 (4) 3, *καὶ ἦν Δανιὴλ ὑπὲρ αὐτούς*: ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲚⲁϥⲦⲁⲓⲚⲟⲩⲦ ⲈⲂⲟⲦⲈⲢⲱⲟⲩ ⲦⲚⲢⲟⲩ ⲠⲈ ⲚⲀⲈ ⲆⲁⲚⲓⲏⲖ: "And Daniel was honored above them all."

6 (13) 12, *καὶ προσελθόντες λέγουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ*: ⲁⲩⲒ ⲱⲀ ⲠⲟⲩⲢⲞ ⲠⲈⲬⲱⲟⲩ ⲚⲀϥ: "They came to the king, they said unto him."

6 (27) 26, *καὶ ἡ κυρία αὐτοῦ ἕως τέλους*: ⲦⲈϥⲘⲈⲦⲞ̄ ⲀⲘⲀⲍⲒ ⲱⲀ ⲈⲂⲟⲖ: 'his lordship, power unto the end.'

8 7, *καὶ συνέτριψεν ἀμφότερα τὰ κέρατα αὐτοῦ*: ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁϥ-ϧⲟⲘϧⲈⲘ ⲚⲚⲈϥⲦⲁⲠ ⲈⲨⲥⲟⲠ ⲚⲈ: "And he broke his horns at the same time."

11 44, *καὶ ἀκοαὶ καὶ σπουδαί*, ⲚⲈⲘ ⲍⲀⲚⲀⲘⲏ ⲈⲨⲒⲚⲥ: 'and quick sounds.'

When Semitisms are correctly understood. $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ represents $\mathfrak{H}$ better than do the Greek versions:

5 2, *καὶ πιέτωσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς*: ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲥⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲏⲧⲟⲩ: 'that these might drink in (i. e. from) them;' 10 18, *καὶ προσέθετο καὶ ἥψατό μου*: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁϥⲙⲓⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ: "He continued (or added), he touched me."

In 2 15 we have a literal translation of a Semitism, and consequently the meaning is not adequately rendered; *καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἀπεκτέννοντο*: ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲃⲉϥ ⲛⲁⲩⲃ̀ⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲟⲩ: "And as to the wise men, they were killing them."

In 1 16 a literal rendering of a Semitism is just as clear in Coptic as in the Greek; *καὶ ἐγένετο Ἀμελσὰδ ἀναιρούμενος τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῶν*: ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲉ ⲁⲙⲉⲗⲇⲁⲇ ⲉϥⲱ̀ⲗⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲡⲛⲟⲛ: "There happened Ameldad, he bears the food."

In 5 12 the translator did not understand the meaning of *κρατούμενα*. He tried to be literal; perhaps he read *κρατουμένους*: ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏⲉ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲁ̀ⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ: 'announcing those who possess them (the dreams).'

Although our translator has done an excellent piece of work, he is not always exact in his renderings. In 4 (17) 14, *ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν* refers to *τῆς βασιλείας*. In Coptic ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ is also feminine, but in translating *ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν* he uses a masculine pronoun, ⲉ̀ϫⲱϥ. In 2 15, *ἡ γνώμη ἡ ἀναιδὴς* is rendered ⲡⲁⲓ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲓⲧ, 'this word which is empty.' This is no exact translation: we should rather expect ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲧ̄ for *ἡ ἀναιδής*.

There are some errors which are due to misreading the Greek, either by a previous copyist or by the translator—

In 1 20, beside a unique addition and an omission of *πάσῃ*, some one misread *τῇ βασιλείᾳ* as a plural *βασίλεια*, 'palace;' *τοὺς ὄντας ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ*: ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁ̀ⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ̀ ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲃⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ: 'and the youths who are in the court of the king.'

2 31, *καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτῆς ὑπερφερής*: ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲥϩⲟ ⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲟϯ ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ: "Its face was very frightful." Is it possible that the translator read *ὑπερφοβερός* for *ὑπερφερής*? *φοβερά* in the same verse is rendered by ⲛϩⲟϯ, but without ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ.

2 44, *ἐκείνων* is transposed; *καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν βασιλέων*

ἐκείνων: ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲍⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ: 'and in those days of the kings.'

5 5, *καί* probably omitted; *τοῦ τοίχου καὶ οἴκου*: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲭⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲏⲓ: 'of the wall of the house.'

7 11, *ἕως ἀνηρέθη τὸ θηρίον καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐδόθη*: *καί* before *τὸ σῶμα* was either dropped or placed before *ἐδόθη*; ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲩ: "Until they killed the beast and destroyed its body; they gave it . . ."

7 17–18, *αἳ ἀρθήσονται καὶ παραλήμψονται τὴν βασιλείαν ἅγιοι. καί* before *παραλήμψονται* was either dropped or placed before *αἵ*. 𝔊^{B} has a different verse division. *αἵ* starting verse 18; ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟ̀ⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲉ̀ⲃⲓ ⲛ̀ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉ ⲛⲏⲉ̀ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ: "And which shall be taken away; the holy ones shall take the kingdom."

11 6, *ἰσχύος βραχίονος*, ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲭϥⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲭⲟⲙ, 'the arm of his strength.'

7 21, *καί* was apparently dropped; *ἐθεώρουν, καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο ἐποίει*: ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉ̀ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲡ ⲉ̀ⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ: "I was beholding that horn; it was waging . . ." According to Holmes-Parsons the same reading occurs in the Georgian.

8 19, *ἔτι γὰρ εἰς καιροῦ πέρας*: ⲉ̀ⲧⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲕ: "For still there is a time of an end." Furthermore 𝔊^{B} agrees with Q in omitting *ἡ ὅρασις*.

8 22, *ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ*: ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲑ̀ⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ, 'from his throne.'

11 2, *πάσαις βασιλείαις*, was probably read as *πᾶσι βασιλεῦσι*, ⲉ̀ⲭⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, 'upon all kings.'

11 21, *καὶ οὐκ ἐν προσώποις οὐδὲ ἐν πολέμῳ*: ϧⲉⲛ ⲍⲁⲛⲍⲟⲡⲗⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ. It appears that on account of the proximity of *πολέμῳ*, *ὅπλοις* was read instead of *προσώποις*.

11 22, *καὶ βραχίονες τοῦ κατακλύζοντος κατακλυθήσονται ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ*. By haplography *κατακλυθήσονται* was omitted and *τοῦ κατακλύζοντος* read as a plural: ⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲱⲱⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏⲉ̀ⲧⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕⲗⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗⲍⲁ ⲡⲉⲫⲣⲟ: 'and the arms of them who flood them from his face.'

Some doublets occur which may have their origin in glosses

that crept into the text. Others may be due to dittographs in the text which our translator used—

11 43, *ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν αὐτῶν*: ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲭⲟⲣ ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲭⲟⲣ: 'and (in) very strong places and the strong places.'

1 4, *νεανίσκους*, ⲛϩⲁⲛⲁⲗⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲃⲉⲗⲱⲓⲣⲓ, 'youths, boys.' But *cf.* 1 5, where ⲛⲓⲁⲗⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ occurs alone.

In the case of *γλῶσσα*, the doublet appears to be idiomatic: 3 (29) 96, *γλῶσσα*, ⲁⲥⲡⲓ ⲛⲗⲁⲥ, although it is not consistently used; 3 4, *γλῶσσαι*, ⲛⲓⲁⲥⲡⲓ ⲛⲗⲁⲥ; similarly 3 7.

In 5 19, 6 (26) 25, 7 14, the plural is rendered by ⲛⲓⲗⲁⲥ. It is interesting to note that in 7 14 ⲔS has ⲛⲁⲥⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲥ.

There are a few misprints in Tattam's edition which we should notice now: 4 (25) 22, ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ for ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ; 8 24, ⲁⲡ for ⲁⲛ; 11 6, ⲡⲉⲉⲧⲓⲛⲓ for ⲛⲉⲉⲧⲓⲛⲓ; 11 10, ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲥⲩⲛ-ⲡⲗⲉⲣⲓⲛ for ⲉⲫⲉⲣⲥⲩⲛⲡⲗⲉⲣⲓⲛ. In 11 45, ⲙⲁⲃⲁⲓⲙ for *σαβαείν* was so copied by Tattam: in this connexion *cf.* 11 41, where ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲓⲙ is used.

Familiar geographical names are rendered into their proper Coptic equivalents. Egypt (9 15) is ⲭⲏⲙⲓ; the Greeks (8 21; 10 20), ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ; Aethiopians (11 43), ⲛⲓⲉ̀ⲑⲁⲩⲱ, Bohairic plural of ⲉⲑⲱⲱ.

Some proper names strike us as peculiar; 1 2, *εἰς γῆν Σεναάρ*, ⲉⲧⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲣ. Through a confusion of ⲉ and ⲥ, ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲣ probably represents ⲛⲥⲛⲁⲣ <*ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ. 8 2–3, *ὁ οὐβάλ*, ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲗ; 11 30, *Κίτιοι* is rendered ⲛⲓⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ.

Some foreign words have been simply transliterated: 1 3, *τῶν φορθομμείν*, ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲣⲑⲟⲙⲓⲛ; 4 (13) 10, (17) 14, (23) 20, ⲟⲩⲏⲣ for *εἴρ*. In 5 7 ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁ̀ⲕⲓⲥ is an evident borrowing from *μανιάκης*, but in 5 16 we meet ⲛⲓⲁ̀ⲣⲓⲥ. Further transliterations are 8 13, *τῷ φελμουνεί*, ⲉⲫⲉⲗⲙⲟⲩⲛⲓ; 11 16, *σαβείρ*, ⲥⲁⲃⲓⲣ; 11 38, *θεὸν μαωζείν*, ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲙⲱⲁⲁⲓⲛ; 11 41, *σαβαείν*, ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲓⲙ; 11 45, *Ἐφαδανώ*, ⲃⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲇⲁⲛⲱ.

The use of the word 'and' in Coptic does not have any textual significance. In many cases *καί* is translated, but on the other hand it seems that in many instances the spirit of the language allowed it to be ignored. The cases of both these phenomena have been so numerous that I have not

counted them. But I observed fifteen cases in the first five chapters where ⲟⲩⲟϩ appeared in Bohairic without having *καί* in the Greek. In two of these passages (2 6; 3 15) ⲟⲩⲟϩ may represent *δέ*. From this observation it appears that in the use of 'and' the translator allowed himself considerable freedom.

In several cases *καί* is translated by another word than 'and': 2 24, *καὶ ἦλθεν*, ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲓ; 2 45, *καὶ πιστή*, ϥⲉⲛϩⲟⲧ ⲟⲛ, 'true furthermore;' 3 16, *καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν*, ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ; 5 15, *καὶ νῦν*, ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ; 5 16, *καὶ ἐγώ*, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ.

δέ is rendered by ⲇⲉ; 5 17, *ἐγὼ δέ*, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ. ⲇⲉ may be added where it does not occur in the Greek: 2 7, *ἀπεκρίθησαν*, ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲇⲉ; 2 37, *σύ*, *βασιλεῦ*, ⲛⲑⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ.

δέ is translated by ⲁⲗⲗⲁ; 2 24, *εἰσάγαγε δέ*, ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲗⲓⲧ.

καί is rendered by ⲇⲉ: 4 (6) 3, *καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ ἐτέθη*: ⲁϥⲥⲉⲙⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ; 5 4, *καὶ τὸν θεόν*, ⲫⲧ ⲇⲉ.

Particles may be taken directly from the Greek into Bohairic: 2 41, *μέρος μέν τι . . . μέρος δέ τι*: ⲟⲩⲥⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ . . . ⲟⲩⲥⲁ ⲇⲉ. ⲧⲛⲟⲩ, 'now,' occurs occasionally: 5 12, *νῦν οὖν*, ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ; 5 15, *καὶ νῦν*, ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ; 5 16, *νῦν οὖν*, ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ; 6 (9) 8, *νῦν οὖν*, ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ.

From these observations it is apparent that the use of Greek particles gave Bohairic a certain flexibility which the native idiom did not originally possess.

In conclusion we may state that the definite Hexaplaric character of $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that $\mathfrak{C}^{S}$ is the older translation of this book. It is also a definite fact that $\mathfrak{C}^{B}$ belongs to the Or^{C} group, but not merely in a general sense. On the contrary it very specifically is a member of the smaller group within Or^{C} of which our best representatives are Q and 230. Its Egyptian (Hesychian) provenance is accordingly assured.

INDEX OF BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS

Daniel 1 2 326
3 326
4 310, 326
5 310, 313, 315, 321, 326
7 301, 321
8 321
10 310, 311
11 301
12 311, 322
13 322

Daniel 1 15 313, 322
16 309, 315, 324
17 311, 313
18 300, 311, 313
19 301
20 311, 313, 324
2 1 320
2 315
3 322
4 317, 319
5 301, 317
6 313, 317, 320, 327
7 317, 320, 327
8 317, 320
9 318, 320
10 313, 318, 320
11 318, 319
13 315, 324
15 318, 324
16 315, 322
17 301
18 319
19 311
21 311, 322
23 301, 307, 317
24 314, 315, 327
25 314
26 315, 318
28 311
31 324
32 318
33 302
34 302, 323
35 304
36 314, 318, 320
37 327
38 302, 304, 311, 314
39 315
40 315
41 318, 327
43 315
44 324
45 327
46 304
47 316, 317
48 316

Daniel 3 1 302
2 308
3 300, 311
4 302, 326
7 326
9 304
11 311
13 311, 317
14 318
15 304, 318, 327
16 311, 327
18 323
20 311
21 321
22 286, 298
24 (91) 296, 298, 301, 311
25 (92) 302
26 (93) 286, 311, 312, 319
27 (94) 296
28 (95) 297, 309
29 (96) 291, 312, 320, 326
30 (97) 307, 312
31 293
32 297
33 297
57 296
58 296
59 296
60 296
61 287
62 296
63 296
100 (4 3) 319
4 (4) 1 312
(6) 3 327
(7) 4 318
(10) 7 304
(11) 8 321
(13) 10 326
(17) 14 312, 324, 326
(18) 15 316, 317
(19) 16 314, 318
(20) 17 321
(23) 20 305, 316, 319, 326
(25) 22 323, 326
(27) 24 312, 316

Daniel 4 (30) 27 314
(32) 29 323
(33) 30 312
(34) 31 318
(37) 34 312
5 2 302, 324
4 327
5 325
7 316, 323, 326
9 312
10 302
11 312
12 305, 312, 324, 327
13 302
14 316
15 327
16 323, 326, 327
17 312, 317, 327
18 314
19 326
21 323
22 314
23 316, 323
29 323
6 (3) 2 302, 316
(4) 3 312, 323
(9) 8 327
(11) 10 307, 312, 316, 318, 319
(13) 12 314, 316, 323
(15) 14 307, 320
(16) 15 316
(17) 16 316
(18) 17 320
(21) 20 308, 309, 316
(23) 22 319
(26) 25 326
(27) 26 323
7 1 312
6 302
7 319
9 296, 298
10 286, 289, 295, 298
11 289, 293, 294, 297, 308, 325
12 288, 297, 305
13 287, 289, 294
14 287, 293, 298, 326

Daniel 7 15 294, 295, 296, 298
17–18 325
19 316, 319
20 312
21 325
24 320
8 2 300, 326
3 326
4 309
5 314
7 323
9 319
10 305
11 302
13 316, 326
15 316
16 319
17 312, 316
18 288, 289, 310
19 286, 302, 305, 325
21 316, 326
22 289, 325
23 289, 298, 305, 320
24 289, 316, 326
25 293, 297
26 290, 298, 316
27 286, 296, 298
9 2 286, 295, 298
3 286
4 312, 314
5 286, 305, 313, 316
6 313
7 294, 318
8 288, 294, 305, 307
9 287, 294, 314
10 287, 297
11 313
12 297
13 287, 290, 295, 305, 316
14 288, 290, 309
15 316, 326
16 290, 294, 297, 298, 320
17 290, 297
18 298, 315
19 290, 296, 307, 309
20 291, 308, 309

Daniel 9 22 313
24 296
25 291, 296
26 291, 295, 298, 302
27 291, 292, 295, 296, 306
10 3 316
4 298, 303, 317, 318
6 297, 313, 315
7 293, 297, 298
8 298
9 295, 297, 315
10 298, 313
11 293, 298, 310
14 303, 317
16 303
18 324
19 319
20 303, 305, 326
11 2 313, 317, 325
3 313
6 325, 326
9 308
10 315, 321, 326
13 305, 317
14 303, 317
15 300, 303
16 326
17 309
Daniel 11 19 320
21 315, 325
22 325
24 301
26 315, 321
27 315
29 303, 317
30 326
31 319
33 309
36 315
37 303, 306
38 326
39 308
40 308
41 326
43 303, 308, 326
44 323
45 308, 317, 326
12 1 315, 317
2 317, 321
4 303
5 317
8 303
9 308, 315, 320
10 317
11 303, 306, 315

„METRUM" ALS MITTEL DER TEXTKRITIK IN DER ALTHEBRÄISCHEN POESIE

EDUARD KÖNIG
UNIVERSITÄT BONN, GERMANY

IN einer der Rezensionen, die schon über meinen Psalmenkommentar[1] erschienen sind, wird beklagt, daß nicht bei allen Psalmen das „Metrum" besprochen worden sei. Aber was ist zu diesem Tadel zu sagen, wenn in bezug auf die althebräische Poesie nur von Rhythmus, aber nicht von „Metrum" zu sprechen ist? Diese Frage ist nicht nur jenem Rezensenten, sondern überhaupt den meisten neueren Bearbeitern der althebräischen Dichtung gar nicht zum Bewußtsein gekommen. Deshalb muß sie hier zunächst, wenn auch nur so kurz als möglich, beantwortet werden.

Glücklicherweise kann dabei von einem zweifellosen Satze ausgegangen werden, und dieser lautet: Metrum kann einer Poesie nach der Natur der Sache nur dann zugeschrieben werden, wenn sie quantitierenden Rhythmus besitzt. Nun sind freilich im Laufe der Zeit manche Versuche gemacht worden, in der althebräischen Dichtung die Herrschaft der Silbenquantität nachzuweisen. Um nicht die ganze Reihe dieser Versuche, die im Psalmenkommentar S. 12 f. beurteilt worden sind, hier wieder Revue passieren zu lassen, sei nur auf die beiden feinsten Versuche, diese Position aufrecht zu erhalten, ein kritischer Blick geworfen. Nach Nivard Schlögl, *Die echte biblisch-hebräische Metrik* (1912), S. 77, „beruht

[1] Ed. König, *Die Psalmen eingeleitet, übersetzt und erklärt* (1927 bei Bertelsmann in Gütersloh erschienen).

das hebräische Metrum zwar in erster Linie auf dem Akzent, aber nicht auf diesem allein, sondern zugleich auch auf der Quantität der Silben". Aber dies ist schon an sich eine unklare Vermischung zweier prinzipiell verschiedenen Arten von Grundlagen des Rhythmus. Sodann nimmt er den Satz zu Hilfe, daß in der hebräischen Metrik nicht zwei Haupttonsilben aufeinander folgen dürften. Jedoch dies ist zu bezweifeln, denn wenigstens auch in den Gedichten, die im jetzigen Palästina[2] gesungen werden und die von Schlögl nicht als Analogien verwertet worden sind, „stoßen zuweilen auch zwei betonte Silben unmittelbar aufeinander". Ferner Elcanon Isaacs[3] kommt zu dem Urteil: "An accented syllable counts as two morae, an unaccented syllable as one." Auf diese Weise will auch er das akzentuierende Prinzip des Rhythmus mit dem quantitierenden verknüpfen. Aber weshalb soll diese unklare Zwitterstellung gerade der althebräischen Dichtung zugeschrieben werden?[4]

Weshalb sollen nur die Dichter Altisraels einerseits auf dem Standpunkt des akzentuierenden Rhythmus gestanden und andererseits doch die Silben gemessen und gezählt haben? Weshalb sollen die Zeilen der althebräischen Poesie nicht einfach so wie beim Nibelungenliede verlaufen? In

Uns ist in alten maeren wunders vil geseit
von hêleden lôbebaêren, von grôzer ârebêit

wird nur akzentuiert, aber nicht gemessen und gezählt. Deshalb vertrete ich mit den meisten Gelehrten dieses Urteil: Der Rhythmus der althebräischen Poesie liegt im Wechsel zwischen betonten und je einer oder mehreren unbetonten Silben. Dieser akzentuierende Rhythmus der althebräischen Dichtung besitzt nicht bloß Parallelen bei den Babyloniern, sondern er wird auch durch die Beschaffenheit der Lieder bestätigt, die von der Bevölkerung des modernen

[2] Nach Gu. Dalman (*Palästinischer Divan*, S. XXIII) und nach Max Löhr (*Der arabische Dialekt* usw., § 216 ff.).

[3] In *The American Journal of Semitic Languages* (1918/19), p. 20 ff.

[4] Schon Augustin († 430) hat doch die richtige Erkenntnis so klar in die einfachen Worte: *„Non omnis rhythmus metrum est"* gekleidet.

Palästina gesungen werden. Denn diese werden von einem genauesten Kenner[5] so charakterisiert: „Die Rhythmen sind mannigfaltig. Eine Zeile kann zwei bis acht Hebungen haben, und zwischen zwei Hebungen werden oft drei Senkungen bequem untergebracht. Herzensbewegung und Affekt bestimmen Gleichmaß und Abwechslung.“

Dieses Urteil ist von mir mit eingehender Diskussion aller Vorarbeiten in *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik* (1900), S. 313–338 begründet und dann 1901 von dem Germanisten Sievers in seinen *Studien zur Metrik der Hebräer* fast, aber nicht ganz ebenso gefällt worden. Darauf aber habe ich 1914 in meinem Schriftchen *Hebräische Rhythmik* in diskutierender Erörterung die Bedenken begründet, die gegen mehrere wichtige Sonderaufstellungen Sievers' erhoben werden müssen, wie diese Einwände auch im Psalmenkommentar (S. 15) kurz besprochen sind. Da dies der tatsächliche Verlauf der Dinge war, muß man sich doch sehr wundern, wenn ein anderer Rezensent meines Psalmenkommentars mir „dilettierende Gefolgschaft von Sievers“ nachsagt.

Weil aber nun trotz des prinzipiell anerkannten akzentuierenden Charakters des Rhythmus der althebräischen Poesie doch oftmals, wie gleich von Sievers selbst, von Versfüßen und Metrik dieser Poesie gesprochen wird, so begegnet man auch in den neuesten Kommentaren auf Schritt und Tritt der Verwendung des „Metrums“ als eines Hilfsmittels der Textkritik. Wie geschieht das nun im einzelnen, und wie ist es zu beurteilen?

I

Fassen wir zunächst die Längenverhältnisse der miteinander im *Parallelismus membrorum* stehenden Zeilen ins Auge!

In bezug auf sie liest man in den Kommentaren oft die Äußerungen „metrisch überladen“ oder „metrisch defekt“. Besteht zu diesen Urteilen ein Recht? Das wäre ja nur dann der Fall, wenn in der althebräischen Dichtung das Gesetz

[5] Ludwig Schneller in *Kennst du das Land?*, Abschnitt „Musik“.

bestünde, daß die parallelgehenden Zeilen die gleiche Zahl von Hebungen haben müssen. Um dies beurteilen zu können, muß ich nebenbei daran erinnern, daß die Frage, welche Silben als Hebungen fungieren, wohl zuerst in meiner kleinen *Hebräischen Rhythmik* (S. 32 f.) und darnach im *Psalmenkommentar* (S. 14 f.) in genügender Weise beantwortet worden ist. Nach den da gefundenen Gesetzen besitzt z. B. כְּנֶשֶׁר יָעִיר קִנּוֹ (Dt. 32 11 a α) drei Hebungen, aber die parallele Zeile עַל־גּוֹזָלָיו יְרַחֵף nur zwei Hebungen. Ebenso drei parallel zwei Hebungen stehen in V. 11 b α und β. Dem letztgenannten Stichos meint Sievers ebenfalls drei Hebungen geben zu müssen und befiehlt deshalb (a. a. O., S. 415): „Lies עָלַי!" Aber es ist doch eben die Frage, ob solche mechanische Gleichheit erstrebt werden sollte. Wenn der Dichter sich dieses Grundgesetzes bewußt gewesen wäre, hätte er auch selbst עָלַי gesetzt. Ferner גַּם־בָּחוּר גַּם־בְּתוּלָה (25 b α) hat zwei Hebungen, obgleich Sievers S. 417 dem Stichos 25 b α offenbar ohne alles Recht drei Hebungen zuspricht; aber die parallele Zeile יוֹנֵק עִם־אִישׁ שֵׂיבָה besitzt drei. Unstreitig zwei parallel drei Hebungen liegen in 26 a (אָמַרְתִּי אַפְאֵיהֶם) und b (אַשְׁבִּיתָה מֵאֱנוֹשׁ זִכְרָם) vor. Weiterhin finden wir vier parallel zwei Hebungen in 27 a α und β.

Schon genug der Beispiele, um das Urteil sicher begründet zu haben, daß die parallelen Zeilen althebräischer Gedichte nicht durchaus die gleiche Zahl von Hebungen erstrebt haben. Hat dabei übrigens ein gedanklicher Einfluß eine Rolle gespielt? Schon Budde hat in seiner Abhandlung über den Ḳîna-Rhythmus geurteilt, daß mit Zeilen von drei und zwei Hebungen auch solche mit zwei und zwei Hebungen abwechseln, indem eine Hebung durch die Wucht des Gedankens ausgeglichen werden könne.[6] Sievers in seinen *Metrischen Studien* I, § 52, meinte, diese Ansicht genügend widerlegt zu haben, indem er sie auf Verwechslung von Metrik und Stilistik zurückführte. Aber damit scheint mir die Sache nicht abgetan werden zu können. Denn die in Rede stehende Ansicht wird teils durch Tatsachen in der althebräischen Poesie selbst und teils durch Analogien aus andern Literatur-

[6] Budde in der *ZATW* (1882), S. 4 f.

gebieten unterstützt. Man vergleiche nur z. B. neben den drei Hebungen von Dt. 32 30 b α den zweihebigen Stichos „und der Ewige hat sie preisgegeben“! Da hat die Schwere des Gedankens auch an zwei Taktschlägen genug Gewicht des Ausdrucks besessen oder zur Wahl des eigentlichen Klageliedverses, der bekanntlich drei parallel zwei Hebungen zeigt, gedrängt. Ferner zeigt dieser Einfluß des Gedankengehalts auf die Form sich auch in andern Literaturen. Man erinnere sich nur an die Zeilen:

Von dem Dome schwer und bang
Tönt die Glocke Grabgesang!

Warum denn soll nicht auch in der hebräischen Dichtung dieser Einfluß der Idee gewaltet haben? Deshalb ist dem Rhythmus dieser Poesie ideelle Freiheit zuzusprechen.

Und nun untersuche man die neueren Kommentare daraufhin, ob sie diesen Charakter des Rhythmus der althebräischen Dichtung respektiert haben!

In Gunkels Psalmenkommentar von 1926 liest man S. 4 über Ps. 1 3: „Die Verse (ein Fünfer und ein Sechser?) machen Schwierigkeit; am leichtesten streicht man nach Jer. 17 8 פַּלְגֵי und außerdem בְּעִתּוֹ, beides als Auffüllungen.“ Deshalb lautet bei ihm Ps. 1 3 (S. 1): „Der ist wie ein Baum, ans Wasser verpflanzt, der seine Früchte bringt und des Laub nicht welkt.“ Also die mechanische Auffassung des Rhythmus führt hier erstens zu der so unnatürlichen Ausdrucksweise „ans Wasser“ (ganz abgesehen von dem unsinnigen „verpflanzt“) und zweitens zur Weglassung des so wichtigen Textmomentes „zu seiner Zeit“, d. h. zur normalen Zeit. Ein solcher Baum läßt die Frucht nicht schon vorher wegen Wassermangel abfallen. — Dann bei Ps. 2 8 heißt es (S. 11): „מִמֶּנִּי ‚von mir‘ überlädt den Vers, richtige Erklärung“, und jenes Wort wird deshalb gestrichen. Bei Beachtung des wahren Wesens des Rhythmus der althebräischen Poesie kann von dieser „Überladung“ gar keine Rede sein. — „4 9 b ist überfüllt; man streiche יהוה oder besser לְבַדְךָ!“ Dadurch meint Gunkel in 9 a und b je vier Hebungen herstellen zu müssen. Aber das Parallelgehen von vier und fünf Hebungen besitzt nachgewiesenermaßen viele Analogien. Also ist das wichtige Textmoment „allein“ (vgl.

Dt. 32 12: Der Ewige allein wird uns leiten) nicht wegzustreichen. — In einem neu hergestellten Stichos 5 4a „Denn zu dir flehe ich in der Frühe“ ist יהוה getilgt worden, damit drei Hebungen entstehen. — In 6 11ab wird „3 + 3“ hergestellt, indem 11b trotz des 'Athnâch mit „Alle meine Feinde“ begonnen und יֵבֹשׁוּ weggelassen wird. Dabei ist auch die Ploke[7] übersehen worden, die von dem *jebóschû* am Anfang von 11a und dem *jebóschû* am Ende von 11b gebildet wird. — Bei 7 18b lesen wir: „יהוה nach dem Versmaß Zusatz“ (S. 27). Die grundlose Voraussetzung ist dabei, daß drei und drei Hebungen in V. 18ab einander entsprechen müßten. Und doch läßt Gunkel selbst in V. 10f. drei und zwei und in V. 16 drei und vier Hebungen einander parallelgehen. Also welche Unklarheit herrscht da! — Zu 8 2 bemerkt Gunkel (S. 29) gegenüber früheren Auslegern: „Gegen alle diese Versuche spricht das Versmaß, wonach בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ mit dem Folgenden zusammen einen Vierer bilden muß.“ Deshalb hat er für 8 2ab diesen Wortlaut gedichtet: „Jahwe, unser Herr, wie herrlich ist dein Name, 2b auf der Erde deine Herrlichkeit, deine Pracht am Himmel!“ Aber wie tautologisch ist „Wie herrlich ist auf der Erde deine Herrlichkeit“, und wieviel weniger geistvoll ist der neue Text gegenüber dem massoretischen Gedanken, daß der Name des Ewigen auf der ganzen Erde herrlich ist, weil das ihm auf der Erde gespendete Lob ein Widerhall des ihm am und über dem Himmel gesungenen Lobpreises ist (vgl. meinen Komm. z. St.)! — Bei 9 7 hören wir das Orakel: „הֵמָּה gehört, wie das Versmaß sicher beweist, zum folgenden“ (S. 35). So meint er „4 + 4“ Hebungen herstellen zu dürfen. Was da wieder einmal für „sicher“ erklärt wird! Auch bei 9 14 diktiert er einfach: „מִשֻּׁנְאַי gehört dem Versmaß zufolge zu 14b.“ Anderwärts verliert er selbst das Vertrauen auf seine Theorie, denn zu 9 18 schreibt er: „In der ersten Halbzeile fehlt vielleicht ein Versfuß; Sievers ergänzt יֵרְדוּ vor לִשְׁאוֹלָה.“ Dagegen wieder bei 10 3ff. meint er mit Sicherheit behaupten zu können: „Man wird[?] sich um die Wiederherstellung des Textes bemühen“, „wobei das Versmaß gute Dienste leistet“.

[7] Die in *Stilistik* usw, S. 300, komparativisch beleuchtet wird.

— Bei 10 10a steht wieder einfach ohne Beweis: „Der Halbzeile fehlt ein Wort“, wie bei 12a „Vers überfüllt“ (S. 39) und „in 12b fehlt ein Versfuß“. Auch 18b „ist — für Gunkel — überfüllt, aber leicht ist עוֹד zu entfernen“.

Ich denke, daß die Proben, die mit Absicht gleich aus den ersten zehn Psalmen gesammelt worden sind, genügen, um dem Leser ein Bild von der großen Ausdehnung zu verschaffen, in welcher diese Ansicht neuester Kommentatoren den überlieferten Textbestand der althebräischen Dichtungen in seiner Sicherheit bedroht.

II

Dazu gesellt sich weiterhin noch der Einfluß, den die Theorie von der Herrschaft des „glatten Metrums“ auf die Textgestaltung vielfach ausübt.

Nämlich wie den Lesern mehr oder weniger deutlich bekannt sein wird, ist es eine neuerdings heiß umstrittene Frage, ob der althebräische Dichter in einem Gedichte mit Freiheit zwischen verschieden langen Zeilen habe wählen dürfen, oder ob jedes Gedicht ein „durchlaufendes = glattes“ Metrum besitzen müsse.[8] Aber lassen wir auch diese Frage uns durch zweifellose Tatsachen beantworten! Dabei seien die Beispiele aus zwei Dichtungen gewählt, die auch im hebräischen Schrifttum stichometrisch oder mit abgesetzten Zeilen geschrieben bzw. gedruckt sind. Da finden wir zunächst im „Meerliede“ (Exod. 15 1b ff.), daß die Stichen 1bαβ vier und vier Hebungen, aber 2bαβ nur zwei und drei Hebungen enthalten. Sodann im Schwanengesang Moses (Dt. 32 1–43) herrschen die Zeilen mit je drei Hebungen, aber mindestens 10bα und 16a haben nur zwei Hebungen. Jedenfalls hätte auch derjenige, der nach der Behauptung mancher Neueren Gen. 49 7b später hinzugefügt hat, von der Notwendigkeit eines „glatten Metrums“ keine Ahnung gehabt. Denn hinter Stichen mit drei und zwei Hebungen hätte er solche mit nur je zwei eingeschaltet.

[8] Die neuesten Vertreter jeder dieser beiden Ansichten sind in *Hebräische Rhythmik*, S. 50, aufgezählt und charakterisiert.

Sehen wir nun zu, ob auch diese Theorie vom durchgehenden „glatten Metrum“ z. B. eines Psalms bei ihren Vertretern zu einem Hilfsmittel der Textkritik gemacht wird!

Nur um „glattes Metrum“, lauter Stichen mit je drei und zwei Hebungen, herzustellen, wird bei Gunkel Ps. 5 4 a neu gedichtet, nämlich „Zu dir flehe ich in der Frühe“. Über diese Neuschöpfung sagt er: „3 c 4 a gehören zusammen; man lese אֶתְפַּלֵּל, streiche יהוה und nehme בֹּקֶר zum Vorhergehenden!“ Also man hört kein Wort der Begründung. Sie soll eben in der Voraussetzung „Das Versmaß (Doppelfünfer) erlaubt ziemlich sichere Wiederherstellung des Textes“ (S. 19) liegen. Bei dieser „Wiederherstellung“ ist übrigens auch die im überlieferten Texte vorliegende Anaphora „schon am Morgen“ (4 a b) vernachlässigt worden. Zu demselben unrichtigen Zweck, in Ps. 5 das „glatte Metrum“ 3 + 2 herzustellen, schafft Gunkel auch einen neuen Stichos 4 d „und spähe nach dir aus“. Er schaltet also אֵלֶיךָ ein, obgleich dies hinter dem vorhergehenden „dir“ überflüssig ist, wie es auch weder in der LXX (*καὶ ἐπόψομαι*, Vulg.: et videbo) noch in der Peschîṭă steht, die nur das eine „dir“ hinter das zweite Zeitwort gestellt hat. Des „glatten Metrums“ wegen sagt er, bei 5 12 fehle ein Versfuß, und setzt deshalb תָּמִיד, wie in V. 13 יהוה בְּשָׁלוֹם, ein, obgleich auch von diesen beiden Einschaltungen die LXX keine Spur aufweist. — Ferner begegnen wir demselben Verfahren wieder bei 8 3, der nach Gunkel „verderbt ist, denn die überlieferten Worte wären nur als Fünfer zu lesen, was nach dem übrigen Gedichte unmöglich ist“. „Der Text muß, wie das Versmaß zeigt, überfüllt sein.“ „Man lese יִסַּרְתָּ עֹז und entferne וְיֹנְקִים als וְ-Glosse!“[9] Sodann auch „um deiner Gegner willen“ wird als „nach dem Versmaß überschießend“ hingestellt, damit für 8 3 die Hebungszahlen 4 + 3 ermöglicht werden. — Aus demselben Gesichtspunkt wird in

[9] In diesem Ausdruck steckt wieder ein unbegründetes modernes Fündlein, nämlich daß die alten Textüberlieferer mit „und“ leicht eine Glosse hinzugefügt hätten. Hier in 8 3 verkennt diese Aufstellung hauptsächlich auch dies, daß in וְיֹנְקִים eine Steigerung „und sogar Säuglinge“ liegt, die mit der darauffolgenden Klimax „Feind und sogar Rachgierigen“ (vgl. über ihn meinen Komm.) parallel läuft.

10 3 a b auf S. 37 bemerkt: „Bedenklich bleibt der Doppeldreier unter den sonstigen Versen, die fast immer Achter und Siebener sind." — Endlich auch bei 10 s a b ist das Urteil „Das Versmaß (Doppeldreier) fällt auf" nur aus ebenderselben unbegründeten Voraussetzung hergeflossen, daß für ein althebräisches Gedicht die absolute oder relative Notwendigkeit eines „glatten Metrum" bestehe.

III

Mit den bisher hier erörterten Fragen berührt sich die nach der Richtigkeit der Tristicha so direkt, daß ich auch dieses Problem und seine Wichtigkeit für die Textkritik noch behandeln muß.

Diese Frage ist ja noch weniger erörtert worden. Aber einer hat sie bestimmt lösen zu können gemeint. H. Torczyner[10] urteilt darüber: „Aus dem Parallelismus allein folgt, daß jeder Halbvers seine parallele Entsprechung haben mußte: dreiteilige Verse, worin nur zwei Glieder durch den Parallelismus zusammengeschlossen werden, bezeugen darum immer einen Textschaden. Dieser konnte daselbst denn auch gewöhnlich noch aus anderen Gründen nachgewiesen werden." Was ist darüber zu urteilen?

Nun, während die meisten Neueren diese Frage gar nicht behandeln und Duhm in seinem Psalmenkommentar (1922), § 28, darüber — ohne Torczyner zu erwähnen — einfach apodiktisch bemerkt: „Die kleinste Strophe im Psalter hat drei Stichen", meine ich, gegen die These von Torczyner folgende Einwände geltend machen zu müssen. Erstens wäre es doch eine außerordentliche Sache, wenn eine so häufige Erscheinung, wie sie das Tristichon ist, auf Verkennung der echten Formgesetze althebräischer Poesie beruhete. Wie dürfte man annehmen, daß diejenigen, welche durch Hinzufügung einer dritten Zeile die Tristicha gebildet hätten, von diesen echten Gesetzen keine Ahnung besessen hätten! Zweitens

[10] Harry Torczyner, *Das Buch Hiob. Eine kritische Analyse des überlieferten Hiobtextes* (1920), S. IV f.

kann aber auch die von Torczyner aus dem Parallelismus der Glieder hergenommene Begründung seiner These nicht als einwandfrei angesehen werden. Oder gibt es nicht neben der gewöhnlichen Epizeuxis, deren erstes Beispiel uns in „Abraham, Abraham!" (Gen. 22 11) entgegentönt, auch eine dreifache? Jedermann erinnert sich sofort an „Heilig, heilig, heilig usw." (Jes. 6 3).[11] Neben dem einfachen Zusammenklang hat der Dreiklang gern sich Gehör verschafft. Und wie steht es drittens mit dem Beweismoment, das von Torczyner als unterstützendes hinzugefügt worden ist, wie aus dem obigen Zitat ersehen werden kann? Kann wirklich bei allen oder vielen Tristichen auch „noch aus anderen Gründen nachgewiesen werden", daß in dem Tristichon ein „Textschaden" vorliegt?

Fassen wir, um dies festzustellen, im Buche Hiob gleich die erste Stelle ins Auge, wo ein Tristichon begegnet! Diese Stelle ist 3 4:

> Jener Tag werde zu Finsternis:
> Nicht möge sich um ihn kümmern die Gottheit droben,
> und nicht möge Lichtschein über ihm aufstrahlen!

Darüber bemerkt Torczyner: „In V. 4 scheint b c zusammenzugehören (Bickell, Beer): „Nicht hätt' nach ihm gefragt Gott oben, nicht strahlte über ihm ein Licht".[12] nicht aber a „wär' jener Tag doch Finsternis" (חֹשֶׁךְ) mit b. Dennoch ist a notwendig (Budde) und nicht zu streichen.[13] Da 4a aber so unvollständig erscheint, dürfte das aus 5a ausgeschiedene Stück seine Ergänzung sein, indem חֹשֶׁךְ von 5a als Stichwort auf חֹשֶׁךְ in 4a hinweist:

> Wär' jener Tag doch Finsternis und Dunkel,
> und eine Wolke läg' auf ihm."

Aber weshalb erscheint 4a als unvollständig? Sein Sinn ist doch dieser: Er höre auf, als heller Teil eines 24stündigen

[11] Alle biblischen Beispiele sind gesammelt und durch Analogien aus mehreren Literaturen beleuchtet in *Stilistik*, S. 155–157.

[12] Die Übersetzung von וְגוֹ אַל mit „Nicht hätt' usw." und von אַל־תּוּפַע mit „nicht strahlte usw." besitzt keine syntaktische ratio.

[13] Davon hat doch auch niemand gesprochen, weil sonst der Beziehungspunkt für „ihn" in 4b fehlen würde.

Tages zu existieren! Weil nämlich der Geburtstag Hiobs nicht aus der Reihe der Tage weggelassen werden kann, so wünscht Hiob wenigstens, daß er ein „dies *ater*", wie die Römer sagten, also ein schwarzer, ein lichtloser oder — nach der häufigen Wechselbeziehung von Finsternis und Unglück (Jes. 5 30 usw.) — ein unheilvoller Tag werde. Weshalb soll diese Zeile „unvollständig" sein? Nur auf Grund der doch erst zu begründenden Voraussetzung, daß ein Tristichon als solches auf Textbeschädigung hinweise. Nur diese selbe Voraussetzung treibt Torczyner auch gleich wieder bei V. 5 dazu an, die zweite Zeile auszuschalten und zur Ergänzung des ihm als unvollständig erscheinenden vorhergehenden Tristichs (V. 4) zu verwenden. Auf diese Weise geht es weiter mit der Verwendung des Tristichs als eines Mittels der Textkritik. Aber von „anderen Gründen", aus denen die Verderbtheit der betreffenden Verse des überlieferten Textes „nachgewiesen" werden könnte, habe ich auch bei der weiteren Prüfung der Sache im Buche Hiob nichts entdecken können.

Doch vielleicht sind im Psalter solche „andere Gründe" vorhanden, aus denen die überlieferten Tristicha als von Textverderbnis herrührend angesehen werden müssen.

Bei Ps. 2 2c „Wider den Ewigen und seinen Gesalbten" bemerkt Gunkel: „Ein einzeln stehender Dreier, scheint Zusatz zu sein." Aber weswegen denn? Die dritte Zeile von V. 12 läßt er doch selbst stehen. Woher also rührt bei 2c der „Schein", daß er ein Zusatz sei? Nun, der erste Grund soll dieser sein. Einige, an die sich Gunkel bei der Wegstreichung von 2c angeschlossen hat, meinen, daß dieser Satz „gegen den Ewigen und seinen Gesalbten" dem siebenten Verse vorgreife. Aber dies ist eine vollständig falsche Auffassung von dem Verhältnis, in welchem V. 2c zu V. 7 steht. Dieses Verhältnis ist aber so. Daß der König Israels der Gesalbte des Ewigen, also der Stellvertreter des himmlischen Königs von Israel (Exod. 15 18 usw.) ist, das wird in V. 2c als bekannt vorausgesetzt. Denn wenn die besondere Stellung Israels und seines irdischen Königs zum Ewigen nicht als den in V. 1f. erwähnten Völkern bekannt vorausgesetzt würde, wie hätten sie da wegen ihres Unabhängigkeitsstrebens vorwurfsvoll zur Rede

gestellt und im Namen Jahwes bedroht werden können? Aber in V. 7 wird eine neue, höhere Stufe der Gottesbeziehung des israelitischen Königs angezeigt. Seine Gottessohn-Stellung wird in V. 7 in Erinnerung gebracht.[14] Diesen Unterschied des Inhalts von V. 2c und V. 7 haben also diejenigen übersehen, von denen neuerdings die Worte „gegen den Ewigen und seinen Gesalbten" (V. 2c) beseitigt worden sind. Gunkel allerdings bringt noch einen besonderen Grund für diese Streichung vor, nämlich „Ohne diese Worte klingt das Folgende eigentümlich geheimnisvoll, wie es der Zusammenhang verlangt." Welche treffliche neue Direktive für textkritische Maßnahmen! Was er mit dem geheimnisvollen Klang, der durch die Streichung von 2c entstehe, meint, sagt er übrigens nicht. Wir wollen es ihm aber enthüllen. Durch die Streichung der Worte „gegen den Ewigen und seinen Gesalbten" würde nicht bloß die schon berührte Unbegreiflichkeit des Zurredestellens jener Völkerschaften entstehen, sondern dann würde auch das Pronomen possessivum „ihre" in dem Satze „Lasset uns zerreißen ihre Fesseln!" in V. 3 einfach seines Beziehungspunktes beraubt werden. Hätte Gunkel doch vielmehr dies beachtet, anstatt einen „geheimnisvollen Klang" in den Text bringen zu wollen!

Ferner lesen wir bei demselben Kommentator: „Nach 5 9c fehlen zwei Versfüße" (S. 20). Wie ist er auf diese Idee gekommen? Nun, der überlieferte Text bietet abermals ein Tristichon. Das soll als Rechtsmittel dafür genügen, daß erstens die vorhergehende Zeile zu „Mache meinen Weg vor dir eben!" umgewandelt werde. Dabei beruft man sich freilich auf die LXX. Aber anstatt dieser den Originalwortlaut zuschreiben zu können, ist es ein viel näher liegendes Urteil, daß der Hellenist, wie er oftmals tut,[15] die dunkel erscheinende Aussage des MT „Laß deinen Weg vor mir eben sein!"[16] in

[14] Über das genetische Verhältnis von 2 7 zur Nathansweissagung siehe die Erörterung in meinem Komm. z. St.!

[15] Man vergesse nicht z. B. die Änderung der „Strauße" (Jes. 13 21) in „Sirenen"!

[16] Der Weg Gottes ist da der von ihm gelenkte Gang der Geschichte. Von diesem möge Gott den des Dichters Zukunft betreffenden

die leichtere Aussage „Mache meinen Weg vor dir eben!" aufgehellt hat. Zweitens hat das Tristichon, nachdem die vorhergehende Zeile umgeändert war, weiter noch dazu verlockt, eine vierte Zeile „um meiner Auflauerer willen" ohne jede textgeschichtliche Grundlage neu hinzuzudichten.

In 6 7 begegnet abermals ein Dreizeiler: „Ich habe mich in meinem Seufzen abgemüht usw." Obgleich dieses Tristich ganz ebenso in der LXX vorliegt, wird doch von Bertholet[17] behauptet, daß „das Metrum" eine Ergänzung verlange. Aber nach der oben von mir gegebenen Erörterung ist es unberechtigt, daß er die Zeile „und finde meine Ruhe nicht" hinzudichtet, oder daß Gunkel soundsoviele Striche als Zeichen der angeblichen Lückenhaftigkeit des Verses hat drucken lassen. — Um das Tristich 7 7 zu beseitigen, nimmt Gunkel 9a hinzu.[18] — Nachdem er bei 10 4 aus „Alle seine Ränke" unrichtig den Anfang einer Zeile gemacht und so ein Tristich zuwegegebracht hatte, nimmt er, um es wieder zu beseitigen, 5a in der Form „Glück hat er auf allen seinen Wegen allezeit" hinzu.

Doch auch in bezug auf diese dritte Untersuchung werde ich mich hier damit begnügen, die ersten zehn Psalmen durchforscht zu haben. Denn schon aus den hier neu gegebenen Materialien tritt deutlich die Tatsache zutage, daß die jetzt weithin herrschenden Ansichten über das „Metrum" und einige andere fragliche Eigenschaften der althebräischen Poesie[19] zu verhängnisvollen Mitteln der Textkritik gemacht werden. Demgegenüber hoffe ich, daß die von mir — unter teilweiser Zusammenstimmung mit Budde — nachgewiesene ideelle Freiheit des Rhythmus der althebräischen Dichtung immermehr anerkannt werden und dazu dienen wird, diese neuesten Quellen der Textänderung zu verstopfen.

Teil eben oder leicht gangbar machen. Alle andern Deutungen der Stelle sind in meinem Kommentar beurteilt.

17 Bertholet hat in Kautzsch, *Heilige Schrift Alten Testaments*, 4. Aufl. (1922) die Psalmen bearbeitet.

18 Überdies in der textändernden Form „Jahwe, richte die Völker!"

19 Über den Rhythmus der neuhebräischen Dichtungen s. in meinem Psalmenkommentar, S. 16!

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Mark 16 8

THE text of Mark as found in ℵ and B and confirmed by some good evidence from the versions ends *καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*. It is often assumed that this sentence is incomplete because it ends in *γάρ*. Lake, for example, speaks[1] of "the strangeness of a sentence ending with *γάρ*." C. H. Kraeling in a recent volume of this JOURNAL[2] challenged this assumption, giving an example of final *γάρ* from the papyri, and since then other examples from literature have been published.[3] In an article written in 1925 but not published I had collected some illustrations of final *γάρ* in refutation of the current assumption that the particle could not stand at the end of a paragraph or sentence. Some of these have been presented since by others but those from the papyri have not. As such things cannot be found *sub voce* in the indexes to the volumes nor in Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, nor in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* it may be worth while still to give this further evidence:

[1] *Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, p. 71, and similarly many other writers.

[2] Vol. XLV (1925), p. 357 f. His example was *POxy* IX, 1223 (late IV A. D.), lines 31 ff.: *ὁ ἑλκόττινος νῦν μν(ρ.άδων), βκ ἐστίν· κατέβη γάρ. μὴ ἀμελήσῃς ἐν τῇ σήμερον τὸ πλοῖον ἢ τὸν ναύτην ἀποστῖλαι.*

[3] R. O. Kevin, JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE, XLV (1926), p. 85, note 3; R. R. Ottley, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXVII (July, 1926), pp. 407 ff.; M. S. Enslin, JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE, XLVI (1927), pp. 62 ff.

PSI IV, 410 (iii/B. C.), ll. 8 ff.: *ἐὰν οὖν ὑμῖν δόξῃ, καλῶς ποιήσε⟨τε⟩ συναναβάντες Ἀπολλωνίῳ· παραγίνεται γάρ· περὶ Ὥρου ἐντύχειν Ἀμμωνίῳ.*

PZen 15 (iii/B. C.), ll. 11 ff.: *ὁ σιτοποιὸς ἐπεκώλυ⟨σ⟩εν, ἢ ῥα ἄν σοι ἀπεστάλη· ἔφθανε γάρ. ἔρρωσο.*

BGU IV, 1097 (i/A. D.), ll. 3 ff.: *ἠὰν δὲ ὁ ἀντίδικος ἀνάβῃ, περίβλεπε αὐτόν. φοβοῦμαι γὰρ μὴ σχάσῃ, νεναυσίακε γάρ. περὶ δὲ Σαραπᾶτος κτλ.*

Not only because of their vernacular character do the papyri afford a proper field of comparison with Mark.[4] It will be observed that in all the four instances cited the final *γάρ* is really final. What follows is either a new paragraph on a new subject or in one case the separate abrupt word, "Farewell."

Bryn Mawr, Pa. HENRY J. CADBURY

[4] Another instance from the papyri I have not adduced simply because it occurs in a nursery alphabetical acrostic and may be suspected therefore of having a constrained style, *PTebt* II, 278 (i/A. D.), ll. 40 f. *πνίξω ἐματὸν, ῥιγῶ γάρ.*

Baudissins KYRIOS

Von dem groß angelegten Werke erschien im August die dritte Lieferung (Erster Teil, Bogen 21–30). Sie bringt die „I. Abteilung" augenscheinlich zum vollen Ende, behandelt von den Hagiographen noch Chronik, Esra II, Esra I und deren Verhältnis zueinander, sodann Jesus Sirach als das letzte herangezogene Buch, und gibt endlich auf S. 438–480 die „Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse" für den ganzen Umfang. Bemerkenswert ist, wie sich hier nach den gemachten Beobachtungen neue Gruppen bilden: 1. Pentateuch und Nebi'im, 2. Psalmen, 3. Daniel, Esra I, Ester, Sirach, 4. Proverbien, Hiob, 5. Chronik, Esra II, Rut. Ein Abschnitt „Bedeutungsfärbung des Namens *κύριος*" schließt das Ganze ab.

Universität Marburg K. BUDDE

BOOKS RECEIVED

Les Plus Vieux Chants de la Bible. By A. Causse. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1926. Pp. 175. Fr. 15.—.

The Influence of Gesenius on Hebrew Lexicography. (Contributions to Oriental History and Philology, No. 11.) By Edward Frederick Miller. New York: Columbia University Press. 1927. Pp. 105. $ 1.50.

Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann zum 60. Geburtstag. Edited by Karl Ludwig Schmidt. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1927. Pp. VIII + 334. M. 18.—.

Essays by Wilcken, Weber, Pfister, Robertson, Milligan, R Harris, B. W. Robinson, Michaelis, Schmitz, Dibelius, Bertram, Lohmeyer, K. L. Schmidt, E. Peterson, Söderblom.

Jesaja's Erleben: Eine gemeinverständliche Auslegung der Denkschrift des Propheten (Kap. 6 1–9 6). By Karl Budde. 1928. Pp. VII + 123. M. 5.—.

Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann in Giessen:

Der Gottesdienst der Synagoge: Sein Aufbau und sein Sinn. — Mit ausgewählten Gebeten. By Else Schubert-Christaller. 1927. Pp. 84. M. 2.70, geb. M. 4.—.

Entwicklungsstufen der Jüdischen Religion. Vorträge des Institutum Judaicum an der Universität Berlin. *Ed.* Hugo Gressmann. 1927. Pp. 103. M. 3.20, geb. M. 4.50.

Spuren Magischer Formeln in den Psalmen. (Beiheft zur Z. A. W., No. 46.) By Nicolaj Nicolsky. Translated from the Russian by Georg Petzold. 1927. Pp. 99. M. 5.50.

Das Wort hesed. (Beiheft zur Z. A. W., No. 47.) By Nelson Glueck. 1927. Pp. VIII + 68. M. 4.—.

A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig:

Erklärung des Hohen Liedes. By Gottfried Kuhn. 1926. Pp. 75. M. 3.—.

Die mandäische Religion und das Christentum. By Johannes Behm. 1927. Pp. 34. M. 1.50.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1926

THE sixty-second meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was called to order by President S. J. Case at 11 A. M. on December 28th, 1926 in Sherred Hall of the General Theological Seminary, New York.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The reports of the Recording Secretary, of the Committee on Arrangements, and of the Corresponding Secretary were read and approved. The report of the Treasurer was read and referred to an auditing committee appointed by the chair consisting of Professors Fowler and Dahl. In connection with the death of Professor Haupt the President appointed as a committee on memorial resolutions Dr. Elzas, Professor Margolis and Professor Bacon. To nominate officers for the coming year Professors Fullerton, Hinke and Paton were appointed. The Council was called to meet at 8 P. M.

During this session papers were read and discussed as follows:

By S. J. Case: The Alleged Messianic Consciousness of Jesus (Presidential Address).

By J. A. Bewer: The Superscription of the Book of Ezekiel.

By B. A. Elzas: A Note on Amos 6 10.

By J. Obermann: The Formal Structure of Isaiah 21 1–10.

Tuesday Afternoon, December 28. After luncheon, at which the Society was the guest of the General Seminary in the Refectory, the meeting was resumed with the reading and discussion of the following papers:

By L. W. Batten: David the Son of Jesse.

By J. A. Montgomery: Some Aramaisms in the Gospels and Acts.

By C. C. Torrey: The Name Iscariot.
By G. A. Barton: A Comparison of Some Features of Hebrew and Babylonian Ritual.
By C. D. Benjamin: A Grain of Mustard Seed.
By R. H. Pfeiffer: The Twofold Origin of Hebrew Monotheism.
By M. L. Margolis: Identifying Hebrew Manuscripts.

Tuesday Evening, December 28. The Society convened at 8 P. M. The session was held as a meeting of the Fund for Biblical and Oriental Archaeological Research with Professor Torrey in the chair. The following papers illustrated with the stereopticon were presented:

By W. F. Albright: The Excavations of Tell Beit-Mirsin.
By R. P. Dougherty: An Archaeological Survey of Southern Babylonia.
By W. F. Badé: Results of Excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh.

Wednesday Morning, December 29. The Society met at 9.30 A. M. The following resolution prepared by the committee appointed for that purpose was adopted, and the Recording Secretary was instructed to send copies to Johns Hopkins University and to the family of the deceased:

> The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis records with profound sorrow the death, on December 15, 1926, of Dr. Paul Haupt.
>
> Professor Haupt was a Semitic scholar of the first rank. As an editor and translator of cuneiform texts he had no rival. He was an exact grammarian and an earnest student of Comparative Semitic Philology.
>
> Within a few years after his settling in America, he began to devote himself to Biblical studies, and besides the text and translation of the *Polychrome Bible* which he projected and edited, he contributed hundreds of papers dealing with exegesis, etymology, and metre—in fact with every department of Bible Study. Many of the papers were contributed to our Society and printed in its JOURNAL.
>
> Professor Haupt was a most regular attendant at our meetings and ever showed an interest in all our proceedings.
>
> We tender to his family and to Johns Hopkins University, of which he was a shining ornament, our deepest sympathy.

The auditing committee reported that they had examined the Treasurer's report and found it correct. The report as audited was accepted and ordered placed on file.

The report of the Council's transactions was presented and approved. In accordance with it a number of persons who had been nominated for membership in the Society were elected, and two other persons subsequently proposed to the Society without the recommendation of the Council were likewise elected. On recommendation of the Council Professors Hermann Gunkel and Hugo Gressmann were elected Honorary Members of the Society.

An invitation having been received for American scholars to attend the Summer School to be held next summer at Oxford (Keble College, September 27-30) it was voted that this Society extend to the Society for Old Testament Study an expression of interest and of sympathy with its purpose of establishing "the international comity of Old Testament scholars."

The nominating committee made report and the officers named by them were elected for the year 1927. They are as follows:

Prof. I. F. Wood	*President*
Prof. L. W. Batten	*Vice-President*
Prof. Millar Burrows	*Treasurer*
Prof. H. J. Cadbury	*Recording Secretary*
Prof. G. R. Berry Prof. Louis Ginzberg Prof. Elihu Grant Prof. E. G. Kraeling Prof. R. H. Pfeiffer	*Associates in Council*
Prof. W. J. Moulton	*Representative among the Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By E. B. Cross: The Dramatic Form of Certain Psalms.
For B. W. Bacon (in his absence): The Redaction of Matthew 12.
By E. G. Kraeling: The Character of the Son of Man Vision in Daniel 7.
By G. R. Berry: Some Supposed Pre-exilic Messages of Hope.
By L. B. Paton: The Problem of Suffering in Pre-exilic Times.
By C. C. McCown: The Beatitudes in the Light of Ancient Ideals.
By I F. Wood: Some Considerations regarding Borrowing in Religion.
By K. Fullerton: The Interpretation of Deuteronomy 32 26-34.

Wednesday Afternoon, December 29. After lunching again as the guests of the Seminary the Society reconvened at 2 P. M. It was voted to extend to the General Theological Seminary our thanks for the hospitality shown us throughout this meeting of the Society. Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By M. Bailey: Levitical Legend from the Persian Period.
By M. S. Enslin: ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, Mark 16 8.
By M. Burrows: Kuhn's Interpretation of Ecclesiastes.
By H. J. Cadbury: Who were the Hellenists?

The following papers printed on the program were read by title mainly on account of the absence of the authors (in the case of Professor Haupt on account of his death):

By P. Haupt: The Volcanic Nature of JHVH.
By I. Eitan: The Origin of the Passive Participle *qaṭūl*.
By H. S. Gehman: The Coptic Text of the Book of Ezekiel.
By E. Grant: Vineyard Watch Towers of Palestine (illustrated).
By W. J. Moulton: The Palestine Exploration Society.
By F. J. F. Jackson: The Evidence for the Martyrdom of Peter and Paul at Rome.
By F. B. Denio: The Use of the Word Jehovah in Translating the Old Testament.
By L. I. Newman: Puritan Law Codes and their Biblical Models.
By W. N. Stearns: Scientific Views of a Cultured Jew, First Century B. C.
By C. E. Goddard: Concerning the "Foreign" Sinaitic Inscriptions.
By C. E. Goddard: The Early Script of Byblus.
By C. E. Goddard: A Tradition Current in the Third Century.
By I. Eitan: A Lost Family of Hebrew Words.
By I. Eitan: A New Suggestion on the *Waw Conversivum*.
By P. Haupt: Azel.
By P. Haupt: Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.
By P. Haupt: ἐπιούσιος and περιούσιος.

Adjourned at 3.30 P. M.

HENRY J. CADBURY. *Recording Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

During the past year the concluding half of Volume XLIV (1925) and the complete Volume XLV (1926) have appeared. The JOURNAL is therefore complete to date.

It must be evident to all that by far the most important enterprise this Society has on hand is the Journal it publishes. The great majority of our members have no other direct link with the organization. Incidentally, our Society is judged by the quality, and to a lesser extent by the number, of articles published. Accordingly, it cannot be too strongly or too frequently stressed that a considerable number of good papers must be submitted to the Editors each year. Otherwise it will be impossible for them to put out a worthy magazine.

The suggestion has been made that, instead of limiting ourselves to technical articles, we should print material more popular in tone. The question of publishing book reviews has also been broached. It may be well to discuss such questions of policy at an annual meeting.

GEORGE DAHL, *Corresponding Secretary.*

December 28, 1926.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY

The active members of the Society appear to number at present 396, which is an increase of 25 over the number reported last year. Forty members nominated and elected at our last meeting have joined the Society during the year.

The death of the following active members has been reported:

Rev. A. D. Hail, Osaka, Japan, died June, 1923.
Prof. John D. Davis, Princeton, N. J., died June 21, 1926.
Dr. David Levine, New York, died June 26, 1926.
Prof. William R. Newbold, Univ. of Penna, died Sept. 26, 1926.
Rev. F. P. Ramsay, died Sept. 30, 1926.
Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins Univ., died Dec. 15, 1926.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY J. CADBURY, *Recording Secretary.*

December 23, 1926.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1926

Receipts

Balance on hand Jan. 1, 1926	$ 2603.39
Interest on Trust Fund	90.83
Reprints	50.25
Yale University Press, sale of JOURNAL	516.24
Interest on Savings Account	17.32
Dues for 1926, exchange charges included	1203.35
	$ 4481.38

Disbursements

Printing of JOURNAL, vol. XLIV, parts 3–4, XLV, parts 1–2	$ 1531.62
Expenses of Editors	174.01
„ „ Secretary	2.50
„ „ Treasurer	59.52
Balance on hand	2713.73
	$ 4481.38

MARY I. HUSSEY, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, December 28, 1926,

HENRY T. FOWLER
GEORGE DAHL

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY[1]

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge, England.
Prof. Gustav Dalman, Theol. D., Greifswald, Germany.
Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, D.D., Halle, Germany.
Prof. Bernhard L. Duhm, D. D., Basle, Switzerland.
† Prof. Hugo Gressmann, D. Theol., Berlin, Germany.
Prof. Hermann Gunkel, D. Theol., Halle, Germany.
Prof. Adolf von Harnack, D.D., Berlin, Germany.
Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. Rudolf Kittel, D.D., Leipzig, Germany, Rosenthalgasse 13.
Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem (care of M. Gabalda, 90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris).
Prof. James Moffatt, Union Theol. Seminary, N. Y. City.
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford, England.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen, Scotland.

ACTIVE MEMBERS[2]

(693) '22 Rev. G. Abbott-Smith, D.D., D.C.L., 743 University St., Montreal, Canada.
(628) '21 Rev. Prof. Howard C. Ackerman, B. D., M. A., 138 Clifton Place, Syracuse, N. Y.
(593) '20 Prof. Arthur Adams, Ph.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
(496) '13 Miss Charlotte Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N.Y. City.
(242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.
(731) '22 Rev. Abel Ahlquist, 19 Bassett St., New Britain, Conn.
(576) '17 Wm. Foxwell Albright, Ph.D., American School of Oriental Research, P. O. B. 333, Jerusalem, Palestine.
(466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, D.D., Gettysburg, Pa.

[1] This list has been corrected up to May 1, 1927. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary, H. J. Cadbury, Bryn Mawr, Pa., of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society

(415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
(711) '22 Rev. Prof. S. Angus, Ph.D., St. Andrew's College, Sydney, Australia.
(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 17 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(869) '27 Prof. Edwin E. Aubrey, Ph. D., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
(724) '22 Prof. J. C. Ayer, 200 St. Mark's Sqr., Philadelphia, Pa.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.
(373) '04 Dean Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
(690) '22 Prof. Moses Bailey, Ph. D., 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass.
(712) '21 Lieut. C. C. Baker, 719 National City Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.
(855) '26 Prof. P. E. Baker, Fiske University, Nashville, Tenn.
(722) '22 Prof. J. F. Balzer, M.A., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
(825) '26 Albert E. Barnett, 2414 Garland Av., Nashville, Tenn.
(210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, Ph. D., N. E. Cor. 43rd and Spruce Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
(211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., 6 Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(561) '16 Prof. John W. Beardslee, Jr., Ph.D., D.D., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.
(828) '26 Prof. Dwight M. Beck, S. T. B., Mt. Union College, Alliance, Ohio.
(694) '22 Prof. Irwin R. Beiler, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
(829) '26 Miss Marion J. Benedict, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
(718) '22 Rev. C. D. Benjamin, Ph. D., Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.
(568) '16 Rev. C. Theodore Benze, Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy, Pa.
(830) '26 Rev. J. Buchanan Bernardin, B. D., 600 W. 122nd St., N. Y. City.
(326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y City.
(618) '21 Pres. James A. Blaisdell, Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.
(551) '15 Rev. Joshua Bloch, Ph. D., 476 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City.
(751) '23 Father A. M. Bolduc, S.M., S.T.L., Marist College, Brookland, D.C.
(843) '26 F. D. Bone, 812 Court St., Fulton, Mo.
(380) '05 † Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, O.
(795) '25 Prof. Clarence Bouma, A. M., Th. D., Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich.
(887) '27 Rev. Boone M. Bowen, Marburg, Germany.
(423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Th. D., 5657 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Ph. D., 302 Angell St., Providence, R. I.

(311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, Hotel Holley, Washington Square West. New York City.
(831) '26 Rev. Mitchell Bronk, D. D., 1701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(569) '16 Mrs. Beatrice A. Brooks, Ph.D., Wellesley, Mass.
(301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., 3041 Broadway, N.Y. City.
(870) '27 W. Rolfe Brown, 600 W. 122nd St., New York City.
(719) '22 Prof. Walter E. Bundy, Ph.D., De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
(586) '18 Prof. Ernest Ward Burch, Ph.D., Garrett Biblical Institute Evanston, Ill.
(871) '27 Rev. Joseph Dunn Burrell, D. D., 502 W. 122nd St., N. Y. City.
(747) '23 Prof. Millar Burrows, B. D., Ph. D., Brown University, Providence, R. I.
(554) '15 Prof. R. Butin, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
(589) '18 Prof. Moses Buttenwieser, Ph.D., 252 Loraine Ave., Clifton. Cincinnati, O.
(471) '11 Prof. Henry J. Cadbury, Ph. D., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
(631) '21 Rev. James T. Carlyon, S.T.M., D.D., Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Col.
(784) '24 Mr. L. L. Carpenter, B.A., Th. D., 714 Augusta St., Greenville, S. C.
(472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
(746) '23 William David Carroll, B. D., Westport, R. D. 12, Conn.
(821) '25 Prof. J. F. B. Carruthers, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Calif.
(564) '16 I. M. Casanowicz, Ph.D., National Museum, Washington, D. C.
(392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Case, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(222) '91 Rev. James L. Cheney, Ph. D., Hebron, Ohio.
(595) '20 Prof. Edward Chiera, Ph. D., 2022 S. 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(896) '27 Rev. Elmer B. Christie, B. D., The Vicarage, Okanogan, Wash.
(369) '03 Prof. Calvin M. Clark, Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(523) '14 C. P. Coffin, Evanshire Hotel, Evanston, Ill.
(606) '20 Rabbi Simon Cohen, Temple Beth El, 4 E. 76th St., N. Y. City.
(686) '22 Rabbi Simon R. Cohen, 75 Prospect Park West, Brooklyn, N. Y.
(662) '22 David C. Cook, Elgin, Ill.
(615) '21 Rev. Francis T. Cooke, 548 Riverside Drive, New York City.
(582) '18 Rev. George S. Cooke, Wissahickon Inn, Redlands, Calif.
(390) '06 Rev. Wm. M. Crane, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass.
(296) '96 Prof. Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., 118 North St., Auburn, N. Y.
(796) '25 Rev. Margaret B. Crook, 11 Jewett St., Northampton, Mass.
(759) '24 Prof. Earle B. Cross, Ph. D., 136 Harvard St., Rochester, N. Y.
(819) '25 Prof. A. J. Culler, B. D., Ph. D., Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio

(498) '13 Prof. D. E. Culley, Ph. D., 57 Belvidere St., Crafton, Pittsburgh, Pa.

(832) '26 A. Bruce Curry, Ph.D., Union Theol. Seminary, Broadway at 120th St., N. Y. City.

(739) '23 Prof. Muriel Streibert Curtis, B. D., Wellesley, Mass.

(401) '07 Prof. Elizabeth Czarnomska, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.

(499) '13 Prof. Geo. Dahl, Ph. D., 2102 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.

(797) '25 Prof. H. E. Dana, Th. D., Seminary Hill, Texas.

(645) '21 Miss Clara W. Davidson, Pleasantville, Venango Co., Pa.

(526) '15 Prof. Israel Davidson, 531 W. 123d St., N. Y. City.

(451) '10 Prof. Richard Davidson, Ph.D., Knox College, Toronto, Can.

(705) '22 M. E. Davis, Th.M., D.D., Box 178, Brownwood, Tex.

(500) '13 Prof. Frank Leighton Day, Ashland, Va.

(458) '10 Prof. Thomas F. Day, 1648 S. A. Ave., San Anselmo, Calif.

(633) '21 Prof. John Pitt Deane, M. A., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.

(524) '14 Prof. Irwin Hoch DeLong, Ph.D., 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa.

(121) '84 Prof. F. B. Denio, D.D., Bangor, Me.

(817) '25 Rev. W. B. Denny, S. T. M., 245 Pawling Ave., Troy, N. Y.

(723) '22 Prof. H. T. De Wolfe, D. D., Acadia Univ., Wolfville, N. S., Canada.

(600) '20 Rev. Samuel Dickey, Oxford, Pa.

(619) '21 Rev. Prof. Charles Allen Dinsmore, 10 Old Hartford Turnpike, New Haven, Conn.

(417) '07 Prof. Winfred N. Donovan, Newton Centre, Mass.

(798) '25 Charles T. Doolittle, 2330 N. Halstead St., Chicago, Ill.

(596) '20 Prof. R. P. Dougherty, 319 Willow St., New Haven, Conn.

(823) '26 Prof. C. C. Douglas, Ph. D., 902 W. 37th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

(833) '26 Rev. Prof. John Dow, M. A., Knox College, Toronto, Can.

(634) '22 Rev. Benj. R. Downer, Th. D., 1043 Laurel Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.

(664) '22 Rev. George H. Driver, 20 Birch Ave., Ellsworth, Maine.

(872) '27 Rev. Anson M. DuBois, M. A., Th. M., 715 Peterson St., Fort Collins, Colo.

(620) '21 Prof. William Haskell Dubose, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.

(760) '24 Prof. George S. Duncan, 2900 Seventh St. N. E., Washington.

(382) '05 Prof. E. Olive Dutcher, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

(666) '21 Prof. Frank Eakin, Ph.D., Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.

(402) '07 Prof. Burton S. Easton, Ph.D., 4 Chelsea Sq., New York City.

(844) '26 Miss Louise Eby, Schwanallee 40, Marburg, Germany.

(464) '10 Prof. Charles C. Edmunds, Gen. Theol. Seminary, Chelsea Sq., N. Y. City.
(898) '27 Rev. Frank L. Edwards, B. D., Highland, Ill.
(888) '27 Dean G. D. Edwards, A. M., Columbia, Mo.
(364) '03 Dean F. C. Eiselen, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(673) '22 Israel Eitan, 270 N. Craig St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(612) '21 Rev. Barnett A. Elzas, A.B., M.D., LL.D., 42 W. 72nd St., New York.
(761) '24 Rabbi H. G. Enelow, D.D., 521 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City.
(403) '07 Prof. Henry Englander, 904 Lexington Ave., Cincinnati, O.
(745) '23 Prof. Morton Scott Enslin, Th. D., 4 Seminary Ave., Chester, Pa.
(263) '94 Pres. Milton G. Evans, D.D., Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester, Pa.
(799) '25 Prof. H. R. Fairclough, Ph. D., Litt. D., Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.
(800) '25 David E. Faust, B. D., 51 1/2 Trumbull Str., New Haven, Conn.
(753) '23 S. Feigin, 135 S. Aiken Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(735) '23 Pres. Carl A. Felt, The Peking Theol. Sem., Peking, China.
(862) '26 Floyd V. Filson, 2330 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
(762) '24 Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, 531 W. 123rd St., N. Y. City.
(873) '27 Prof. Elmer E. Flack, Th. D., 503 E. McCreight Ave., Springfield, Ohio.
(763) '24 Rev. John W. Flight, Ph.D., Winsted, Conn.
(578) '17 Rev. Robert B. B. Foote, East Norwalk, Conn.
(874) '27 Bliss Forbush, Park Ave. and Laurens St., Baltimore, Md.
(629) '21 Rev. Donald F. Forrester, B. D., Ph. D., 175 Ninth Ave., N. Y. City.
(441) '08 Dean H. E. W. Fosbroke, General Theological Seminary, Ninth Ave. & 20th St., New York City.
(587) '18 Rabbi Solomon Foster, B.A., 90 Treacy St., Newark, N. J.
(875) '27 Prof. William M. Fouts, Th. D., 3040 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
(298) '96 Prof. Henry T. Fowler, Ph.D., Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
(814) '25 Rabbi Leon Fram, Congregation Beth El, Woodward at Gladstone, Detroit, Mich.
(312) '97 Prof. James E. Frame, Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(418) '07 Prof. D. J. Fraser, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.
(671) '22 Rabbi Samuel Fredman, 6046 Washington Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
(789) '24 Miss Estelle Freeman, International House, Riverside Drive at 124th St., N. Y. City.
(752) '23 W. W. Freeman, Th.M., State Teachers College, Commerce, Texas.
(541) '15 Prof. Leslie E. Fuller, Ph.D., Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(366) '03 Prof. Kemper Fullerton, Oberlin Theol. Sem., Oberlin, O.
(764) '24 Prof. Frank Gavin, Th.D., General Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.

(765) '24 Henry S. Gehman, Ph. D., 5720 N. Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(889) '27 Miss Katy Boyd George, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
(750) '23 Rev. Ralph William George, S.T.B., 16 Westcott St., Portland, Maine.
(758) '23 Rev. P. B. Gibble, B. D., 4 N. College St., Palmyra, Pa.
(876) '27 Prof. W. C. Gibbs, B. D., Columbia, Mo.
(198) '89 Prof. George W. Gilmore, 354 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.
(766) '24 Prof. Louis Ginzberg, Ph.D., 531 W. 123rd St., N. Y. City.
(801) '25 Rev. C. E. Goddard, Sheffield, Ill.
(866) '27 Rabbi Israel Goldstein, M. A., 233 W. 83rd St., New York City.
(794) '24 Rev. E. R. Goodenough, D. Phil., Woodbridge, New Haven, Conn.
(340) '00 Prof. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(447) '09 Prof. Alex. R. Gordon, Litt.D., Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.
(867) '27 Supt. Hirsch L. Gordon, Ph. D., L. H. D., 131 Johnson Ave., Newark, N. J.
(162) '86 Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, Ph.D., Columbia Univ., N. Y. City.
(635) '21 Prof. William C. Graham, S. T. M., Faculty Exchange, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(384) '05 Prof. Elihu Grant, Ph.D., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
(621) '21 Dean Frederick C. Grant, Ph. D., 2145 Orrington Ave., Evanston, Ill.
(678) '22 Rev. Oscar F. Green, P. O. Box 322, Palo Alto, Calif.
(877) '27 Rev. Caspar R. Gregory, Auburn Theol. Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.
(588) '18 Prof. Ettalene M. Grice, Ph. D., Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven, Conn.
(646) '21 Rev. Frank H. Hallock, D. D., Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minn.
(647) '21 F. Watson Hannan, S. T. D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.
(728) '22 Victor E. Harlow, M. A., Oklahoma City, Okla.
(818) '25 Rev. F. D. Harris, 2138 Central Ave., Detroit, Mich.
(119) '84 Prof. J. R. Harris, Litt. D., 210 Bristol Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, England.
(834) '26 Rev. R. S. Haupert, Moravian College and Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa.
(668) '22 Prof. Charles A. Hawley, Ph. D., Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
(648) '21 Prof. Howell M. Haydn, B. D., 1832 Rosemont Road, East Cleveland, Ohio.
(367) '03 Prof. Doremus A. Hayes, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(322) '98 Rev. Henry H. Haynes, Ph.D., Derry Village, N. H.

(503) '13 Prof. Charles B. Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
(124) '84 Rev. C. R. Hemphill, D.D., Louisville, Ky.
(577) '17 Prof. Ralph K. Hickok, Wells College, Aurora, N.Y.
(890) '27 Prof. J. H. Hicks, A. B., B. D., 3548 Roberts Ave., Dallas, Tex.
(454) '10 Prof. W. Bancroft Hill, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
(79) '83 Prof. E. Y. Hincks, D.D., 58 Washington Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(434) '08 Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, Ph.D., 156 North St., Auburn, N.Y.
(659) '21 Rev. Chas. T. Hock, 214 13th Ave., Belmar, N. J.
(354) '02 Rev. Richard M. Hodge, D. D., 606 W. 116th St., N. Y. City.
(802) '25 Prof. E. G. Hoff, 836 Humphrey Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
(563) '16 Rev. Louis H. Holden, Ph.D., 1 Richardson St., New Brunswick, N. J.
(836) '26 Miss Louise P. Holden, Stuart Hall, Staunton, Va.
(427) '08 Rev. Ivan L. Holt, 5068 Washington Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
(539) '15 Prof. Lynn H. Hough, Central M. E. Church, Detroit, Mich.
(304) '96 Rt. Rev. Hiram R. Hulse, S.T.D., 15th and 8th Sts., Havana, Cuba.
(439) '08 Prof. Mary I. Hussey, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
(452) '10 Prof. Henri Hyvernat, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
(858) '26 Dean Clyo Jackson, St. Stephen's College, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.
(559) '16 Prof F. J. Foakes Jackson, Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(679) '22 Prof. Fleming James, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
(827) '26 Prof. R. A. Jernberg, 1526 W. 45th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
(891) '27 Dr. George Jeshurun, 5511 15th Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
(386) '05 Prof. James R. Jewett, Ph.D., 44 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(864) '27 Clarence Richard Johnson, 2921½ S. Hoover St., Los Angeles, Calif.
(485) '12 Miss Harriet E. Johnson, 32 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass.
(636) '21 Rev. William H. Johnson, Ph. D., D. D., Lincoln University, Pa.
(865) '27 Prof. M. M. Kaplan, 1 W. 89th St., New York City.
(878) '27 Rev. Francis L. Keenan, St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass.
(537) '15 Prof. Lucy E. Keith, Western Coll. for Women, Oxford, O.
(151) '86 Prof. M. L. Kellner, D.D., 3 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(592) '20 Rev. Edwin H. Kellogg, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.
(660) '22 Prof. Fred T. Kelly, 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis.
(725) '22 Prof. Alexander P. Kelso, B. Sc., Southwestern Presb. Univ., Memphis, Tenn.
(338) '00 Pres. James A. Kelso, Ph.D., 725 Ridge Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(438) '08 Prof. Eliza H. Kendrick, Ph.D., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

(649) '21 Rev. Paca Kennedy, D.D., Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va.
(892) '27 Rev. Robert O. Kevin, Phila. Divinity School, 42nd and Locust Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
(895) '27 Carl H. King, 324 Humphrey Ave., New Haven, Conn.
(852) '26 Prof. Edward H. Knight, D. D., 71 Tremont St., Hartford, Conn.
(544) '15 Prof. Carl S. Knopf, Univ. of Southern Calif., Los Angeles, Calif.
(460) '10 Rev. Raymond C. Knox, Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(767) '24 Rev. Carl H. Kraeling, 7301 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
(518) '14 Rev. Emil G. H. Kraeling, 132 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
(879) '27 Rev. Robert M. Kurtz, M. A., 133 Engle St., Englewood, N. J.
(473) '11 Rev. M. G. Kyle, D. D., Xenia Theol. Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.
(519) '14 Prof. Elbert C. Lane, Hartford Theol. Sem., Hartford, Conn.
(880) '27 Prof. Frank G. Lankard, 1909 Maple Ave., Evanston, Ill.
(755) '23 Rev. P. A. Laury, D.D., 243 E. Garrison St., Bethlehem, Pa.
(743) '23 Prof. Darwin Ashley Leavitt, B.D., 641 Church St., Beloit, Wis.
(665) '21 Prof. Elmer A. Leslie, 228 Mason Terrace, Brookline, Mass.
(769) '24 Leon Liebreich, B. A., 640 W. State St., Trenton, N. J.
(622) '21 Miss Grace Lockton, 107 W. 3rd St., Frederick, Md.
(372) '04 Prof. Lindsay B. Longacre, 2273 S. Fillmore St., Denver, Colo.
(674) '22 Mrs. Mary B. Longyear, 60 Leicester Ter., Brookline, Mass.
(845) '26 Rev. Arnold E. Look, M. A., Th. M., 263 Coram Av., Shelton, Conn.
(715) '22 Prof. William J. Lowstuter, 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
(616) '21 † Prof. D. D. Luckenbill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(720) '22 Prof. Nils W. Lund, Th. M., North Park College, Chicago, Illinois.
(590) '18 Mrs. Eugene W. Lyman, Union Theol. Sem., Broadway at 120th, N. Y. City.
(71) '82 Prof. D. G. Lyon, 12 Scott St., Cambridge, Mass.
(824) '26 Prof. W. Vernon Lytle, 1859 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.
(847) '26 S. V. McCasland, Ph. D., Divinity School, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(721) '22 Prof. W. H. McClellan, S. J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.
(536) '15 Prof. C. C. McCown, Ph.D., D.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
(881) '27 Rev. Walter T. McCree, M. A., Streetsville, Ontario, Canada.
(319) '98 Prof. John E. McFadyen, United Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland.
(300) '96 Pres. Arthur C. McGiffert, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.

(650) '21 Pres. John McNaugher, D.D., LL.D., Pittsburgh Theological Sem., Pittsburgh, Pa.

(424) '08 Prof. J. Gresham Machen, 39 Alexander Hall, Princeton Sem., Princeton, N. J.

(637) '21 Rev. Edward Mack, D. D., 4 Westwood Avenue, Richmond, Va.

(804) '25 Rev. John V. Madison, B. D., M. A., Holstein, Iowa.

(742) '23 Prof. J. R. Mantey, Th. D., 3034 W. Wash. Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

(837) '26 Ralph Marcus, A. M., 531 W. 124th St., N. Y. City.

(681) '22 Rabbi Elias Margolis, Ph. D., 16 Glen Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

(516) '13 Prof. Max L. Margolis, Ph. D., 152 W. Hortter St., Philadelphia, Pa.

(853) '26 John Martin, Esq., North Adams, Mass.

(545) '15 Prof. Alexander Marx, Ph. D., 531 W. 123d St., N. Y. City.

(505) '13 Rev. Walter A. Mátos, Swarthmore, Pa.

(860) '26 Prof. Takuo Matsumoto, Aoyama Gakuin Theol. Seminary, Tokyo, Japan.

(770) '24 Charles D. Matthews, Birmingham Southern College, Birmingham, Ala.

(617) '21 Prof. I. G. Matthews, Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester, Pa.

(846) '26 Prof. Joseph B. Matthews, S. T. M., Scarritt College, Nashville, Tenn.

(546) '15 Rev. John A. Maynard, Ph. D., D. D., 7149 Juno St., Forest Hills, L. I., N. Y.

(584) '18 Prof. Théophile J. Meek, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada.

(882) '27 John H. Meengs, Th. B., Hartford Theol. Seminary, Hartford, Conn.

(771) '24 Rev. Samuel A. B. Mercer, Ph. D., D. D., Grafton, Mass.

(601) '20 Rev. Henry H. Meyer, D. D., Ph. D., 150 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City.

(639) '22 Prof. Russell B. Miller, Ph. D., Ohio Wesleyan Univ., Delaware, Ohio.

(670) '22 Rabbi Louis A. Mischkind, P. O. Box 154, Wilmington, Del.

(475) '11 Prof. Conrad H. Moehlmann, 51 Mulberry St., Rochester, N. Y.

(838) '26 Rev. G. Gardner Monks, B. D., 46 Massachusetts Av., Worcester, Mass.

(236) '92 Prof. J. A. Montgomery, Ph. D., 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.

(741) '23 Pres. H. M. Moore, D. D., Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.

(805) '25 Prof. William Morgan, D. D., 20 Barrie St., Kingston, Ont., Canada.

(566) '16 Pres. Julian Morgenstern, Ph. D., 3988 Parker Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

(698) '22 Prof. Elmer W. K. Mould, 503 Fitch St., Elmira, N. Y.

(331) '99 Pres. Warren J. Moulton, Ph. D., Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.

(772) '24 Prof. James Muilenberg, Mt. Holyoke College, S. Hadley, Mass.
(868) '27 W. H. Murray, 60 Fifth Ave., New York City.
(214) '91 † W. Muss-Arnolt, Ph.D., 245 E. Tremont St., N.Y. City.
(627) '21 Prof. Thomas Kinloch Nelson, M.A., D.D., Theol. Sem., Alexandria, Va.
(508) '13 Rev. Wm. M. Nesbit, Ph.D., 2 Prospect Ave., Glen Cove, N.Y.
(806) '25 Prof. Herbert L. Newman, B.D., 2 West Court, Waterville, Maine.
(608) '20 Rabbi Louis I. Newman, 125 Jordan Ave., San Francisco, Cal.
(839) '26 Prof. Edward E. Nourse, D.D., Hartford Theol. Seminary, Hartford, Conn.
(820) '24 Prof. Julian Obermann, 9 W. 97th St., N.Y. City.
(732) '22 Rev. Henry Offerman, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.
(476) '11 Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Ph.D., Resthaven, R.F.D., Milford, Mass.
(859) '26 Miss Evelyn Oliver, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.
(572) '16 Prof. Albert T. Olmstead, Ph.D., 706 S. Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill.
(857) '26 E. A. Overton, A.M., 4949 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.
(773) '24 Prof. Ernest W. Parsons, 278 Alexander St., Rochester, N.Y.
(757) '23 Mrs. Katherine S. H. Paton, S.T.B., 50 Forest St., Hartford, Conn.
(240) '92 Prof. L. B. Paton, Ph.D., 50 Forest St., Hartford, Conn.
(547) '15 Prof. Walter M. Patton, Ph.D., 401 College Ave., Northfield, Minn.
(323) '98 Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, Ph.D., Syracuse, N.Y.
(623) '21 Prof. Alfred Morris Perry, Ph.D., Bangor Theol. Seminary, Bangor, Maine.
(611) '21 Prof. Robert H. Pfeiffer, S.T.M., Ph.D., 82 Larch Road, Cambridge, Mass.
(748) '23 Rev. Ze Barney T. Phillips, D.D., 3723 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(774) '24 Rev. M. Wayne Pickerel, S.T.B., Pilger, Nebr.
(641) '21 President Clara D. Pinkham, Baptist Mission Training School, 2969 Vernon Ave., Chicago, Ill.
(703) '22 † Rev. Edward B. Pollard, D.D., Crozer Theol. Sem., Upland, Pa.
(378) '05 Prof. William Popper, Ph.D., Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal.
(254) '93 Prof. F. C. Porter, D.D., 1111 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.
(532) '15 Prof. Thomas Porter, Ph.D., S.T.D., Rua Padre Vieira 3, Campinas, Brazil.
(822) '25 Prof. H. H. Powell, 1051 Taylor St., San Francisco, Calif.
(509) '13 Prof. Waldo S. Pratt, 86 Gillett St., Hartford, Conn.
(556) '16 Rev. Sartell Prentice, D.D., 17 E. 11th St., New York City.
(176) '87 Prof. Ira M. Price, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

(597) '20 Prof. Alex. C. Purdy, Ph.D., Hartford Theol. Sem., Hartford, Conn.
(775) '24 C. E. Purinton, 31 Shaler Lane, Cambridge, Mass.
(701) '22 Prof. Herbert R. Purinton, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.
(653) '21 Prof. Charles Lynn Pyatt, College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky.
(883) '27 Prof. Chester Warren Quimby, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
(598) '20 Prof. H. M. Ramsay, St. Stephens Pro-Cathedral, 13th & Day Sts., Portland, Ore.
(557) '16 Pres. John H. Raven, D.D., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.
(361) '03 Pres. Harry L. Reed, Auburn Theol. Sem., Auburn, N.Y.
(848) '26 Prof. Nathaniel Reich, 309 N. 33rd St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(533) '15 Joseph Reider, Ph. D., Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa.
(861) '26 Percy F. Rex, Redding Center, Conn.
(893) '27 Miss Anna Virena Rice, 135 E. 52nd St., New York City.
(585) '18 Miss Ruth Richards, 16 Ashland St., Medford, Mass.
(776) '24 Rev. Hilary G. Richardson, A.B., B.D., Yonkers, N.Y.
(777) '24 Donald W. Riddle, Faculty Exchange, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(510) '13 Prof. Frank H. Ridgley, Ph. D., Lincoln Univ., Chester Co., Penna.
(815) '25 Corwin C. Roach, 1199 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.
(727) '22 Prof. Percy V. Roberts, Ph.D., Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas.
(455) '10 Prof. A. T. Robertson, D.D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem. Louisville, Ky.
(884) '27 J. B. Robertson, B. D., Amer. School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine.
(389) '06 Prof. Benj. W. Robinson, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.
(826) '26 Miss Dorothy B. Robinson, B. D., Mt. Holyoke College, S. Hadley, Mass.
(284) '95 Prof. Geo. L. Robinson, Ph.D., 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
(285) '95 Prof. James H. Ropes, D.D., 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass.
(687) '22 Rabbi William Rosenau, 1515 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md.
(897) '27 H. H. Rowley, B. D., Rydal Mount, Pellhurst Road, Ryder, I. o. W., England.
(387) '05 Prof. Elbert Russell, Ph.D., Duke University, Durham, N. C.
(779) '24 Rabbi Norman Salit, J. D., 1152 New St., Far Rockaway, L. I., N. Y.
(456) '10 Prof. J. R. Sampey, LL.D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem., Louisville, Ky.
(187) '88 Rev. F. K. Sanders, Ph.D., 17 E. 42nd St., N. Y. City.

(511) '13 Prof. H. A. Sanders, 2037 Geddes Av., Ann Arbor, Mich.
(840) '26 Rev. Carl M. Sangree, B. D., Litchfield, Conn.
(780) '24 Rev. J. Foster Savidge, S. T. M., Church of the Holy Communion, Norwood, N. J.
(190) '88 Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Ph. D., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.
(708) '22 Prof. F. W. Schneider, D.D., 1504 Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.
(669) '22 Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.
(457) '10 Rev. Samuel Schulman, D. D., 27 West 72nd St., N. Y. City.
(463) '10 Prof. E. F. Scott, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th St., N.Y. City.
(856) '26 Prof. William Scott, Randolph-Macon College, Lynchburg, Va.
(807) '25 Keith C. Seele, c/o American Express Co., 55 Charlottenstr., Berlin W. 8, Germany.
(520) '14 Prof. Wm. G. Seiple, 125 Tsuchidoi, Sendai, Miyagi Ken, Japan.
(699) '22 Prof. Arthur G. Sellen, Ph. D., Washburn College, Topeka, Kans.
(676) '22 Prof. Ovid R. Sellers, Ph.D., 846 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill.
(408) '07 Prof. Charles N. Shepard, Gen. Theol. Sem., Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(885) '27 Henry A. Sherman, 597 Fifth Ave., New York City.
(808) '25 A. R. Siebens, 2330 N. Halstead St., Chicago, Ill.
(683) '22 Mr. Benjamin Silkiner, 101 W. 113th St., New York City.
(337) '00 Prof. Charles F. Sitterly, D.D., Drew Theol. Sem., Madison, N.J.
(849) '26 Dr. S. L. Skoss, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
77) '22 Prof. A. Wakefield Slaten, Ph. D.. 544 Cathedral Parkway, N. Y. City.
(841) '26 Prof. W. Aiken Smart, D. D., Emory University, Ga.
(786) '24 Rev. H. Framer Smith, M. A., B. D., 167 W. Chelten Ave., Germantown, Pa.
(55) '81 †Prof. H. P. Smith, D. D., 43 Southeast Ave., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
(409) '07 Prof. John M. P. Smith, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(548) '15 Miss Louise P. Smith, Wellesley College, Wellesley 81, Mass.
(603) '20 Prof. Robert Seneca Smith, 1157 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.
(580) '17 Rev. J. Edward Snyder, Box 502, Grand Forks, N. D.
(809) '25 Pres. Elliott Speer, East Northfield, Mass.
(863) '26 Prof. R. T. Stamm, 123 Springs Ave., Gettysburg, Pa.
(328) '99 Prof. Wallace N. Stearns, Ph.D., Jacksonville, Ill.
(738) '23 Rev. Ferris J. Stephens, Ph. D., Culver-Stockton College, Canton, Mo.
(567) '16 Prof. Paul R. Stevick, Morningside College. Sioux City, Iowa.
(716) '22 Prof. Harris B. Stewart, 7 Seminary St., Auburn, N. Y.
(886) '27 Edward C. Stone, 40 Allen Place, Hartford, Conn.
(90) '83 Prof. Jacob Streibert, Gambier, O.

(894) '27 Rev. Charles L. Taylor, Jr., B. D., 99 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.
(810) '25 Prof. W. R. Taylor, Ph. D., University College, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
(851) '26 Rabbi Sidney S. Tedesche, 200 Linden St., New Haven, Conn.
(691) '22 Rev. Patrick J. Temple, S.T.D., 104 Mount Joy Place, New Rochelle, N. Y.
(111) '84 Rev. Roderick Terry, D.D., Newport, R.I.
(342) '00 Rev. Charles S. Thayer, Ph.D., 4 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn.
(813) '25 Prof. David E. Thomas, Ph. D., 804 Virginia Ave., Columbia, Mo.
(695) '22 Rev. Edward K. Thurlow, S.T.M., Sheffield, Mass.
(257) '93 Prof. C. C. Torrey, D.D., 191 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn.
(781) '24 P. Raffaele Tramontano, College S. Luigi, Posilipo, Naples, Italy.
(850) '26 Miss Doris E. Trevett, North Orange Baptist Church, Orange, N. J.
480) '11 Prof. Harold H. Tryon, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(492) '12 Prof. J. Milton Vance, 930 N. Bever St., Wooster, O.
(706) '22 Rev. Selby Frame Vance, D.D., LL.D., 237 Hilands Ave., Ben Avon, Pittsburgh, Pa.
(549) '15 Rev. Prof. A. A. Vaschalde, Ph. D., Catholic Univ., Washington, D. C.
(811) '25 Miss Harriet Vaughan, 4900 Washington Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
(663) '22 Prof. E. E. Voigt, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
(713) '22 Rev. R. B. Wallace, D.D., Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
(791) '24 Prof. O. W. Warmingham, 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
(521) '14 Prof. LeRoy Waterman, 1835 Vinewood Bvd., Ann Arbor, Mich.
(812) '25 Prof. Orville E. Watson, D. D., Bexley Hall, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.
(657) '21 Prof. W. G. Watson, B. D., 40 Francklyn St., Halifax, N. S., Canada.
(643) '21 Dean Thomas Wearing, Ph. D., Colgate Seminary, Hamilton, N. Y.
(658) '21 Rev. J. H. Webster, D. D., 5738 Clemens Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
(667) '22 Prof. Gordon B. Wellman, Th. D., 17 Midland Road, Wellesley 81, Mass.
(689) '22 Pres. W. W. White, Ph.D., D.D., 541 Lexington Ave., New York City.
(445) '09 Prof. Edward A. Wicher, D.D., San Francisco Theol. Sem., San Anselmo, Cal.
(726) '22 Rev. Dean Rockwell Wickes, 1137 W. 29th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
(535) '15 Prof. Laura H. Wild, Mt. Holyoke College, S. Hadley, Mass.
(684) '22 Prof. Clyde E. Wildman, 238 Kensington Place, Syracuse, N. Y.

(696) '22 Chas. B. Williams, Ph. D., D. D., Union Univ., Jackson, Tenn.
(275) '95 Rev. Leighton Williams, Marlborough. N. Y.
(790) '24 H. R. Willoughby, 139 Goodspeed Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(609) '20 Miss Olive May Winchester, 604 Fourteenth Ave. S., Nampa, Idaho.
(788) '24 Pres. S. S. Wise, Ph.D., LL.D., Jewish Institute of Religion, W. 68th St., N. Y. City.
(672) '22 Rev. J. E. Wishart, D. D., San Francisco Theol. Sem., San Anselmo, Calif.
(782) '24 Prof. H. A. Wolfson, 85 Prescott St., Cambridge, Mass.
(630) '21 Rev. Clinton T. Wood, M. A., 912 North Bever St., Wooster, Ohio.
(272) '94 Prof. Irving F. Wood, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(497) '12 Prof. W. C. Wood, Ph. D., College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.
(644) '21 Prof. William H. Wood, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
(842) '26 Rev. Prof. Edw. Strong Worcester, D. D., Theol. Seminary, New Brunsick, N. J.
(697) '22 Rev. William L. Worcester, 5 Bryant St., Cambridge, Mass.
(625) '21 Prof. M. J. Wyngaarden, Ph. D., Calvin Seminary, Grand Rapids, Mich.
(412) '07 Rev. Royden K. Yerkes, Ph. D., D. D., 3723 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(538) '15 Prof. Harry C. York, Ph. D., 602 W. Washington Ave., Elmira, N. Y.
(717) '22 Elmer H. Zaugg, Ph.D., Japan College, Sendai, Japan.
(428) '08 Prof. Blanche Zehring, 309 E. Linden Ave., Miamisburg, O.
(610) '20 Prof. Solomon Zeitlin, Ph. D., Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS

WHICH SUBSCRIBE FOR THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

American Library in Paris,	10 Rue de L'Elysee (8). Paris, France.
Amherst College Library,	Amherst, Mass.
Auburn Theological Seminary,	Auburn, N.Y.
Bangor Theological Seminary,	Bangor, Me.
Beloit College Library,	Beloit, Wisconsin.
Berkeley Baptist Divinity School,	Berkeley, Calif.

Bibliothèque de L'Université,	Toulouse Haute, Garonne, France.
Bibliothèque de L'Université,	La Sorbonne, Paris, France.
Bowdoin College Library,	Brunswick, Me.
Brown University Library,	Providence, R.I.
Bryn Mawr College,	Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Bucknell Library,	Chester, Pa.
Carnegie Free Library of Allegheny, Federal and Ohio Sts. N.S.,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Carnegie Library,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Cleveland Public Library,	Cleveland, Ohio.
College of Missions Library,	Indianapolis, Ind.
Columbia University Library,	N.Y. City.
Congregational Library,	Boston, Mass.
Cornell University Library,	Ithaca, N.Y.
Divinity Hall, 740 University St.,	Montreal, Canada.
Divinity School Library, 42nd & Locust Streets	Philadelphia, Pa.
Drew Theological Seminary Library,	Madison, N.J.
Duke University Library,	Durham, N. C.
Enoch Pratt Free Library,	Baltimore, Md.
Episcopal Theological School,	Cambridge, Mass.
Free Library,	Philadelphia, Pa.
General Theological Seminary,	N.Y. City.
Gettysburg Theological Seminary,	Gettysburg, Pa.
Harvard Andover Theological Library,	Cambridge, Mass.
Harvard College Library,	Cambridge, Mass.
Haverford College Library,	Haverford, Pa.
Hebrew Union College Library,	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Hebrew University Library,	Jerusalem, Palestine.
James Milliken University,	Decatur, Ill.
Jewish Institute of Religion,	West 68th St., N. Y. City.
John Rylands Library,	Manchester, England.
Johns Hopkins University Library,	Baltimore, Md.
Library, International Y. M. C. A. College,	Springfield, Mass.
Library of Congress,	Washington, D. C.
Libreria de Augustin Bosch, 5 Ronda de la Universidad,	Barcelona, Spain.
McCormick Theol. Seminary,	Chicago, Ill.
Main Library, 8th and Grande Ave.,	Milwaukee, Wis.
Margaret Carnegie Library,	Mills College, Calif.
Meadville Theological School,	5707 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Mount Holyoke College Library,	South Hadley, Mass.
Newberry Library,	Chicago, Ill.
Newton Theol. Institution Library,	Newton Centre 39, Mass.
Northern Baptist Seminary Library,	3040 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Northwestern University Library,	Evanston, Ill.
Oberlin College Library,	Oberlin, Ohio.
Ohio State University Library,	Columbus, Ohio.
Pacific School of Religion,	Berkeley, Cal.
Pacific Unitarian School, Dana and Allston Way,	Berkeley, Calif.
Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 616 W. North Ave.,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Public Library,	Boston, Mass.
Public Library, 197 Montague St.,	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Public Library,	Chicago, Ill.
Public Library,	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Public Library,	New York, N.Y.
Public Library,	St. Louis, Mo.
Public Library of Victoria,	Melbourne, Australia.
Queen's University,	Kingston, Ontario, Can.
Rochester Theological Seminary Library,	Rochester, N.Y.
San Anselmo Seminary Library,	San Anselmo, Calif.
Scarritt College Library,	Nashville, Tenn.
Shantung Christian Univ. Tsinan,	Shantung, China.
State Library.	Albany, N.Y.
State Library,	Concord, N.H.
State Library,	Lansing, Mich.
State Library,	Sacramento, Cal.
Syracuse University Library,	Syracuse, N.Y.
Trowbridge Reference Library,	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Union Theological Seminary Library,	N.Y. City.
University Library,	Cambridge, England.
University of California,	Berkeley, Calif.
University of Illinois,	Urbana, Ill.
University of Michigan Library,	Ann Arbor, Mich.
University of Pennsylvania Library,	Philadelphia, Pa.
University of Toronto Library,	Toronto, Canada.
University of Wisconsin Library,	Madison, Wis.
Vassar College Library,	Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Vipond Library,	1600 Barclay St., Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
Wellesley College Library,	Wellesley, Mass.

Wesleyan University Library,	Middletown, Conn.
Western State Normal School,	Kalamazoo, Mich.
Western Theological Seminary, Ridge Ave.,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Yale University Library,	New Haven, Conn.
Zentralbibliothek,	Werner, Zurich, Switzerland.
Zion Research Library,	60 Leicester St., Brookline, Mass.

LIST OF EXCHANGES

(To be sent to Professor George Dahl, 2102 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn., and ultimately to go to the American School of Archæology in Jerusalem.)

Anglican Theological Review,	2145 Orrington Ave., Evanston, Ill.
Archiv für Orientforschung,	Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Babelsbergstr. 48.
Bibelforskaren,	Upsala, Sweden.
Biblica,	Istituto Biblico Pontifico, Piazza Pilotta 35, Roma I., Italy.
Biblische Zeitschrift,	Freiburg i. B., Germany.
Canadian Journal of Religious Thought, 73 Queens Park,	Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Expository Times,	Edinburgh, Scotland.
International Index to Periodicals, 958 University Ave.,	New York City.
Jewish Quarterly Review, Dropsie College,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Journal of Religion, Univ. of Chicago,	Chicago, Ill.
Journal of Theological Studies,	London, England.
Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute,	London, England.
Kalich,	Hus Theological Faculty, Prague I, Klementinum, Czecho-Slovakia.
Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift,	Haarlem, Holland.

Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft,	Berlin C 2, Schloß, Portal 3.
Princeton Theological Review,	Princeton, N.J.
Review and Expositor (So. Bapt.),	Louisville, Ky.
Revue Biblique Internationale, 90 Rue Bonaparte,	Paris, France.
Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Réligieuses	1b Quai St. Thomas, Strasbourg, France.
Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,	Greifswald, Loitzerstr. 47 II, Germany.
Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,	Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Berlinerstr. 65.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901 and Dec. 28, 1923)

CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

Each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

2 31

United Theological Seminary Library

FOR REFERENCE
Do Not Take From This Room
DEMCO